

START

The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

REEL

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 39

Correspondence

December 1, 1936, to March 31, 1937

Edited by
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Ronald J. Zboray
and
Daniel Cornford

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

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- [Letter] 1937 March 15 [London to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Emma Goldman].
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- [Letter] 1937 March 24, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy.
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- [Letter, 19]37 March 25 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
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- [Letter, 19]37 March 27 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].
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Introduction to Reels 38 through 45 (July 1, 1936, to March 15, 1939)

During July 1936, Goldman, still grieving over Berkman's death, redirected her energies toward the anarchist struggle in the Spanish Civil War. She devoted herself wholeheartedly to enlisting international support against Francisco Franco's Fascist forces and their allies among right-wing groups.

At first, Berkman's suicide left Goldman at a loss about the future direction of her life. "We burried [sic] him yesterday," she wrote to Liza and Semion Koldofsky, "and the largest part of my life was burried with him" (7/1/36). She was unable to work on her lectures with the deluge of expressions of condolence from family, friends, and comrades to respond to. In accordance with Berkman's last wishes, she helped his companion, Emmy Eckstein, relocate to her parents' home in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Goldman tried to get a passport to facilitate Eckstein's emigration to the United States.

Goldman had taken an interest in Spanish anarchism long before war began. She had visited Spain briefly in 1928 with Henry G. Alsberg, an associate from New York, to learn about the growing anarcho-syndicalist movement. There she met Federica Montseny, daughter of veteran anarchists and during the Civil War the first woman to serve in a Spanish cabinet. Throughout the 1930s, Goldman had been impressed with Spanish anarcho-syndicalist organizations, which were among the most successful in Europe.

After her return to Europe from Canada in 1935, Goldman began to follow events in Spain more closely. She learned about conditions there from several of her correspondents who had become involved with the Spanish anarchists: Augustin Souchy, Max Nettlau, Helmut Rüdiger, and Alexander Schapiro. As members of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men's Association (IWMA), they volunteered to work for the two affiliated Spanish organizations, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the

association of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, and the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), the political organization of anarchist militants.

Throughout these years, however, and even for a few weeks into the war, Goldman saw little hope of an anarchist revolution in Spain. Indeed, on first hearing the news of the outbreak of fighting between the military forces of General Franco and the anarchist and socialist militia, Goldman worried that the people could become the victims of change, as they had during the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, rather than its beneficiaries (to Therese Souchy, 7/22/36). In light of the early military victories by Republican forces, Goldman decided that she had been mistaken about the chances of an anarchist victory in Spain. "The awful pall that hung over me since Sashas untimely death has been broken," she wrote to her friend Arthur Leonard Ross. "It was due to the call I have received from my Spanish comrade[s] to help them in their heroic struggle" (8/29/36).

Soon after arriving in Spain in September 1936, Goldman decided to contribute her formidable public relations skills to the anarchist struggle. She would meet with important anarchists, gather information and documentary material, and then return to Great Britain to set up a press service and propaganda bureau. During her three-month tour of the areas under anarchist control, she visited agrarian collectives and worker-operated factories and utilities to learn as much as possible about economic conditions and labor organizations. Based in Barcelona, where she produced the English language version of the weekly *CNT-FAI Information Bulletin*, she traveled throughout Catalonia, the Levante, and Aragón and visited the Huesca and the Aragón fronts. She was hindered by her inability to speak Spanish, but with the help of interpreters and her fluency in French, the most commonly spoken foreign language in Spain, she was able to ascertain enough to be impressed by the level of organization that was maintained in most sectors of the economy. In her letters she repeatedly contrasted the innovativeness of Spanish

revolutionaries with her experience of the inability of their Russian counterparts to create new social institutions during the early 1920s.

Goldman's accounts of the Civil War, while naturally influenced by her partisanship, nevertheless provide some of the most thoughtful contemporary commentary on events in Spain. Her relatively balanced observations are all the more valuable because of the war's controversial nature, which produced grossly inaccurate reportage from the mass media and left-wing press alike. Goldman refrained from hasty assessments of a complex political situation about which she initially knew little. For example, she avoided publicly criticizing the CNT-FAI for issuing so much publicity about Soviet aid to the Republican forces. She suspected Stalin's motives in supplying arms and noted that the arms went only to troops controlled by the Spanish Communist party, Partido Comunista de España (PCE), leaving the anarchist-controlled militia in Catalonia very poorly supplied. Nevertheless, in a letter from Barcelona to an unnamed comrade (12/7/36), she warned against judgments based solely on theory: "Bear in mind that life is more exacting than theories. Not that I can agree with some of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. But being on the spot I can understand them."

Another issue that Goldman faced was the extent to which anarchists should ally themselves with other parties of the Left. Accompanying the anarchists in their struggle against the Right were the PCE, the socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), and the dissident (anti-Stalinist) Communist party, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM). Caught in the cross fire between anarchist purists of the IWMA, including Alexander Schapiro and Mollie Steimer (who opposed any anarchist alliances with other organizations), and generally uncritical supporters of CNT-FAI policies such as Max Nettlau, Goldman identified most with the pragmatic flexibility of Mariano Vázquez of the CNT-FAI. She believed that the demands of the military struggle against Franco forced anarchists to ally with other antifascist organizations. But she continually urged anarchists to expand their own

political activities in the liberated regions by holding public meetings, producing propaganda, and increasing mass participation in anarchist organizations. She warned that otherwise, in the competitive political dynamics of Civil War Spain, anarchist groups would lose their identity in mass organizations.

Returning to Britain in early 1937 as an official representative of the CNT-FAI, Goldman rose to the familiar challenge of defending a movement beset by critics from both the Right and the Left. While she had her own criticisms, she concentrated on publicizing the constructive work of the Spanish anarchist movement, emphasizing the revolutionary aspects of the struggle: the agrarian collectives, the new public schools, the worker-owned factories and utilities, the democratic structure of the anarchist militia. These new, democratic institutions, Goldman insisted, were replacing a corrupt system dominated by the landed aristocracy with its allies in the Catholic church and the army. This emphasis corrected both the conservatives' portrayal of Spanish anarchists as destroyers of civil order and traditional values and the pro-Soviet Left's dismissal of anarchists as undisciplined opportunists unwilling to do their share of fighting on the front lines.

Her role as a representative of an organization, the CNT-FAI, was a new one for her. Throughout her life she had worked as an independent activist, forming coalitions or *ad hoc* committees as the need arose. As the London representative for the CNT-FAI, she agreed to function as an official of a large organization, an organization that had the opportunity and the will to undertake governmental functions. Federica Montseny, for example, one of Goldman's associates in the CNT, was serving as the Minister of Health, along with three other anarchist ministers. Goldman faced this dilemma with an extensive understanding of the political dynamics in Spain. She knew that Spanish anarchists had to choose between two potentially damaging alternatives. On one hand, they could stay out of the Popular Front government and allow other parties to take power and risk having that power

used against them in the future. On the other hand, they could join the government and risk abandoning the central tenet of their political philosophy: that the functions of government are oppressive in all contexts. While Goldman did not take a definite position on this issue, she insisted that anarchists should never work to limit the freedom of other parties or individuals, except that of Fascists.

Her first project consisted of an effort to display her collection of photographs, posters, journals, newsletters, manifestos, and paintings from Spain as a way to demonstrate the importance of the anarchist contribution to the Spanish Revolution. Her exhibition of photographs of the bombardment of Madrid by Franco's forces was also an appeal for humanitarian aid for the casualties of an increasingly mechanized war that targeted civilian populations. She worked with Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose of the Independent Labour Party on a joint exhibition of her collection and other materials from Republican Spain. And she was a prime mover behind the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children which raised about £500 during the winter and spring of 1937.

While her public meetings were well attended, usually attracting seven or eight hundred people, she frequently complained in her letters about the lack of response to her efforts in Britain. She may have been comparing the British response to her Spanish aid campaign with the huge crowds she drew in the United States in the similarly charged atmosphere of the years before World War I. As before, she was convinced that she could do more in the United States to aid the Spanish anarchists; in early 1937 she applied through Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union for another visa to lecture in the United States. This application, her last major effort to return, was rejected.

Goldman also set herself the formidable task of convincing the British labor movement to take direct action to force the government to end its arms embargo against Spain. Without foreign aid, except the small amounts of arms

and a few advisers from the Soviet Union and Mexico, the Republican forces were unable to hold ground against Franco's army, which was well supplied by the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The British government's arms embargo continued throughout the Civil War, despite general public support for the Republican cause. The anticommunist sympathies of the leadership of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress prevented any rank-and-file challenge to the government's "neutrality". In addition, Goldman and her associates had few contacts with British labor unions. They were unable to attract more than a few individuals to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, which was formed primarily to provide support for the CNT-FAI.

Goldman's journalistic efforts on behalf of Spain were considerably more successful. She worked with Vernon Richards, the son of an Italian anarchist, and his companion Marie-Louise Berneri, the daughter of the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, a major figure in the CNT in Barcelona, on the fortnightly newspaper, *Spain and the World*. Although Goldman wrote several letters to the editors of major British dailies to try to correct their inaccurate reporting on the Civil War, she preferred to write for an anarchist journal. She was able to obtain financial support for *Spain and the World* from the CNT, and she recruited several British writers, including the poet and art critic Herbert Read, to write for the paper. In addition to providing an alternative to the mass media's distortion and the neglect of Spanish events, *Spain and the World* contributed to the sense of urgency about the Civil War that led hundreds of individuals to volunteer for the International Brigades, which were essential to the Republican military efforts.

Events in Spain became more complicated after the outbreak of street fighting in Barcelona between the CNT militia and the central Republican forces, which were increasingly dominated by troops loyal to the PCE, during the "May Days" of 1937. The fighting, which continued for several days, began when the central government attempted to remove the Barcelona telephone exchange, the primary center for communications for Catalonia, from CNT

control. Hundreds of CNT and POUM militants were killed and hundreds more arrested. After the negotiated settlement, in which Federica Montseny played a crucial role, Goldman changed her initial stance of muting her public criticism of the other leftist parties in Spain. She began to criticize the suppression of the workers' organizations and the arrest and detention of anarchist militants. She held the PCE responsible for the street fighting because she believed that the Republican government, dependent on Soviet aid, was being forced to eliminate the revolutionary programs of the CNT-FAI, that the desire to limit the revolutionary potential of the Civil War guided the Soviets' policy. They ostensibly wanted to maintain the participation of all levels of Spanish society in the Popular Front against Franco and to avoid offending the governments of Britain, France, and the United States, countries whose governments were opposed to a communist or anarchist revolution in Spain. When the left-wing socialist premier, Largo Caballero, who had resisted communist influence, was removed, along with the four anarchists in his cabinet, and procommunist Juan Negrín was installed in his place, Goldman's criticism became even harsher. In an article in *Spain and the World* of June 4, 1937 (see the Goldman Writings Series), she accused the Communists and right-wing socialists of plotting to end the social revolution in Spain. She also attributed the death of Camillo Berneri--found shot in the back after being arrested during the May Days--to agents of Stalin. Finally, she likened this campaign, which included attacks on agrarian collectives, to the repression of the anarchists and other noncommunist leftists in Russia under Lenin and Stalin.

The events of May 1937 shattered the solidarity of the Popular Front government in Spain but did not surprise Goldman who had been prepared for such an outcome by her disappointing experience in the Russian Revolution. She was angered by the conciliatory position of the CNT leaders who were trying to avoid a protracted battle between anarchists and the Republican government. But she was also angry at the insistent criticisms of Mollie

Steimer, Alexander Schapiro, and others in the international anarchist movement, who demanded that the anarchists cease all cooperation with the Republican government. She argued that the urgency of the war against Franco, in which the Republican forces were taking heavy losses, made such theoretical purity impossible. Goldman was also able to place what she saw as the mistakes of the CNT-FAI leaders in the context of the constructive efforts they were making.

During the months after the May Days, Goldman became impatient for reliable news from Spain. A comrade from New York, Abe Bluestein, after visiting her in London, wrote her several detailed reports from Barcelona, documenting the repression of the anarchist organizations by the Republican government. He also described the developing split between the leaders of the CNT-FAI and a new organization, Libertarian Youth, whose members wanted to resist the repressive governmental actions. Feeling the need to reassess the political situation for herself, Goldman returned to Spain in September 1937. She visited the Madrid front and was impressed by the high morale of the Republican troops. She found many of the agrarian collectives in Catalonia still thriving. She also visited the Modelo Prison in Madrid where she learned that fifteen hundred anarchists and several hundred members of POUM were being held as political prisoners. Outraged by these arrests and the recent disappearance of Kurt Landau, a member of the Executive Committee of POUM, Goldman attacked the Republican government in an article, "Political Persecution in Republican Spain," in *Spain and the World* (12/10/37, Goldman Writings Series). Mariano Vázquez and Pedro Herrera of the FAI, in a response to this article, advised Goldman to use more tact in her criticisms of the Republican government. Such complaints, they argued, could undermine the support the Republican government sought in its struggle against fascism.

Back in Britain by December 1937, Goldman continued to campaign for the CNT-FAI. She wrote for *Spain and the World*, organized a musical evening

for the benefit of Civil War refugees, and formed a British branch of a new organization, Solidaridad Internacional Anti-Fascista (SIA), founded in Spain by Federica Montseny to raise funds for humanitarian aid for Catalonia. By the spring of 1938, Goldman began to find it more difficult to arouse support for the Spanish cause as the attention of the public was drawn to Central Europe; Hitler occupied Austria in March and began to intensify his anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. Meanwhile, after the Soviet government's indictment of the Old Bolsheviks, Goldman focused increasingly on the links between Stalinism and fascism, an analysis that had limited appeal in Britain. Feeling that her work in Britain was failing, Goldman decided to visit Spain once more and then move to Canada, where she hoped to be more successful at raising funds for the CNT-FAI. As the military situation worsened and Franco's troops advanced toward Barcelona, she knew that the anarchist cause might be defeated in Spain. But she needed to draw inspiration once again from "the only people in the world who still love liberty passionately enough to be willing to die for it" (to Arthur Leonard Ross, 6/17/38).

At the same time she faced another personal crisis when her niece Stella Ballantine was hospitalized in New York for severe depression. For decades Goldman had been closer to Ballantine than to any other family member, relying on her even more for emotional support after Alexander Berkman's death. The loss of this support contributed to the growing feeling of isolation that Goldman experienced as her work in Britain brought fewer results.

By the time she reached Barcelona in September 1938 for her third and final visit, a deep split had developed within the anarchist movement over the issue of cooperation with the Republican government. Although she sympathized with the faction of the CNT-FAI, led by Pedro Herrera, that adhered to the classical anarchist principle of avoiding any cooperation with the state, she considered this an internal matter about which she was unwilling to comment. She nevertheless remained determined to call attention to the

Republican government's political repression of dissident leftists. She spoke out against the charges brought against a number of POUM activists accused of collaboration with the Fascists, declaring that it was the POUM's anti-Stalinism that had led to their arrests. And she expected CNT personnel like Mariano Vázquez to do more to obtain the release of the jailed anarchists.

After Goldman returned to London in November, she closed the CNT-FAI press office, as there was no one else in London able to carry on her work, and she convinced Ethel Mannin to take responsibility for the SIA. Before moving to Canada, where she planned to raise funds for the SIA, Goldman needed to find a safe repository for Berkman's papers, which were in storage in her house in St. Tropez. She chose the International Institute of Social History, located in Amsterdam, because of its reputation for independence from any government restrictions or monitoring. She spent most of January 1939 cataloguing his papers. Briefly absorbed again in her private life, perhaps effecting a final separation from Berkman and an integration of the experience of the decades she was associated with him, she thus insulated herself from the final defeat of the Spanish anarchists with the fall of Barcelona to Nationalist troops in late January.

The plight of the Spanish refugees detained in poorly supplied refugee camps in France, however, evoked an immediate response from Goldman. She began work to raise money to help them emigrate to North America. She also began a dispute with Mariano Vázquez about the cause of the defeat of anarchism in Spain. Goldman believed that the sabotage of the social revolution by the Communists was the deciding factor; their attacks on the programs and organizations that benefited the Spanish masses led to the demoralization of the groups that supported the Republican cause. Vázquez saw the failure of Western democracies to come to the aid of Republican Spain as the primary cause of the defeat because it left the Republican forces hopelessly outnumbered by the well-equipped Nationalist troops assisted by their German, Italian, and Moroccan units.

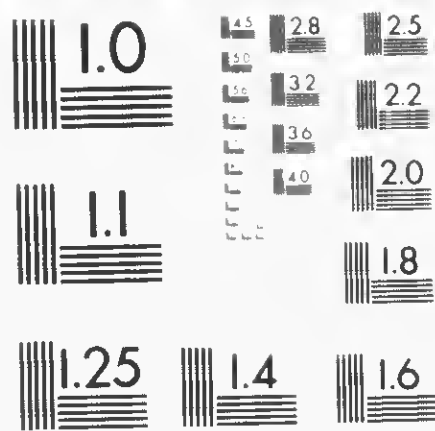
Each of these positions included differing assessments of the actions of the anarchists themselves. Goldman thought it was naive to ally with the Communists in the Popular Front government. She was aware of the importance of public morale in maintaining a protracted civil war with heavy casualties; therefore it was important to distinguish one's efforts from any organization that could act against the interests of the people. She could not see as clearly as Vázquez the importance of external, international forces in a conflict as complex as the Spanish Civil War. Vázquez believed that without support from an international anarchist movement, other labor organizations abroad, or democratic governments, the Spanish anarchists had no choice but to accept support from the Soviet Union. In late 1937, Goldman had been willing to admit that she may have been too optimistic in her assessment of the strength of the anarchist movement in Spain. This allowed her to accept the eventual defeat of the anarchists without losing hope for the future. She had come to realize that "it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full growth. Untill then the steps will be feeble, our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.... I will die as I lived[,] with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideal" (to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, 9/7/37).

Editor's Note.

Many documents relating to Emma Goldman's involvement with the anarchist cause during the Spanish Civil War, including a large body of correspondence, were acquired too late to be incorporated in the chronologically organized Correspondence Series. Users of the microfilm are advised to consult reels 68 and 69, which consist of supplementary correspondence, for those documents, especially material from the

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives at the International Institute of
Social History, Amsterdam.

16X



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1936] Dec. 1, New York [to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. —
2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ballantine

20084

NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

Room 1311 * 149 FIFTH AVENUE, N. Y. * GRamercy 7-0497

Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Chairman

Ant. 10 E.
509 West 110th Street

Dec. 1st.

ELEANOR COPENHAGEN
Treasurer

My darling:

FRED HODGSON

Executive Secretary

Bishop Robert J. Hughes

Dale Kramer

C. J. Hendley

Guy Sperry

Mary Fox

Dorothy Delany

Josephine Schanne

A. A. MacLean

Margaret Foy

Joseph Loh

I am working with the above committee now. On Saturday we had trucks all over town with loud speakers all day and raised about \$20,000 for the ship that is leaving with medicines, food and clothes from Brooklyn in time for Xmas. On Saturday we are giving a concert at Town Hall with the Gordon String Quartett and a small symphony recruited from the Philharmonic at which I am working this afternoon. Your letters of the 14th and 18th came within two days of each other. I have already sent off letters to Jeanne, Dorothy Gieseck, Rudolf. The latter reaches Chicago tomorrow. I am writing Souchev separately to send me credentials. I impatiently await both the films and photos. I saw Ann Lord Sunda Her syndicate told her to come back after Thanksgiving. I won't wait much longer but I am going to the Post tomorrow where I have an appointment with the editor in chief. We will probably cable you.

I keep sending you Times and Nation and New Masses. I hope they reach you. Saw Mark at F.A.S. bazaar and have an appointment to see him Thursday with the Spanish and other comrades. Our women, like Sara Gruber, Minna, Bertha Epstein have been working like mad and doing everything they can, but this committee has bigger facilities and nationwide connections. I must work with them too, but you bet your life they have to include our people if they are to get our material.

You see the back of the senes strige doesn't escape the vigilance of the Times Madrid correspondent, as the clipping from today's Times indicates. I can't take time this morning to go into that. Also you see you made the foreign section again on Sunday.

Lib came last night. She is bringing me some money next week and I will buy a draft and send it to you care of Mollie unless I get instructions to the contrary. I have written Midge twice -- no answer. Modest broke an appointment with me, but he swears he will look after Emv.

If you leave the 8th, this ought to catch you in Paris on your way to England. Give Mollie and Senya my love. I wrote each of them but have had no reply.

I saw Moe at the hospital again. He looks very well but straightening his stump may take months. His general condition is splendid but like Scully, he suffers constant pain. His appetite is fine. I brought him turkey last week and Pauline's Mother gave me gefullte fish and cookies on Saturday. He looks forward so to visits. Bessie Davidoff goes there nearly every day so does Ida and Babs comes in almost daily from Northport. Their position is very uncertain. Meyer Jacobstein and Nathe Boe through

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy exists as a temporary committee to sponsor the tour throughout Canada and the United States of the Spanish government delegation now on this continent. The functions of this committee include coordination of the work of other bodies, both in the United States and Canada in collecting funds for food, clothing and medical supplies for the democratic government of Spain, and also establishing machinery whereby these materials may be collected and transmitted.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1936] Dec. 1, New York [to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine].—
2 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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20085

are trying to do something to keep it going until
well enough to return to work.

My family are very well. I can think of nothing and do nothing
except work for Spain. All my thoughts are there and I must be
as useful as I can. I so well understand your attitude and feeling,
but oh how glad I am you are there. Isn't it ironic that Murruti
didn't wish to go to the Madrid front? It was such a shock reading
that.

I had a long talk with Borgi last week. He wishes to take a trip
thinks you or Souhy might arrange credentials with CNT and Spanish
authorities here without using proper names- do you think he could
be of use? You may be gone when this word reaches you. I can not
go into details but I think you know and understand. I have his
address and can communicate with him. What do you think?

Did you get article on Sasha? I keep wondering why it takes so
long for my letters to get to you. Writing Midge again.

The boys and Teddy send love. I hold you close, darling.
My hopes and fears and love go with you every step of the way.

Stella

I wrote Emmy and sent her article on Sasha. She will be pleased with
Scully's description of her.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Credential] 1936 Dec. 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [Barcelona] / Generalitat de Catalunya, Commissioner of Propaganda. — 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

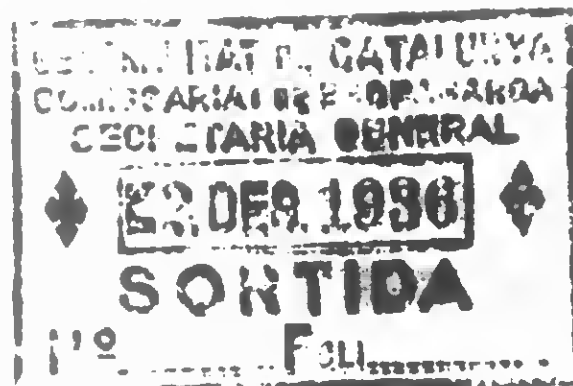
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La camarada :Emma GOLDMAN designada por el Comité Regional de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo en Cataluña, es nombrada oficialmente representante de este organismo en la Oficina de Propaganda de este COMISARIADO, instalada en Londres.

Barcelona, 2 de Diciembre de 1936

POR EL COMISARIADO

Jaume Miravitles



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 3, Barcelona [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona Dec. 3rd '36.

Dear Roger. I wrote you two days ago c/o Stella. I was not sure ~~the~~ whether your address was 31 Union Square or 100 Fifth Ave. To day I received a letter from Collette Steiner with a note from you inclosed and also your address. So now I can write you direct. First I want to thank you for kind tribute. I wish I were the inspiration you say. You see that all my comrades in Spain know anything about me. No person why they should, really. They have been so absorbed in building up a magnificent mass movement they had not time for the work done outside of Spain. Of course there are quite a few to whom my name does stir something. But the rest naturally take me as all the others who come here to help them. That is they need no one in Spain to help them nor to inspire them. They are inspired and they do their work in their own way. But they are desperately in need of help outside of Spain, help in people ~~who~~ who could rouse public opinion in every country and who could raise means to bring the anti-fascist war to a victorious end. So far few who have the will and the ability have come forward. And those who have, proved partisan to every political party except the CNT-F.I. In view of the fact that this is the most important organization in Catalonia and the most revolutionary it is outrageous to ignore it. And yet that has been done.

To give you only one example, thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for the anti-fascist struggle. It all went via the Second International to Litvin and through him to Madrid. Neither Barcelona nor the CNT-F.I. have received a single sou. You will admit this is rank partiality. Bear in mind please that Barcelona has been carrying the entire brunt of feeding Madrid and feeding the hapless victims of Franco, the evacuated women and children who ~~have~~ are arriving here by the thousands. For this and many other reasons the CNT-F.I. is concerned in having adequate representation in different countries. But for this urgent need I should dream of leaving my comrades in danger while I will be in safety in England. The trouble is I am not sufficiently known in England to be of much help. There is only one place in the whole world where I could do much for the anti-fascist struggle and for the CNT-F.I. and that is the United States. But how to get there? My dear, my dear do ~~everything~~ your utmost to get me a visa. I will go to Canada if it has to be, but if at all possible I should like to go from England. I can easily arrange to do so. I am going to England in a double capacity for the CNT-F.I. and under separate credentials from the antifascist commission that is concerning itself with work abroad. Mainly publicity work to counteract the horrible stories that appear in the English and English press. Once I have organized this work I could proceed to the States. You can not imagine how anxious I am to do so. I know I could achieve much more in 3 months than in England.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 3, Barcelona [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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in a year. So will you try hard, please.

three

It will be ~~two~~ years in Feb since I reentered America. It would be wonderful if you were to ~~xxx~~ succeed in helping me back about the same time. I know that you will try your best. This time it will not only be for my sake alone. It will be to help the anti-fascist struggle.

After write me to Paris c/o Nellie Alberine 23, rue des Volontaires Paris XV. I am to leave Monday. But it may not be for another week. And I will have to remain in Paris at least a week. My mail will be forwarded to London. Just now I cannot give you a definite address.

Affectionately always.

Emma

Please to think of it you might write me to London, c/o Ralph Perry 111, South Molton Street London W.1.

Please call on, tell me how you are. I am very well. I am very glad to hear from you.

We are still with Emma. I am in times of nervousness ~~is~~ is much nicer & less nervous, not like H.S. &.

Sincerely yours

Lucretia

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 3 [Barcelona to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

December 3, 1936

Dear Roger, I wrote to you two days ago a/2 Stella. I was not sure whether you had received it or not. Today I received a letter from Stella with a note from you enclosed and also your address. So now I can write you again. First I want to thank you for kind letters. I plan I want to inspire you say. You see, that all my comrades in Spain have anything to do with me. No reason why they should, really. They have been so absorbed in building a magnificent mass movement, they had no time for the work done outside of Spain. Of course there are quite a few to whom my name does say something. But they naturally take me at all the others who come here to help. Fact is, they need no one in Spain to help them or inspire them. They are inspired and they do their work in their own way. But they are desperately in need of help outside of Spain. Help in people who could raise public opinion in every country and who could raise means to bring the antifascist war to a victorious end. So far few who have the will and the ability have come forward. And those who have proved partisan a to every political part except the CNT-FAI. In view of the fact that this is the most important organization in Catalonia and the most revolutionary, it is outrageous to ignore it. And yet that has been done.

To give you only one example: thousands of pounds and dollars have been raised for the antifascist struggle. It all went via the second International to Cierine and through him to Madrid. Neither Barcelona nor the CNT-FAI have received a single sou. You will admit, this is rank partiality. Bear in mind please that Barcelona has been carrying the entire burden of feeding Madrid and feeding the hapless victims of Franco, the evacuated women and children who are arriving here by the thousands. For this and many other reasons the CNT-FAI is concerned in having adequate representation in different countries. But for this urgent need I should not dream of leaving my comrades in danger while I will be in safety in England. The trouble is I am not sufficiently known in England to be of much help. There is only one place in the world where I could do much for the antifascist struggle and that is for the CNT-FAI, and that is the United States. But how to get there? My dear, my dear, do your utmost to get me a visa. I will go to Canada if it has to be. But if at all possible I should like to go from England. I can easily arrange to do so. I am going to England in a double capacity, for the CNT-FAI and under separate credentials from the Antifascist Commission that is concerning itself with work abroad. Mainly public work to counteract the horrible stories that appear in the French and English press. Once I have organized this work, I could proceed to the States. You can not imagine how anxious I am to do so. I know, I would achieve much more in 6 months, than in England in a year. So will you try hard, please.

It will be 3 years in February since I reentered America. It would be wonderful if you were to succeed in helping me back about the same time. I know that you will try your best. This time it will not only be for my sake alone. It will be to help the antifascist struggle.

Better write me to Stella c/o Willie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires, Paris XV. I am to leave next Monday. And I will have to remain in Paris at least one week. My mail will be forwarded to London. Just now I can not give you a definite address.

Affectionately always Emma Goldman

Come to think of it you might write me to London, c/o Ralph Barr, 106 Gennings Road, London E 12.

Don't call up Stella and give her my love. I have no time to write to her this time.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 4, Barcelona [to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

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10770

Barcelona Dec. 4th 36.

My dear Van. Your letter of Nov 31st with dollar inclosed arrived here only yesterday. Why it should take so long I do not know. But as you see it did. The wonder is that the dollar arrived. Usually it does not, if sent in a plain letter. I believe you're coming registered, I did not see the envelope. The letter was given me for reply because comrade Bouchy in charge of the ~~reception~~ section is away. So this is to be an acknowledgment of your letter, the money and at the same time a letter from me.

And so your recognized the writing of "a little old lady from St Tropez". Why exactly old? In this country one can not afford to be old. For it is difficult enough for the young to continue under all the difficulties and tribulations. "The Old" could not survive it at all. Its alight dear Van. I know you did not have in mind my spirit which has never been more alive and vigorous.

Yes, I have been doing the Bulletin. It was not a very gratifying job. First because it had to be ~~a reproduction~~ a reproduction of the Spanish Bulletin, and secondly because it had to go through two translations, from the Spanish into German or French thence into English. My lack of knowledge of Spanish has been a source of daily misery to me. True, I found many Spanish comrades who speak French. That was a comfort and a help. Still it cannot be the same as the native tongue, in the case of Catalonia almost exclusively Catalan which even many Spaniards outside of Catalonia do not speak. Still, I have managed very well with French. It is laughable yet true, I spoke more French since I came here nearly three months ago than in years in France. In the latter I had dealings only with some neighbors and the trades people, a very limited French indeed. Here it was the only language by which I could make myself understood. In other words I had to come to Spain to practice my French, funny isn't it? While it helped much in getting at the situation here it did not help me much with the Bulletin. So I had to have the Spanish text translated and then work it over into English, a process much more difficult than original writing.

You might well ask why I did not fill the Bulletin with original stuff. The answer to this is that I was in Spain dancing on one foot as it was. ~~When I came here~~ When I came here it was in the hope of being able to organize an ANGLO-AMERICAN NEWS SERVICE AND BUREAU. On arrival I found that the comrades thought I would stay here a short time to see the lay of the land and then return to England for a publicity campaign in behalf of the anti-Fascist struggle and the revolution. I assured them I was quite willing to carry out their desire but that I ~~was~~ could not orientate myself in ~~such~~ a country so uprooted in a few weeks. The result was that the comrades gave me every facility to travel and go about. That in return made it impossible for me to do much original writing. Actually I had to do the Bulletin in snatches. As to the bureau I had in mind that was altogether out of the question. I am not sorry because I had the opportunity to ~~see~~ travel from town to town and village to village and to see more of the country and the constructive work going on everywhere than if I had sat in my room in the Comité for a year. So overwhelming did I find the efforts of our comrades and their libertarian spirit I hate like thunder to leave Spain now. I thousand times rather would I remain permanently, or until the struggle has been triumphant. Indeed I would rather go down with the comrades in case of defeat, and there will be no defeat, than to live in safety in Europe. But there is no way out I have to go to England. The comrades expect that of me and I cannot disappoint them. So I am leaving the end of next week. At least I think I am. Everything moves slowly here. One never knows when one will be able to get away. But I am rather certain it will be next Thursday.

I will leave with a heavy heart. It will mean leaving the comrades in danger while I will be in safety under "His Majesty's" protection. I can say without hesitations I would prefer the

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 4, Barcelona [to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

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3

10772

...to what. I asked Roger whether I would again have to go to Canada first, or if it can be so arranged that Wash notify the British Consul in London. I am quite willing to sail for Canada if that will facilitate and hasten the getting of the visa. But I would have to have some certainty that the permission from Wash will be forthcoming. ~~Because~~ Because I would not go to C. on a mere chance. I would rather return to Spain when I have begun the campaign ~~for~~ of publicity. Let me hear from you directly you have talked to R.

You have neglected me considerably. Do you not think so dear Van? But there is time to mend your ways. From now on I expect to hear from you more often and regularly as ~~as~~ I have for some time. Believe it or not I miss hearing from you. Your friendship was very precious to me. It was painful to see the change it had undergone, at least externally so. For I cannot believe you ~~are~~ no longer feel the old friendliness and the old need to express as you have in the past. So please write soon.

My dear I can only send you the 9th issue of the Bulletin. ~~It~~ was the first under my editorship. There are no copies left of those that appeared prior to the 9th, none to spare anyhow. Between you and me and the lamp post I can tell you that you have missed nothing. The bulletins were perfectly empty and in an atrocious English. I fear it will be the same when I go. There is no one here among the foreign comrades who knows English well enough, or has the necessary judgment to continue the Bulletin as it should be. Well perhaps someone will come along.

Goodby my dear. I was awfully glad to see your writing and your interest in the gallant fight our comrades are making.

Love to Sadie and yourself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 5, Barcelona [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle? N.Y.?] / Emma [Goldman].— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona Dec. 5th 36.

Dear Harry. You will see by the inclosed copies of letters to Roger and Van that I am about to leave for England. But in as much as everything moves here slowly I might be here until the New Year. Our Spanish comrades bless them are quick on decisions. But not so quick on carrying them out. True, they go ahead with their work any how. But one wonders often that they do not arrive too late. I was to leave Monday. This has been postponed until Thursday. But I am not at all sure it will be then. I only know the comrades want me to go to England. I have promised I would but the longer I delay leaving the less I want to go and the worse the mess in London I will have to step into. Well, one learns patience here I can tell you.

You will see by my letter to Roger that I have asked him to try for a visa for me. He told Stella he thought it ought not to be difficult to obtain one. I am delighted he feels that way, and since he has himself suggested it he will probably be willing to get busy at once. In any event I want you to see Roger. You remember you wrote me you would help to bring me back. Please do. I know I could do much for Spain in America and something for myself as well. For the chances in Europe to be heard are getting fewer and fewer. There is unlimited opportunities in Spain. But the dreadful handicap is ~~that~~ my ignorance of the language. I cannot tell you how very handicap and exasperating that has been. Yes, many comrades and Spaniards everywhere speak French. Still it is not enough. Not for the kind of work I could do here. In America I would at least not be dumb and as it is not to be a permanent return, (I'd give anything except barter my ideas ~~if~~ if it were for a permanent stay) I will be able to go back to Spain and help the comrades in their struggle. You must remember that the anti/fascist war and the revolutionary reconstruction our Spanish comrades have before them are not all of their colossal task. There is the education and emancipation of woman, the new approach to the child, to common ordinary questions of health. All that has been sadly neglected by our comrades. Perhaps they had to concentrate all their energies on the economic struggle they could not reach out into many directions. But that does not alter the low status of woman and the depressing ignorance of method of the care of woman and the child. This field alone is large enough ~~for~~ to keep one busy, and there are others. Yes, I will go back to Spain. But first I would like to get to A. to present the CNT-FAI in its true and heroic light. Naturally, the purpose of my return need not be made public. The main thing is to get the visa. Please dear Harry get busy and write me after you have seen Roger.

affectionately *Emma*

Greetings to Leah and Minna as well as the comrades.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1936 Dec. 5, Barcelona, Spain to Harry Kelly, New Rochelle? N.Y.?
(enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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December, 3rd, 1936

Dear Roger, I wrote to you two days ago o/o Stella. I was not sure whether your address was 31 Union Square or 100 Fifth Ave. Today I received a letter from Mollie Steiner with a note from you enclosed and also your address. So now I can write you direct. First I want to thank you for kind tributes. I wish I were the inspiration you say. You see that all my comrades in Spain know anything about me. No reason why they should, really. They have been so absorbed in building up a magnificent mass movement, they had no time for the work done outside of Spain. Of course there are quite a few to whom my name does say something. But the rest naturally take me as all the others who come here to help. Fact is, they need no one in Spain to help them or inspire them. They are inspired and they do their work in their own way. But they are desperately in need of help outside of Spain help in people who could rouse public opinion in every country and who could raise means to bring the antifascist war to a victorious end. So far few, who have the will and the ability have come forward. And those who have proved partisans to every political part except the CNT-FAI. In view of the fact that this is the most important organization in Catalonia and the most revolutionary, it is outrageous to ignore it. And yet that has been done.

To give you only one example thousands of pounds ~~have~~ and dollars have been raised for the antifascist struggle. It all went via the second International to Citrine and through him to Madrid. Neither Barcelona nor the CNT-FAI have received a single sou. You will admit, this is rank partiality. Bear in mind please that Barcelona has been carrying the entire burden of feeding Madrid and feeding the hapless victims of Franco, the evacuated women and children who are arriving here by the thousands. For this and many other reasons the CNT-FAI is concerned in having adequate representation in different countries. But for this urgent need I should not dream of leaving my comrades in danger while I will be in safety in England. The trouble is I am not sufficiently known in England to be of much help. There is only one place in the world where I could do much for the antifascist struggle and ~~that~~ for the CNT-FAI, and that is the United States. But how to get there? My dear, my dear, do your utmost to get me a visa. I will go to Canada if it has to be. ~~But if at all possible I should like to go from England. I can easily arrange to do so. I am going to England in a double capacity, for the CNT-FAI and under separate credentials from the Antifascist Commission that is concerning itself with work abroad. Mainly publicity work to counteract the horrible stories that appear in the French and English press. Once I have organized this work, I could proceed to the States. You can not imagine how anxious I am to do so. I know, I would achieve much more in A. in a month, than in England in a year. So will you try hard, please.~~

It will be 3 years in February since I reentered America. It would be wonderful if you were to succeed in helping me back about the same time. I know that you will try your best. This time it will not only be for my sake alone. It will be to help the antifascist struggle.

Letter write me to Marie o/o Mollie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires, Paris XV. I am to leave next Monday. And I will have to remain in Paris at least one week. My mail will be forwarded to London. Just now I can not give you a definite address.

Affectionately always

Don't think of it you might write me to London, o/o Ralph Barr, 106 Conningham Road, London W 12. Please call up Stella and give her my love. I have no time to write to her this week.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 5, Barcelona [to] Emma Go[l]dman, [Barcelona] / P. Estrany. —
1 p.; 24 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



CRUZ ROJA ESPAÑOLA
COMITE LOCAL
DE
BARCELONA 5-12-36

Ms. EMMA GOLDMAN
C i u d a d

Querida Compañera:

Me es grato manifestarle que atendiendo a sus indicaciones, puede desde luego la Srta. Beryl Suttan Chan residente en Inglaterra venir a Barcelona y a su llegada quedará admitida y colocada como enfermera en el Hospital de la Cruz Roja de Barcelona y bajo nuestra custodia. Por lo tanto queda complacido su deseo.

De Adjunto nota de material y demás que nos es necesario para las atenciones del Hospital y del frente, por si a la Srta. Beryl, le fuera posible traerlo de Inglaterra o Francia.

Me es grato ofrecerme respetuosamente a sus órdenes.

EL PRESIDENTE

Signado P. ESTRANY

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1936 Dec. 5] New York-[to] Emma Goldman, Paris / Roger [Baldwin].—
1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
METROPOLIS BUILDING, 31 UNION SQUARE WEST
NEW YORK CITY


Miss Emma Goldman
c/o Alperin
22 rue de Volontiers
Paris, XV

Dear Emma:

Stella tells me that you are anxious to come back to the United States and do some campaigning on behalf of Spain. She asks me what the prospects are for your admission. I told her that I thought you were good for a visit that would not involve the government in defending you against attack on the ground of political activity.

We are still up against the same situation in Congress, with the Department of Labor endeavoring to get through a bill giving it discretion, and therefore sensitive to any criticism from Congressional sources. I think if you were to come to exhibit Catalonian art and lecture on it and use the proceeds of your lecture for Spain, there might be a chance of getting you a visa. There is no chance of getting it directly through an American consul. It would have to be arranged with the Department of Labor in advance. That we cannot do until Miss Perkins knows whether or not she is to be continued as Secretary of Labor. The President will be back the latter part of this month and I presume his cabinet appointments will be shortly announced thereafter. I'll take it up with them just as soon as I feel I'll get any attention.

Yours ever, with warm regard



RNB/cha

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 5 [New York to] Emma Goldman, [Paris] / [Roger Baldwin]. —
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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December 5, 1936

Miss Emma Goldman
c/o Alberin
22 rue de Volontiers
Paris, 11

Dear Emma:

Stella tells me that you are anxious to come back to the United States and do some campaigning on behalf of Spain. She asks me what the prospects are for your admission. I told her that I thought you were good for a visit that would not involve the government in defending you against attack on the ground of political activity.

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Yours ever, with warm regard

Copy sent to Harry Kelly
12/15/36
RNB/ehs

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 7, Barcelona [to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 28 x 18 cm.

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Barcelona Dec. 7th 36.

Dear Comrade. Your letter of Oct 26th was much delayed in trans-
mission and when it arrived I was away on tour to different villages
to inspect the collectivised farms and also to the front to see our
militia men. I am sorry of the delay. But it cannot be helped.

I regret deeply that I have also delayed the contribu-
tion to the 15th anniversary of the first news about the terrible
plight of our comrades in Russia, comrade Chapiro, our dead comrade
Alexander Berkman and I gave to the outside world. Living in the
trenches of a besieged country, besieged by the Fascist pest in and
outside Spain it is impossible to concentrate ones thoughts on any
thing else except the events the heroic Spanish people are living
through. In my case it is doubly difficult to think, or write about
anything removed from the danger and suffering of a whole people
because I am here for only a short time and I must use every hour
to acquaint myself as widely as possible with all that our comrades
have already accomplished and hope to achieve for the future. At
least I will have authentic material to substantiate whatever I will
have to say when I go to England. However, I am inclosing a short
article for your anniversary number. I only hope I will not prove
too late.

Speaking about the trenches and danger of ~~the~~ life
here I wish to say that our comrades are taxed beyond their strength
working often 18 hours out of twenty four. It would therefore be use-
less for me to ask them to contribute articles for the anniversary
issue about the political prisoners in Russia. You and the other
comrades must realize that the Spanish Revolution is entirely a
mass action. There are no leaders, or very few indeed at the helm
of the Revolution as well as the anti-Fascist struggle. In other
words only the simplest workers are in charge of the fate of the
Revolution. Now while this means less danger for the Revolution
because the ~~CNT-FAI~~ has few intellectuals it is on the other hand
a drawback because while being marvelous fighters the Spanish comrades
are not very handy with the pen. Moreover they are too hard worked
to write even if they had the ability. Of course we have some very
brilliant comrades, Fredrica Montseny the ablest Anarchist and fighter
there is Santillan, Oliver and others. But all these people are swamped
by their duties, some of them like Montseny is in Valencia far from
here. In short I could ask no one for articles because I knew it would
be futile. Please understand it was not indifference on my
part.

There is another reason why it was useless to ask our lead-
ing comrades to write about the political prisoners in Russia, a very
painful reason. It is that since Russia, by no means out of sympathy
with the Spanish people, but for ~~her~~ diplomatic reasons of her own
has begun to send arms some of our comrades have fallen on Stalins
neck as a long lost brother. I am quite certain that our comrades
here would feel that they cannot attack Russia publicly for the
present. And what is even more to the point they would make them-
selves ridiculous if they were now to show up the continued crimes
and injustice of Russia after some of the comrades spoke and wrote
so glowingly about the solidarity of the Soviet government in send-
ing arms. Please do not think all the comrades agreed with such a
procedure. Of course not. But it was done unfortunately and therefore
I did not even ask for contributions on the political prisoners in
Russia.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 7, Barcelona [to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 28 x 18 cm.

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2

Please dear comrade bear in mind that this part of my letter is not for publication. And it is the same about your suggestion of publicity in re the funds collected in America and England. The so called united front has tied the hands of our comrades. And as long as Franco is at the throat of the Spanish masses and our comrades the latter can do nothing ~~tax~~ that would cause a break. This would only mean grist to Franco's mill. Our people simply can not afford it. So please do not make this public. However I have induced the COMITAT REGIONAL to give me a statement in regard to the money subscribed in A. and England of which they had received nothing. I sent that statement over two months ago to Mark Mratskny. I do not get the Frankfurter Stimme regularly. I therefore do not now whether the statement appeared or not.

Please do not judge our comrades here too hastily. Bear in mind that life is more exacting than theories. Not that I can agree with some of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. But being on the spot I can understand them. Perhaps I would be much more critical than I have been since my arrival if I had not the deepest faith in the integrity of our comrades and their capacity to return to the right road though they may have wandered off for a time. The history of Spanish Anarchism proves that the ideas are so ingrained in the very texture of old and young comrades nothing on earth will eradicate Anarchism and Libertarian Communism from the minds and hearts of the Spanish workers, yes and peasants. As I have already written a number of comrades in America. Whatever the few at the head of the CNT-FAI may do the Revolution is safe with the Spanish proletariat and with the peasants. I know whereof I speak because I have covered the territory of Catalonia, Aragon and the Levante, I have spoken to all sorts of people, I have seen the marvelous constructive work begun. I KNOW THE REVOLUTION IS SAFE WITH THE MASSES. And that is all that matters for the present. In the face of the ~~grotesque~~ murderous Fascist danger we have no right to find fault. We must help our comrades materially and morally. We must believe in the wonderful Spanish people. This alone matters now.

Dear comrade I am surprised to find on your list the names of people long dead. It will make a terrible impression that ~~young~~ Anarchists in A. have remained ignorant of the death of Georg Brandes, Schnitzler, and Israel Zangwill. It is also too bad that you have addressed Gerhard Hauptmann who has sold his soul to Hitler. And not the least it will make anything but a good impression that some of the names have been misspelled.

It now seems definite that I am leaving here Thursday for England via Paris. I hate to leave the comrades to their super human task and to the danger of Franco's slaughtering hirelings. But the comrades insist on my going to organize a publicity campaign to counteract the hideous lies in the British press. So I am going. Perhaps the miracle will happen and I might also get into the States for a while. I know I could achieve more for the Spanish anti-Fascist battle and the Revolution in one month in A. than in six in England. But that is in the lap of the stars. Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mandat[e, Authorizing Emma Goldman to Represent the CNT-FAI in England] 1936
Dec. 7, Barcelona / Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña.—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña

Secretaría

Ms/.

VIA LAYETANA, 32 y 34

BARCELONA 7 Diciembre.1936.

TELÉFONO N.º 17414

M A N D A T O ,

Nosotros de la C.N.T. y la P.A.I.,

AUTORIZAMOS a nuestra compañera EMMA GOLDMAN, el salir para Inglaterra, para dar comienzo a una campaña de publicidad en pro de la lucha que se lleva a efecto contra el fascismo en España, y en pro del derecho de los trabajadores, para organizar su vida económica por medios federativos y libertarias.

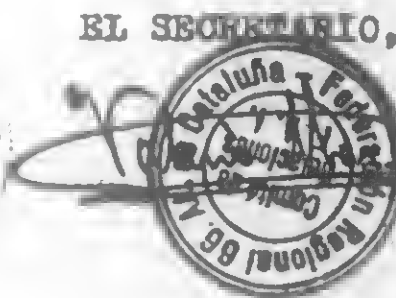
AUTORIZAMOS, también a la camarada EMMA GOLDMAN, para visitar todos los organismos obreros y organizaciones liberales, con el fin de proporcionarles material en inglés, sobre la verdadero situación de nuestra lucha.
Y también la camarada Emma Goldman, está autorizada para recaudar fondos, y para aceptar todos los fondos que sean colectados para la gran lucha de las masas españolas.

ROGAMOS A TODOS LOS AMIGOS DE LA LIBERTAD, y de la emancipación económica de las masas, que presten toda asistencia posible y necesaria a la camarada EMMA GOLDMAN, en sus esfuerzos por la liberación del pueblo español,

Fraternalmente,

POR EL COMITÉ REGIONAL,

EL SECRETARIO,



IMPORTANTE

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mandat[e, Authorizing Emma Goldman to Represent the CNT-FAI in England,
19]36 Dec. 7, Barcelona / Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña.—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña

Secretaría

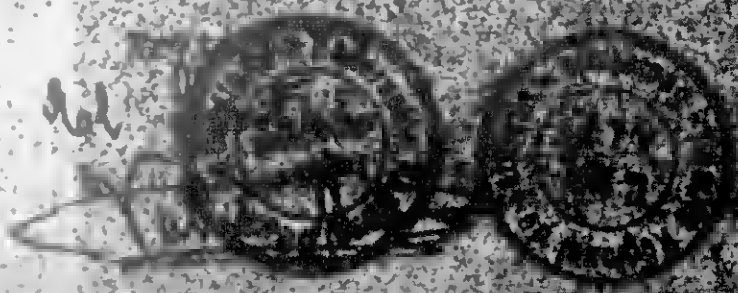
VIA LAYETANA, 32 y 34
BARCELONA Dec. 7th 36.
TELÉFONO N.º 17414

M A N D A T .

We, of the C.N.T.- F A I, authorise our comrade **EMMA GOLDMAN** to proceed to England to begin a campaign of publicity in **behalf** of the battle we are waging against Fascism and for the rights of the workers **to** organise their economic life along federalist and libertarian lines.

We further authorise comrade **GOLDMAN** to visit all labor and liberal bodies for the purpose of supplying them with authentic material in English about the real state of our struggle. At the same time our comrade is instructed to make appeals for ~~financial~~ financial support to enable the anti-Fascist war to go on until Fascism has been exterminated in Spain. Comrade Goldman has the right to accept whatever contributions will be obtained for the heroic fight of the Spanish masses.

We ask all friends of freedom and of the emancipation of the masses to extend help and assistance to comrade **EMMA GOLDMAN** in her efforts for the liberation of Spain.



The Emma Goldman Papers

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Mandat[e, Authorizing Emma Goldman to Represent the CNT-FAI in England,
19]36 Dec. 7, Barcelona / Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña. -
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña

Secretaría

VIA LAYETANA, 32 y 34

BARCELONA Dec. 7th 36.

TELÉFONO N.º 17414

M A N D A T .

We, of the C.N.T.- F A I, authorise our comrade ~~EMMA~~
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masses.

We ask all friends of freedom and of the economic
emancipation of the masses to extend help and assistance
to comrade ~~EMMA~~ GOLDMAN in her efforts for the liberation
of Spain.

Fraternally

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 8, Barcelona [to] Michael [A. Cohn, Nice?] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.



~~Dear Michael~~ Barcelona Dec. 8th 36.

Dear Michael. Mollie wrote me some time ago that you are disappointed because I have not written you. I call that down right impudence. Here are you a man of leisure, living in tranquility and comforts. And here am I in the midsts of battle, Revolution and intense activity. Don't you think you should have written me and not I you? Besides have you even taken the trouble to send me your address in Nice? It was only after Mollie and AUNTIE sent your address that I learned where you are. Well, we need not wrangle who neglected whom. I only want to know that I was too absorbed in the intense life here, and going about the countryside and villages to have much time left for extensive propaganda. Besides you were put on the list of the Bulletin and Mollie also must have kept you informed ~~them~~ of the contents of my letters to her. *you to*

This is my last letter from Barcelona. I will mail it in Perpignan the French side when I get there Thursday afternoon. Yes, I am leaving the scene of action. I do so most unwillingly and with a very heavy heart. My stay here has not all been milk and honey. Life in a revolutionary country is always hard and difficult. And there are many specks on the political horizon of the comrades here. But with all that I wanted passionately to remain and help the comrades in their great struggle. The very thought of leaving makes me ill because it means leaving the comrades in danger while I will be under the "protection" of His Majesty's government. But the comrades have no one to help them in England, or any other Anglo Saxon country. They want me to go. So there is no way out. Unless I can get to the States before long I will return here in the spring. I hope and pray the anti fascist war will be over. For if it should continue long it will drain the life blood of the Revolution. You know yourself what it means to begin with compromises. There is never an end to it.

Speaking of .. you will see by the inclosed of my two letters to Roger Baldwin that he has offered to try for another visa, this time for six months. Nothing would suit me better than to be able to do some work for Spain in the States. But I dare not hope too much though Roger is too cautious to say things lightly. And it was he who told Stella he thought it would not be difficult to get permission for my return for another visit. Knock wood.

AUNTIE was to proceed to England where I am to join her. I wonder has she gone, and has she taken Sasha's stamps from you to bring with her? I asked her to do so. There may be a lot of mail at Mollie's for me because I wrote her not to send them on as I did not know exactly how soon I would leave here. I suppose I will find my mail when I reach Paris. I had several letters from Amy. The same trouble, new doctors, new X-rays, new talk of operations. And all the time no visa to go to her people. I wonder why it takes so long. For E. has never entertained a single social or political thought in her life. Do you ever see her? It is ironic, the poor kid now clings to me like clay, to me whom she could never bear before. But then I am the next of kin of Sasha. It is natural she should cling to me. The trouble is I cannot be of much help especially now with all my thoughts absorbed on the bitter struggle of our comrades. If only she is already in Czechoslovakia. I suppose I will also find letters from her.

Write me c/o Mollie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires Paris XV.

Affectionate greetings to Syd and your son.

With love.

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001134

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 12, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Barcelona] / Michael [A. Cohn]. —
5 p. ; 21 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19680

6, Knight, 6

Nice, 12/12/36.

Dear Emma,

I just got your good letter dated Barcelona
12/8, and hasten to write you.

Impudence to expect a line in reply to one's
letters? Absurd!

In the midst of battle, revolution?

Reason enough not to expect you write my
letters. But when you speak of not being
able to write because of my change of
residence, I fail to understand you. Since
you know that I must have had cause
enough to change my address at the Venice P.O.
surely you didn't have to wait for Mollie
and Auntie for my new address.

Of course I appreciate the fact that you
were preoccupied with more impor-
tant work than private correspondence.

Why I failed to get the German Bulletin
the last 2 months I am at a loss to know.
I used to get it regularly before your
arrival in Barcelona.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001134

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 12, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Barcelona] / Michael [A. Cohn]. —
5 p.; 21 × 13 cm.

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19638

2.

Now written them directly and at all times.
no response or for.

I liked it very much, as it was splendidly edited. Hope it hasn't been discontinued.

Personally, I think you can do more in England, and, of course, in USA, than in Spain. And people there are right in sending you to London.

As to propaganda. Truth to tell, I doubt if you can achieve much there. Of course this is not written to dampen your spirits. But neither you nor any one else can read the fascist press. They know they are lying, and maliciously so too.

The Daily Herald, the Manchester Guardian and the News Chronicle have splendid write-ups and editorials almost daily. Have you seen "Behind the Spanish Barons" by John Langdon Davis? A splendid piece of work.

It's published by Martin Secker & Warburg.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 12, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Barcelona] / Michael [A. Cohn]. — 5 p.; 21 × 13 cm.

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19636 3.

I just got it a few days ago and
am enjoying reading it. How Ann
Chapman could have said more.

Read it by all means. If you can
manage to get one of cheap edition
when in London, it would be great.

Perhaps this could be done with other
collections of articles in N.Y. Herald
Paris edition, written by Ingies, or of
the Guardian & London Herald.

I have written a series of articles for
the "Forward", some for the F.A.S. and some
for the English press. Outside of the F.A.S.
I have not received a single news-
paper from America. So I can't tell
what has been published of mine.

Am enclosing one clipping from the
N.Y. Post I got yesterday from Jessie.

I feel certain Washington will give
another chance. Roosevelt is much
more liberal: minded than before and
he stands ^{out} for organized labor and
even radical opinions much more.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 12, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Barcelona] / Michael [A. Cohn]. — 5 p. ; 21 × 13 cm.

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19687 4.

Rudolph too has better chances to remain
he is now on his legs again.

Auntie is in London and has taken
the stamps with her.

Dr. Orel has been operated upon here.
a very serious intestinal operation.
I used visited him often at the hospital.
He is an out and out fascist, and
an active one too. For that matter,
Auntie is no more radical than
he. He told me positively that he is
a fascist. I don't care. What do you
know it or you like it I wouldn't
put too much faith in her either. She
told me she has always been a
staunch friend of his and so.
Sometimes it is healthy to be
disillusioned...

As to Emy. She is the clinging
kind. To you, to me, to my Venetian
rentier, to Dick, to everybody, if
she can get something out of them.
Disillusioned again? Sorry.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001134

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 12, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Barcelona] / Michael [A. Cohn]. —
5 p. ; 21 x 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1968 J.

Byd and I, Parsons, Mrs. Lewis,
her dearest friends Anna, (bro-
sister) all have shaken her like
a bad penny.

Got a card written by her and
Hobbes from Vienna last week.

Am enclosing it.

Please return my clipping after
reading it. Expect to get some
more these days.

Let me hear from you.
Wish you the best of luck.

Love from Byd and
— myself to yourself
and the fellowworkers.

Ever yours
Michael

P.S. I heard A. is organizing an army of three
hundred thousand for February. Anything to that?
Is it true that 4000 active comrades and ^{other} anti-
fascists were murdered in their homes on the
night of the 19th July at Jerez?

The Emma Goldman Papers

881023121

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 15, Paris [to Eusebio] Carbó, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

Paris Dec. 15, 1936.

Cher Camarade Carbo,

Je suis obligée de rester à Paris jusqu'au 23 courant. C'est parce que le vernissage de l'exposition préparée par nos camarades Somo-Domela, sera le 22 Décembre. Je voudrais la voir parce que ça peut m'aider pour l'exposition que nous allons faire à Londres. De ceux que j'ai vu, je peu vous assurer que nos camarades ont ^{réalisé} fait un oeuvre d'art. Je voudrais bien avoir ces documents pour Londres, naturellement après l'exposition à Paris. J'ai parlé avec Shapiro concernat ce sujet, mais il est sur l'impression que cette exposition doit allée en suède d'abord et ensuite à Londres. Quoiqu'il est vrai que la Suède a contribué beaucoup d'argent pour la lutte contre le Fascisme en Espagne, toutefois je considère que l'Angleterre ^{est} plus important comme pays, et nous devons faire l'impossible pour gagner la sympathie des Anglais pour notre cause. Peut-être notre camarade Alexandre changera son opinion avant mon départ. Je l'espère, mais je ne le crois pas. Par conséquent, je vous prie de bien vouloir tenir votre promesse et m'envoyer les photos ~~par~~ le plutôt possible.

Cher Carbo, vous m'avez promis d'envoyer une lettre avec des indications pour Darling et Stewart. Il me semble que précisément maintenant, quand les Communistes tachent d'imposer leur opinion dans l'affaire PCUM, ~~ils~~ nous ^{avons} ~~donnant~~ plus de raison que jamais de vouloir déplacer Stewart. MAIS LES INSTRUCTIONS DOIVENT VENIR DIRECTEMENT DE BARCELONA. MOI MEME? JE NE POURAIS PAS LE FAIRE.

Aussi, vous m'avez promis une lettre avec les indications

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[Letter] 1936 Dec. 15, Paris [to Eusebio] Carbó, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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II



concernant le bureau à Londres.

Qui sera le trésorier? Qui aura la voie décisive dans les questions concernant des méthodes de propagande.

Je vous serais très reconnaissante si vous me ~~répondriez~~ donerez une réponse sitôt possible. Envoyer moi la réponse au bureau à Londres et une copie à notre cam. Mollie Alperine, 23, Rue des Volontaires, Paris -15e- France.

Une bonne poignée des mains

P.S. Voici mon adresse personnelle à Londres:

Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Rd. West Kensington
L o n d o n W. 14. Angleterre.

Je trouve que je n'ai pas des grandes photos de Funerille de Durruti.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1936 Dec. 15, Paris to Eusebio] Carbó, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 20 x 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.



Dear comrade Carbo.

I find I will have to remain in Paris until the 23rd of this month. It is because the exhibition Nollie and Senia are preparing together with comrade Domela ~~Nollie and Senia~~ will be opened the 23rd. I want very much to see it as it will help me for the London exhibition. From the few things I have already seen I can tell you that our comrades Flechine and Domela have achieved a real work of art. I wish I could get all the material for London after the exhibition closes here. I have asked Chapiro to promise to send it to me Jan 2nd when it will finish in Paris. But he has an idea Sweden is more important than England. True, Sweden has contributed a lot of money to the struggle in Spain. But you will agree that British public opinion is more important than Swedish. And to gain British sympathy for the Spanish struggle it is necessary to do a lot of publicity work. Well, perhaps Chapiro will yet change his mind.

Dear comrade you promised me more photographs and the letter of instructions for Darling and Stewart. I should think now that the Communists are trying to dictate terms in re the PCUR to the CNT it is doubly

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[Letter, 1936 Dec. 15, Paris to Eusebio] Carbó, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 15 cm.

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necessary to get rid of the Communist Stewart. And I think it ought to be done from ~~xxxxxx~~ Barcelona. It will be impossible ~~for~~ for me to dismiss Stewart, and to wait until we find a Labor man to represent the Socialist side in the bureau will I fear take too long. Meanwhile Stewart works in the name of his Party. I simply cannot stand for that.

You promised a letter of direction regarding the arrangement of the London bureau. Who is to act as treasurer and who is to have the decisive voice in the methods of propaganda to be undertaken. Please, do not delay the letter so long. Send it to the London Office and if possible send me a copy to Mollie Alperine. If you have more important material that I might use for the exhibition please rush it to me to the London Office.

My own address in London will be 18, Castletown Rd. West Kensington London W.14.

Salud

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36, Dec. 15, Toronto [to] Emma [Goldman, Barcelona] / A[hrne] Thorn. —
2 p.; 19 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

375 Marlham St
Toronto Dec. 15.26

Dear Conrad Emma,

I thank you for your letter from St. Francis of Aug. 20th. I did not answer on that letter immediately for two reasons.

First I wanted to get in touch with Carl. Then I knew you were quite busy in Barcelona and I hesitated to take you time with my letter.

Mr. H. Halton who interviewed you in Barcelona called that: "grand old Emma Goldman is working twenty hours a day." That's why I did not want to make you work more.

But now there is a question that is hammering in my head and demands to be asked. I do not know if you are still in Barcelona, because in your last letter you wrote you spoke of leaving for England. I hope you did not leave yet. England seems to me to be in an improper mood to receive

about this Pierre van Paesssen affair. The communists, because of his anti-Hall attitude are accusing him of Trotskyism and of never having been in Spain but sent his forced articles from Paris. Other rumors have it that Roman Catholics succeeded in having his articles taken off the Star. Some say that he is fighting on the side of the antifascists. I wonder if you, Emma, could find out anything about him. His articles were magnificent anarchist propaganda. I wrote to him, but he did not answer.

To Carl I sent a few letters but he did not answer. Last week I finally succeeded in locating him. He is all right. He worked most of the time out of town. I gave him the copies of your two letters and also my letter to read.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36, Dec. 15, Toronto [to] Emma [Goldman, Barcelona] / A[hrne] Thorn. —
2 p.; 19 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

about such a trifle as the Spanish revolution. Just think of it! King Edward, one of whose titles is "Defender of the Faith" combed the lamely wedded wife of his neighbor, forgetting all about the commandment of "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Poor little five-foot-four Mrs. Simpson shook the sun-revered-empire to its foundations.

Before I come to my question I shall try to cover the points raised in your letter.

Herre van Paarsen openly and quite sincerely apologized in a subsequent article in the Star. But even if he wouldn't have done so, his splendid articles from Spain would have been a sufficient although indirect apology. But unfortunately his articles stopped some two months ago. We, all of us, have phoned and written to the Star, but we cannot get the Star back. Toronto is filled with rumors

If he has not done it already he probably will write to you soon.

We probably get all the information about our activities here from Dorothy. Therefore I shall proceed with my question.

Do you think Emma, that our Spanish comrades acted in accordance with our theory and philosophy when they entered the governments in Barcelona and Madrid?

I have a tough job in trying to explain and justify the action of our comrades. My political opponents rejoice in the fact that the anarchists have at last become reasonable and participate in politics. My own comrades, some of them at least, think that the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists have betrayed our ideal. What do you, as an experienced, say?

With the best wishes and kindest greetings from Paula, the comrades and from:

A. Thornberg.

1937

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 16, Paris [to Marcelino] Garcia, [Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

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Paris, ^{Paris de E. a. Marcelino Garcia} diciembre 16, 1936

Querido Compañero Garcia: Cuando
salí de España, lo hice con viva pena. Desearé tanto
esperar hasta que tu regresaras del frente. Creo que
así me hubiera sido más fácil el salir, aunque mi
corazón y mi pensamiento se mantiene fijo en la
lucha que nuestros compañeros llevan a efecto en
España. En fin, si nuestros amigos de América
no pueden obtenerme un permiso de entrada
para seis meses, regresaré de nuevo a España.

Verdad es que nuestros compañeros de España, o
por lo menos algunos de estos, han virado hacia

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 16, Paris [to Marcelino] Garcia, [Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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²
 la derecha. Están en gran peligro de perder el camino.
 Algunas de sus decisiones me parecen inexplicables. Pero
 son tan sinceros en su ideología anarquista y fines,
 que creo sinceramente que hallarán el camino de
 vuelta hacia las alturas la cumbre en que el
 anarquismo español siempre se mantuvo.

Para mí, lo fundamental de nuestros cama-
 rados anarquistas españoles es su desinterés
 personal, su consagración y su pureza de idealis-
 tas. Por lo tanto, mi fe en ellos y en su triunfo
 final revolucionario, se mantiene actualmente tan
 firme como cuando llegue a España.
 Espero, querido compañero, que tu viaje con

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 16, Paris [to Marcelino] Garcia, [Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Santillan³ resulte interesante y digno de haberlo hecho y como yo, hables muchas cosas de interes. Desearia que a tu regreso a los Estados Unidos pasaras por Inglaterra. Vivamente me agradaria ~~hablar contigo~~ verte y hablar contigo acerca de tus impresiones. Pero si no puede ser asi, quiza lo pueda ser en America. Lo deseo de todo corazon.

Salgo para Inglaterra el 23 de este mes (mes de diciembre del 36). Mi direccion durante los tres meses de proximos sera: 18 Costletown Rd. West Kensington, Londres, W 15. Si lo

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[Letter] 1936 Dec. 16, Paris [to Marcelino] Garcia, [Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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decides, me puedes escribir a ~~esta~~ esa direccion. Si sales
para America pronto; te ruego sinceramente te
comuniques con mi sobrina, señora Stella
Ballantine, 509 ^{calle} West 110, apartamento
10. E. New York City. Se alegrara mucho
de verte y de conocer tus opiniones acerca de la
lucha española.

Fraternamente

Le mando las cartas y el
dinero a su padre.

P. S. Saludo en mi nombre y fraternamente
a Pontillan y a su compañera. Dile a ella que se

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1936 Dec. 16, Paris to] Marcelino Garcia, [Barcelona?] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 12 × 15 cm.

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Compagniero Marcelino Garcia

Comite Regional

Editeur de la Cultura Proletaria

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[Envelope, 1936 Dec. 16, Paris to] Marcelino Garcia, [Barcelona?] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 12 × 15 cm.

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Mr Emma Goldman
18, Castletown Rd
London W.14
England

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 16, Paris [to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Paris Dec. 16th 36.

Dearest. As you see I am in Paris. I arrived with a delay of two days owing to some trouble with the car of my friends, the Kaminskis who took me with them from Barcelona. I found a lot of mail among them three letters from you. I haven't time to answer them all, especially your statement that you would unite with the devil to fight Fascism. I am ~~sure~~ my darling I cannot agree with that. I know and Spain is proving my position that it does no good to combine with the "devil" or such forces that are diametrically opposed to the thing one wishes to achieve. Eventually such combine means ~~to~~ ^{the} end of ones aims and makes it impossible for one to really gain any thing. I ~~may~~ will have a chance to write you in full when I have the time and am not so frightfully tired as I am now. In fact I did not know while in Spain how very worn I am. It is only now that I am beginning to feel the frightful fatigue and aches.

I have to remain here until the 23rd of this month. Senia and another artist comrade have prepared a marvelous exhibition for Paris which opens the 22nd ~~evening~~. I want to see it, hence my decision to remain over until next week. Nothing is lost because nothing can be undertaken in England during the holidays. In addition is the madness over the ex kings ~~amur~~. ~~xxxxx~~ The British public has gone mad over the matter. The ~~Paris~~ write about nothing else. So what could I hope to gain for Spain? However, I am leaving here on the morning of the 23rd. AUNTIE has ~~xxxx~~ gone ahead of me and she has already fixed up her apt for both of us. At least I will have a decent place to live on this visit to England. My address will be E.G. Colton c/o Mrs Gordon-Crotch 18, Castletown Rd. London W.14. In case of a cable my name alone is enough. Simply Colton.

I am glad you are active for Spain. I am writing Souchy to day to send you a credential. It will certainly be necessary to insist that whatever is being achieved should go also to the CNT-FAI. You will have to see to that darling. Chapiro promised me that the exhibition Senia and the other comrade have prepared when shown in Sedan, Holland and maybe England ~~before~~ should go to America. It will be sent to you so you, perhaps with Teddys help can show it in New York. So far there is no film. Things move desperately slow in Spain. As I have repeatedly written our friends our Spanish comrades are wonderful idealists, they are supreme fighters, they can even organise production. But outside of that they are helpless as children. Souchy promised me the film. But as I said it is not ready yet. And I doubt whether it will be permitted in England or America. I will see if I ever get it and let you know. I maybe able to send you the Durruti reel.

The art exhibition negotiated for months has come to naught. It was a shock to me because I had already begun preliminary work. AUNTIE went to England at my request and the Apt was fixed up as a sort of studio which also cost a lot. All that I will have to pay out of my own pocket as I could not ask for money from the people I had dealt with. It was a painful experience. But in no way the fault of the CNT-FAI. It was their ally, the Left Republicans, in other words the government. Please say nothing about the matter. People would not understand it and they would only blame the comrades. I don't want that.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 17, Paris [to Donald] Darling, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

Paris Dec. 17th 36.

Dear Mr Darling

Thanks very much for your prompt reply. To say that the news your letter contained in re Stewart and the money was a shock is to express myself very mildly. Not that I did not have my doubts about Stewart. There were any number of rumors about him in Barcelona. But as I did not know the man I was loathe to believe what I had been told. My objections to him in our bureau in London was on the grounds of his being a Communist Party member. I could of course not work together with one representing people who consider integrity a bourgeois prejudice and who justify the most despicable method to achieve their aim. I was promised faithfully by the propaganda Committee of the Generalitat that Stewart will be removed directly another man is found to take his place. I dare say Barcelona will now wait no longer when the Committee will learn of the shady business that happened.

Inclosed please find a short note from Stewart dated the 8th inst. Is it possible that the man did not know what on the eight what he will do the 10th? He writes as if he were carrying the whole brunt of the bureau in London on his shoulders. Do you think he might have met with an accident? One hates to believe a fellow being capable of absconding public money, money for such a cause as the anti-fascist struggle even though one is absolutely opposed to the political ideas of such a being. I sincerely hope Stewart may yet prove better than we think he is. But in any event he will have to be removed. His successor will I fear have to be a Socialist, not a Communist. For as I already stated and as I have repeatedly told the CNT-FAI representative on the Barcelona Committee I do not consider it possible to work with a Communist Party member. It always ends badly. If Stewart really went off with the money I will be proven more prophetic than I had anticipated.

Just as soon as I received your letter I called up the Paris Office asking when I might see Rocca, or Dalty. One of them or both are coming to see me this evening. I will ask them to bring along your letter. Of course you should be reimbursed for your labors and also the amount of your own money you have invested. For the rest we will talk over matters and arrange the work that it might bring the desired result.

No I did not bring the Film because it was not ready. But I have the assurance of comrade Souchy that he will send me the Film. I also mean to write Souchy and Carbo to hurry up all material I am still to receive.

Mme Gordon-Crotch, an English friend of mine in whose house I will live will arrange for the Press Conference for Wed. evening Dec 23rd. I will arrive Victoria Station at about 5.55 P.M. I will be very glad to see you. My telephone in London is Fulham 6829. My address 18. Castletown Road West Kensington.

I will write you again tomorrow. I will know then what the Paris Committee intends to do.
Sincerely

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 17, Paris [to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 23 x 19 cm.

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Paris Dec. 17th 36.

Dearest Jeanne. As you see I have reached Paris. Arrived the 14th two days delayed on the trip. I regret to tell you that I do not share your joy of being out of Spain. I would much rather be there. For I am there anyhow with all my thoughts and all my feelings. I live life and the struggle are there. In England there is stagnation. But I must face the inevitable. Only I am not happy about it. I leave for London the 23rd, Wed. My address there until further notice is 18, Castletown Rd. London W.14.

I received the pamphlet. It is very nicely gotten up. Thank you my dear for the trouble you have taken. I realise that you must first cover expenses. But you wrote me once that Los Angeles had sent you hundred dollars and that you knew someone who would be good for fifty or another hundred. That's why I thought you might have the expense money together. Besides I had no idea it would cost \$250. You wrote me \$200. It is alright my dear. I do not want you to be out of pocket even for a cent. So go right ahead and collect your cost from the first sales. However, I must ask you to send a dozen copies for use in Barcelona. ~~Send them to~~ Them to the Paris Office of the Spanish Committee of our comrades Mr Rocca room 210, 30, rue ~~aux~~ St Augustin, Paris. Better ~~make it~~ address the package to Augustine Souchy chez Rocca room 210 30^{1/2} rue St Augustin Paris. Write the comrade a note to see to it that the package gets to Barcelona. This will have to be our contribution to the work our comrades in Spain are doing. Little enough isn't it?

Send Mollie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires Paris XV 10 copies. Mollie is as good as gold for them. She will send you the money and ask for more when she has sold the ten. Send me fifty to my new address in London, 18 Castletown Rd. London W.14. And charge me for them. If they sell well I will ~~ask for them~~ more, ask

When next you write let me know if you could and would undertake to arrange an exhibition of the Spanish struggle. It consists of wonderful material part of which I brought out of Spain and part sent to Mollie and Senia Flechine from Barcelona. The exhibition here opens the 22nd and I am staying over to see it. I will have my own collection prepared for London to be shown for a month. I will then be ready to send it to you unless the Paris comrades will send theirs to Chicago. Then mine will go to New York. The important thing is that those should be in charge of the exhibition who have connection with the art world and access to the press. I fear Yelensky will not do for that though he is a splendid Jewish worker faboy writing to people in re the anniversary publication of the political prisoners who are long dead. And with a printed list before them to sneel nearly every ~~European~~ European name wrongly. Gawd knows I am myself a rotten speller. But I take care with other peoples names. Please do not give me away. I do not want to hurt Yelensky. But if the exhibition is to be a success it will have to be you and your circle to undertake it. So write me about it.

Please send on the inclosed envelope to Yelensky. In the frantic occupation in Barcelona I forgot to mention Yelenskys name in my contribution to the anniversary publication. I am asking him to forgive me. Love to Jay and yourself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 18, Paris [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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Paris Dec. 18/36.

Dear Roger.

Thanks for your letter of the fifth inst. It contains cheering news. Namely that you might get me a visa to return if I came to speak for Spain and if I brought Catalan art along for an exhibition. My dear I want to do nothing else than speak for Spain. There is nothing in the world that interests me so much now than the struggle in Spain. Everything else has become meaningless. So that part is alright. I wish I could say so for the art exhibition. But I cannot. The project discussed and planned for two months ~~has been abandoned~~ was abandoned at the eleventh hour. It would take too long to go into the reasons why it was not carried out. The main one was that Companys was unwilling to sign the permission to take the canvases out of Barcelona. True the comrades still have hopes to get that permission. But I have learned enough of Spanish ways not to build on that any more. However, I am to mention some of the Spanish people here who are coming from Barcelona and who were most interested in having me take the collections to England and later to the States. But as I said I do not believe they will be more successful now than they have been since the matter was first broached to me.

However, I am going to arrange an exhibition in London. But it will be of a propaganda character though also beautifully prepared. It will consist of photographs, posters and printed matter. A similar exhibition is being prepared here and will open the 1st. I inclose an invitation. I fear this exhibition won't help you any to get the permission for my country will it?

As to the proceeds of a tour in America, of course it will go to the anti-fascist and the revolutionary struggle. I am going to England in two capacities. First as the C.T.R.I. delegate sent by the propaganda bureau of the Generalitat. Secondly as the C.T.R.I. delegate to ~~present~~ to present the aims, purpose and functions of the C.T.R.I. In the former capacity I will only do anti-fascist work. As will be there in the bureau, one representing the Souera, Left Republicans, one the UGT. I will be for the C.T. It sounds very important to have a credential from the present government in Catalonia, doesn't it? Especially for the Arch-anarchist S.G. Do not jump to conclusions my dear. I have accepted this ~~mission~~ mission only for the C.T.R.I. and their interests in the anti-fascist fight. If you think the credential from the Generalitat will help you to get me a visa. You may make use of it. If not keep the matter to yourself.

I am delighted to hear that the visa has to be arranged from Washington. There is no hurry of course as I must fulfill my pledge of organising a publicity campaign for Spain in England, and that will take at least two months. Naturally, I leave everything to you. I am confident you will do your best, and no one can do more.

I leave for London the 25th. My address there is 18, Dalsington Rd. London W.14.

The world is too tragic and gloomy to permit of much personal joy. Still I have you still catch a few snatches

of my happiness
the coming year

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001138

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 18, London [to Emma Goldman, Paris] / D[onald] Darling. — 2 p. ; 22 x 16 cm.

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GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA

COMISSARIAT D'INFORMACIÓ A L'ESTRANGER

Spanish People's Front
London Information Bureau

3, Victoria Street (4th Floor)
LONDON S. W. 1.

18.12.36.

Dear Friend.

I have received your long and interesting letter this morning. Of Stewart I still know nothing. I think it is pretty obvious that we shall see nothing of him again. I do hope that you were able to arrange something with the Paris Generalitat people. It is most urgent and worrying. The Propaganda is becoming intensified with Xmas (the British are paradoxical) and I am pining for posters, fotos and other things - they send them but just as fast people ask for more. I am insatiable in this respect, but I worry Barcelona continually. It is better to err on the side of excessive enthusiasm.

I am very sorry about the films. I had hoped to get a good programme going. We must wait again I suppose, but I have not much Spanish "paciencia".

I agree with what you say about Stewart. I know he was to be removed, but said nothing to him, but I watched him, and indeed have done so all the time. I honestly think he tried to do his best about the crisis of ideas - I will give him credit for that. Whether to leave the CP and work impartially or to follow their dictates. We see who won.

I have shown your letter of this morning to Barr who says he has also heard from you. He is here with me now. He came to see if I had news of Stewart, as he realises what a bad position I am in. He has been very helpful in many ways.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001138

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 18, London [to Emma Goldman, Paris] / D[onald] Darling.—
2 p. ; 22 x 16 cm.

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GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA

COMISSARIAT D'INFORMACIÓ A L'ESTRANGER

Spanish People's Front
London Information Bureau

2, Victoria Street (4th Floor)
LONDON S. W. 1.

19682

-2-

I hope you have written to Couchy and Carbo. I have to write to the former this afternoon and will also mention the films. I owe him a letter also.

I note that Mrs. Gordon-Crotch will arrange for the Press Conference. I will therefore do nothing about this, so as not to confuse things.

Once again about Stewart. I have been again to the bank. The money (francs) has not been paid in up to this afternoon, so I think that it has gone for ever. This is disgusting as it is the money of the Spanish people, so hardly earned, and this makes it the more cynical, doesn't it?

As for my labours I do not care if I am paid or not, as long as I have enough to pay my living expenses, but I do feel I should have the private money I paid in as I have to make some private ~~payments~~ payments soon, to my mother for keeping me, etc.etc. Which is natural.

Sincerely yours,

Darling

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 20 [New York, to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh].— 2 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20 Dec. 1936

1936

Dear Sir: This wee small voice, so long hushed, must necessarily peep out in whispering strain till its former strength and courage returns through usage and practice. I was really and most agreeably surprised to hear from you right on the heels of news through one of the comrades that you had been making inquiries about me and conveying your good wishes. I have indeed been silent and neglectful for ample reasons presently to be enumerated. More important, for the moment, is the terrible holocaust seeping the life blood of the comrades and the people of Spain. We really know little of the background there. Our sources of information are so meagre and independent! The few issues of the bulletin have conveyed more detail than I have been able to gather from all other sources combined. I never, for a moment, thought the truth would be available through ordinary, conventional channels, of course, but I did not think they were so deliberately and studiedly misleading as they are. How studiously the part of the CNT has been suppressed! Ludwig Lore, whom I have always suspected of being a Communist, has, on occasion, intimated that the anarchists are playing a leading role there, but he never gets down to much detail so there is much to be desired in his observations in the NY Post. By the way, The Post is quite another paper from the one you knew.

The incident in my letter to the Committee was quite unpremeditated as I did not know at the time that you were in Barcelona working on the Bulletin. I can readily understand the difficulty of working on such a document at such a time and under such conditions of linguistic and social chaos. The question of original material is not, I should think, so important at this time, moreover, the paper does not reach out widely enough to spread our ideas among the general public, so there is nothing to apologize for. Your description of the intimate life and character of the Spanish comrades is most soothing and welcome for I have always held the Spanish comrades up as a shining example of really sincere devotees to an idea. I have found that to be so among those whom I know and now in the death struggle raging there, you confirm that faith in detail through personal experience under the most trying and tempting of circumstances. They surely can show the most of us how to live as we advocate.

You will know more about matter in England once you arrive and I suppose in a later letter you will delineate upon what you find to be the situation. I should like to know, for I intend to set out a little and try to do something towards making some of the truths anent things as they are known here. In what way I have yet to find out. Perhaps with or without the comrades. The paper Russian Revolution is, of course, a crude and quite inadequate medium from every angle. You know the limitations of the field here as well as I. I see from the copy of a letter you enclose, evidently to Mark Epstein that make inquiries of Green. Green and I and Sadie brought out the first issue of that little sheet. Green got the material and Sadie and I did the typing for the first and second issue. The first issue cost about \$55. We raised the amount through a series of efforts but the largest amount (\$10) was a loan from a comrade who works in a shop. At that time, about a year and a half ago, Green was very enthusiastic and energetic but the comrades, even the Spanish comrades, did not seem to be willing to work with him. Personally, I got along with him very well. He is quite oblivious to his own egomania and thinks all who question him are inferior and jealous of his abilities. He really is too voluble and takes all too much credit upon himself. He did not, by any means underwrite the expense of the publication either through collections or personal contributions. I believe he has much in ability to give if only he could subdue his conceit and self-sufficiency.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 20 [New York, to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Moreover, I envy him that he is in Spain and I am here in New York. I would willingly give of my all in the struggle now going on there, but I don't know to what extent I am worthwhile. Heaven only knows my life has been useless enough thus far—it would be little enough to lay down and so to do would probably make more people happy than sad. Here, the Spanish comrades say that what is needed is money and munitions: that there are men aplenty! Few of them seem constrained to go for some reason I cannot understand lest it be one of which I know nothing.

There are so many things to take up with you, after this long interval— but first to the more important matters—

You asked me to see Baldwin. After three attempts, I reached him on the telephone. He told me he had just received a letter from you to which he would reply. McCormack is not in Washington and will not be there till after the holidays. I find in matters of this kind, all too much diplomacy seems to be resorted to in order not to offend for whatever reasons. I don't know what he has or will write you, nor what he has conveyed to Stella nor she to you. Baldwin told me there is some legislation pending in which the Labour Department is vitally interested and it needs the cooperation of the Dept. of Immigration and that neither would risk offending the other, at least at this time. Pending the passage of such measures, he did not believe it would be possible to do much in your matter— that there would be no advantage resorting to pressure, but if pressure were subsequently found to be desirable, he thought he could best apply it himself. I agree with him in this but it lends colour to a further remark he made to the effect that he is not over confident that the thing can be arranged as easily as last time. You may as well know that these are his sentiments as expressed to me. On the other hand, Stella believes the proposition will be more thoroughly gone into after the first of the year and she reminded me that you have been kept informed of such progress as has been made up to now. Perhaps too many cooks may ~~spoil~~ the pudding— certainly, there is no one better qualified by desire and experience than Baldwin to engineer such a transaction with Washington. This he has proven on numerous occasions. I gave Stella your London address and she will doubtless write you shortly. Some friend is sailing the day after Xmas and will bring something for you, she told me—I suppose, among other things will be news more detailed than I can give at this time. She told me that she sends you the Sunday Times each week and that someone else sends you the Nation. I am sending two late copies of TIME and some clippings indicating what the daily papers bring out about Spain. While TIME is thoroughly conventional and in some things quite reactionary, it is about the spiciest weekly extant. You will let me know if there is any other medium you want me to send and whatever else in way of errands you want done. I will find time to do all I possibly can in this connection. Meantime, I am regaining some of my erstwhile contacts and hope to have more to report in my next letter. Sadie returns your warm wishes and you will find me a little chastened, perhaps, but, I hope essentially something of that you may one time have wished me to be. I am going to a meeting tonight and begin to testir myself, so you will hear from me more regularly from now on. Suffice it to say, just now, call upon me for anything I can do and I will try to swing back into the harness as long, long ago.

As ever, Van.



The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1936 Dec. 22, Madrid [to Emma Goldman, London] / Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias. — 1 p. ; 29 x 24 cm.

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COMITÉ PENINSULAR

Mado, 11

Teléfono 37295

SECCIÓN

DE INFORMACIÓN Y PROPAGANDA

Madrid, 22 de Diciembre de 1936

Chers camarades,
nous envisageons, dans un délai très bref, la publication d'un bulletin bi-mensuel de propagande et d'information. Nous vous ferons parvenir quelques exemplaires de son premier numéro vers la fin de ce mois, en vous priant, en même temps de se charger de sa distribution dans la zone de votre influence. Ayez l'obligeance de nous communiquer combien d'exemplaires, au juste, vous voudriez recevoir. Notre littérature se remt gratuitement, cependant nous vous prions d'envisager la possibilité de la faire distribuer contre payement, en destinant les sommes ainsi obtenues au besoins de notre cause.

Il est à supposer que notre bulletin international, c'est à dire le manifeste, vous a été déjà remis. Dans le moment actuel il est urgent d'unir nos forces et d'internationaliser notre action. Voilà pourquoi nous comptons avec votre aide énergique, ainsi qu'avec celle des autres pays.

Nous vous prions de nous envoyer le matériel de propagande que nous aurons besoin, à savoir: presse, notices, manifestes, brochures, renseignements sur le mouvement fasciste et antifasciste dans votre pays.

Veuillez insérer dans la presse que vous contrôlez la notice suivante:

"L'Union E.A.4 F.I.J.L., onde de travail 40,90, fréquence 7.176 c/s, émet, au service du Comité Peninsulaire de la Federación Iberica de Juventudes Libertarias, tous les jours à 11 h. du matin, à 3 h. a.-m. et à 8 h. du soir des notices importantes de Madrid. Au plus, les émissions de 10 h. du soir concernent tous les lundis, mercredis et vendredis des allocutions pour l'étranger (russe, allemand, français)."

En attendant une réponse extensive à cette lettre circulaire

nous sommes de votre et de la cause antifasciste



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 23, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell]. — 1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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20293

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona den 23 Dezember 1936

Liebe und gute Emma!

Ich habe Ihren Brief vom 15. Dezember vor einigen Tagen erhalten. Es tat und es tut mir sehr leid, dass wir hier in Barcelona nicht mehr zusammenarbeiten konnten, wir werden aber unsere Verbindung nicht verlieren und wir werden mitarbeiten, obschon Sie im Ausland sind. Ich wollte Ihnen vieles erzählen was ich in Russland gesehen habe und auch, was ich in Spanien nicht gefunden habe.

Ich fand Spanien so viel geändert, das ist schwer zu erkennen. Wir werden sehen, was wir weiter hier machen können.

Der Engländer Mac Mullen reist morgen nach England ab. Die Aerzte haben ihm gesagt, er soll noch etwas abwarten, er aber wollte so schnell wie möglich nach Hause. Ich habe ihn drei mal besucht und alles vorbereitet, dass er wegfährt. Es wäre gut, wenn Sie diesen Mac Mullen noch in England besuchen könnten.

In der Angelegenheit, ueber der Sie an Souchy geschrieben haben, werde ich Ihnen auch helfen, wir muessen aber ueberzeugt sein, dass er nichts tun kann ~~oder~~ *nichts tun will*.

Ich habe mit Bruno wegen kleiner Albums schon gesprochen und wir haben alles erledigt.

Ich werde Ihnen 200 Briefbogen schicken. Morgen gehen die schon weg. Sonst arbeite ich wie frueher. Es gibt sehr vieles zu tun.

Ich gruesse Sie am herzlichsten und stehe immer zur Verfuegung.

Ihr Martin

Крошечку неделю Herrera был в Париже,
он мне обещал убедиться с Вами и рас-
решить все и обсудить все Вас и пере-
сущие вопросы. Сергеевич Кривец и

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001254

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 24, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / F[acundo] Roca.—
1 p. ; 13 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris, 24 / 12 / 36

19841

Querida Emma:

Después de despedirte, me llamaron por la tarde los que habían actuando con nuestro camarada P. Herrera, para entregarme una carta y 5.000 francos para ti. Estos te los mando en un Cheque de 475 14 chelines para que cubras los gastos de la exposición ya realizados y para que atiendas alguna otra cosa. De esta cantidad, mandarás un recibo para entregarlo a Tarradellas.

Este está plenamente de acuerdo en ~~ss~~ que se haga en Londres la exposición una vez terminada la de París. De los detalles para que se faciliten los cuadros, cuidará el Comisariado de Propaganda, a quien interesará nuestro amigo Herrera.

En espera que hayas hecho un buen viaje, te saluda afectuosamente tu amigo,

F. Roca

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005063

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 26, Los Angeles, Calif. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Thomas H. Bell].— 2 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

707 E. Kennard St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Dec 26, 1936

1936

My dear Emma:

I received in due course your wonderful letter dated Oct 4 dated from Barcelona telling us of your joy and inspiration. Your high praise of the splendid work done there in the way of the organization of production did not surprise me; I have known the Spanish movement now for fifty years and it has always been the one with which temperamentally I was most in sympathy. Your high opinion of that organization work is endorsed by others here and the other day more; a man named Gittler had a good article in The Nation saying much what you said.

I am writing to you now partly in personal reply, partly by way of giving you some idea of feeling here in the United States, partly perhaps by way of a article in our press and partly by way of a declaration at a most important crisis in our movement.

You seemed to scold me a little bit. My references to reprisals had surprised you. Was it possible that a weather-vane rebel like me, versed in the atrocity-mongering of the daily papers should take such accounts for granted without first finding out? And so on. You went on to assure me: Believe me, my dear, your old comrade is no fool to judge merely by superficial impressions. That's why I insisted on coming here first to see and study the situation. It would be denying my entire past were I to say all is well. It is far from that. But the constructive achievements of the CNT-FAI are already so formidable they put all else in the shade."

My dear girl, believe me in your turn when I assure you that your assurance to me was quite unnecessary. You and I have often disagreed, sometimes quite violently, and if we were meeting

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[Letter] 1936 Dec. 26, Los Angeles, Calif. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Thomas H. Bell]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

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1998

together again I am quite sure that we would disagree again often and sometimes quite violently. I know that when it comes to making mistakes you can make just as many to the score as anybody else. But then you are not unaware of that yourself. I will not swear by your superficial impressions any more than you will. But when it comes to your ultimate judgment, Emma, when you have seen not merely what you were shown but also what you had to find out for yourself, when you have had time to think things over and your high enthusiasm has been finally tempered right by your solid common sense, why, that ultimate judgment of yours, old comrade, I will accept rather than that of anyone else on earth.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 27, Svendborg, Denmark [to Emma Goldman, London] / Hans Rasmussen. — 2 p. ; 21 × 18 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Hans Rasmussen
 Kotsgade 16

Svendborg, d. 27^{de} Dec. 1936
 Denmark.

20171

Dear Comrade:

My best wishes for you in the new Year
 It is long since I wrote you last time,
 and also since I heard from you, or any-
 thing about you.

I wonder where you are living now, what
 you are doing, of course you must be
 doing something.

I hope you will send a word if you
 receive this letter.

I might tell you that J. J. Ipsen died
 this summer 75 years old, a book he had
 written in the spring st. "Politicum collegium"
 just issued, but do not tell much. —
 He was an ardent individualist, but
 of course somewhat faded in his later
 days, but always interested and on
 the right side. — Peace and Mennay —
 In Copenhagen there is erected a

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 27, Svendborg, Denmark [to Emma Goldman, London] / Hans Rasmussen. — 2 p. ; 21 x 18 cm.

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emigrant home where there without
Country may stay, there is room acomodation
some teaching, reading room coffee bar
Coffee & cake 10 Ore. I suppose Ellen King
is working for it. —

I would like to hear what you mean
about the spanish question, also what
you believe will be the outcome of
the german experiment.

Are you connected with any papers
in the english or german language
or is there any books or pamphlets
from your hand since you wrote
"Living my life"? if so please let
me know name and where it is
to be had. How about Road to Freedom
I paid for some months, when it
discontinued, is it still silent?

Hope to hear from you soon, fraturnally

Yours Hans Rasmussen

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 27, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell]. —
1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona 27.12.1936.

Уважаемая и любимая Эмма:

Вчера Вам писала письмо, но сегодня
опять пишу.

Неллега поговорила с ответственными людьми
по поводу выставки и результаты такой:

1) Все расходы, которые В. имели с выставкой
будущих покровителей. Он требовал 35 £, но они ре-
шили дать 50 £. Это будет около 5050 фран-
цузских франков. Об этом деле знает Роса и
Неллега думает что в сейчас эти 50 £ уже будут
в Ваших руках.

2) El Comisariado de Propaganda решил
сделать эту выставку в Лондоне, но Неллега
не имеет доверия к ним и, по его мнению,
вы не должны заботиться больше о этой выст-
вке. Когда они скажут, что нужно это делать,
тогда увидим что можно сделать.

3) Если есть у вас под руками какие бол-
шевикская пресса, которая пишет об анархис-
тах, прислайте здесь, нам очень нужен этот ма-
териал.

4) Вам посылаю пропагандистский
материал.

Сердечный привет

Ваш Мартин

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005288

[Letter, 193]6 Dec. 28, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.

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20285

London Dec. 28th ed.

Dear Martin, I am so glad to have your letter. I ran into Bouchy the evening of the 22nd in Paris, as usual only for a few moments. If I had known he was there and would see me I would have prepared a list of things I wanted to talk to him about. But as he took me by surprise I forgot half the things. I will now touch upon them here. I know you will let me know without delay how matters stand. First the Muratti pamphlet. What has become of it? It was to be finished in a week. Its over a month now and no brochure. Is it possible it is not yet done or is it that the mailing takes so long? I wish you would see about it. I gave Bouchy several addresses of comrades in America and Canada where the pamphlet was to be sent. I think two thousand ought to go to the Fr. Arb. Stime in New York. At least one thousand to Yelensky 3332 Potomac Ave. Chicago Ill. 1000 to C. Y. Cook for Ruffeater 1028 S. Alvarado Los Angeles Calif. 250 should go to Toronto Canada. But it will have to go in small packages to several addresses as the customs are very strict. Send part to Joe Donner, 730 Bathurst Street, part to Dorothy Glencoe 471 Brunswick Avenue and one to Maurice Langford 471 Brunswick Avenue and one to Ben Kealis 891 Vaughan St. In all about five hundred or even a thousand copies. Before everything else send me five hundred or a thousand. But it must not come from Spain. It should be sent from a French border. I may have my first meeting the 18th of Jan. You will therefore have to rush the Muratti pamphlet if they are to reach me in time.

Next are the small postcard albums. I told Bruno that he can have nine which I took along on condition that he gets some for me. I want about five hundred sent in small quantities. Also I will have to pay duty. I want the albums as quickly as possible. Surely some one goes to Perpignan nearly every day so it might be sent from there to me as well as everything to America and Canada. Now about handkerchieves. I took along only three hundred. I discovered that there is a very great demand here for them. So I must have at least a thousand more of the large and the small ones. Please dear Martin this too has to be sent me without delay for the big meeting we are planning and the exhibition. Tell the Comité that I hope to raise a lot of money on the handkerchieves because I will announce that they are sold for the benefit of the evacuated children from Madrid. All the money will therefore be sent to the Comité.

Next is the film. That too was to be ready for me. Will you see what has become of it? I am sure we could do much propaganda and raise money with a film. If there are new posters of any kind send them to me please my dear. Before I left I asked Poe, Berneri, Ruediger and Bouchy to write me a weekly article about the Spanish situation. At that time I thought I might get out a paper. But on arriving here I found that a young comrade is getting out a very good paper twice a month called SPAIN AND THE

THE WORLD. I would like the articles for that. Will you go after Berneri, Poe and Bouchy at least if Ruediger has no time. And of course if you could write me something I should be glad.

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[Letter, 193]6 Dec. 28, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 x 21 cm.

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B.

I have asked Toto to send me regularly a few copies, the *Bohemia*, *El Libertador* and possibly the *OT Madrid*. I had intended to leave him some money, but forgot in the last days trouble and anxiety. I wonder if you can subscribe for me, or have the *Comite Regional* do it so that I can keep in touch with events in Spain. I have people here who read Spanish and they could help me.

I arrived here the 24th. Unfortunately the English are obsessed by Christmas. Nearly everybody I wanted to see is out of town. Except two artists and friends of mine who will help me with the exhibition of pictures and posters I am planning for London in the late 'un. The difficulty will be getting the right gallery that will be within reach of the workers. I fear it will not be easy. But several people are helping to find one. The admission will be free. But I am hoping to raise money by means of appeals and by the sale of handkerchieves and post card albums.

To ~~night~~ night we have a gathering of the comrades and people who are in sympathy with our side in the Spanish struggle. A large mass meeting for the third week in Jan. will be decided upon. I mean to get together a working committee if such a thing will be possible in our ranks. As I have often told you there is no anarchist movement to speak of. There are a few comrades willing enough but not very able. But I will see. On my arrival I found that a very young Italian-English comrade is getting out a very good by monthly paper called *SPAIN AND THE AN D.* It is much superior to the *RIGHT TO LIFE* he is doing. The latter is only a rehash of our Bulletin when it looked like something. To my mind it is a waste of money. Perhaps I can persuade the Freedom group to give up that sheet and support the other. If only our comrades would care more about Spain and less about their own petty ambitions one might be able to do something worth while.

Speaking about the Bulletin, I received only one so far, a four paged one. Had I not it? I hope it may grow and improve, else why have it at all? At any rate put my new address on the list so I can get it regularly. And I want the German Bulletin. Please remember me to Helmut Ludwig and tell him I want the Bulletin every week. And you dear Martin send me everything of interest that I might use here in my work.

Yes, it was heart breaking to go away just the day after your return from Madrid. I would have given anything to remain a few days extra to hear your report and to talk to you about many things that happened while you were away. Some of them not very cheerful I can assure you. But what is the use of lamenting the things that cannot be undone. One thing is certain if I cannot somehow get to A. for a time I will come back to Spain in April. Provided I can do real work there and not waste my energies and eat my heart out as I did after you left and until my departure. No use making plans in advance.

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[Letter, 193]6 Dec. 28, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.

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20287

How is my dear Toto. ^{He} was a comfort, always kindly, always ready to be of help. Please give him my love. Give the inclosed note to Elsie. I heard from her to day and she sent me a few short notes I hope to give to the comrade who publishes the new paper.

Dear Martin I wish you would get hold of Carbo. Tell him the Propaganda ~~affix~~ Bureau of the ~~Generalidad~~ is in a bad shape. Darling is head over heels in debt. And he is sticking in a miserable little office right next to the Socialist League very much Communistically inclined. I wrote Carbo a long letter from Paris. So far no reply. Impress upon him that I can have nothing to do with the bureau until the old mess and obligations are liquidated. For that Darling needs money, in fact will need all of the \$100 with which Stewart vanished. And then more money will be needed to rent an new bureau and start a new. Until that can be done I will have to keep aloof. For it is not possible to get results in the way Stewart and Darling have worked so far. It is just wasted energy. I wish our comrades in Barcelona, as well as the Generalidad would realize that outside of Spain one must pay rent, telephone, electricity and a lot more. Now the bureau of Propaganda has ~~pledged~~ to spend \$500 a month for the propaganda here. So far ~~they~~ darling received only \$100 and that was stolen. For myself, I would rather devote all my time to the work for the CNT-FAI than bother with the bureau of the Generalidad. Of course I will keep my promise. But it can not be done with empty hands. The \$100 the Comite has given me will do for the work for our own comrades. Anyhow get hold of Carbo and tell him I am disappointed that he does not keep his word. No, ~~letter~~, no photos, no material all of which he has promised.

Dear Martin ~~xxxx~~ if you write me send it through someone reliable to Perpignan and have him mail it to London by Avion. It will come sooner.

Remember me to Souchy, to Berneri, to Po and the rest of the comrades.

Affectionately

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[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 29, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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18, Castletown Rd
London W.14. Dec. 29th 36.

Arling. I am here almost a week. Found Auntie's little apt fixed up for me. But it proved an expensive pleasure. I naturally understood the expenses of furnishing the place with simple things would be shared. But Auntie seems so broke I will have to stand it all '34. She worked hard to gather up some ~~xxx~~ pieces, the cheapest she could get. Still it came to such a lot. In addition I had to pay her fare from Venice. All that would not have mattered if the art exhibition had come off. Unfortunately it did not. So I have my hands full. The only relief is that the rent is only 25/- a week. Still no chance of living as cheaply as when I was with the Goldofskys. There I paid 1,10 for room and board. If only the room were not so tiny I would have preferred to live with Liza again though Auntie is loving and thoughtful. Well, I have a fairly large room now and of course I can receive whom I want. I could not do it at all at Liza's because he is constantly ailing. And I will save expenses on an office as I can use my room for it. Auntie also has a room for herself. Then we have a kitchen and the bath.

Thanks my dear for the check. I surely need the money. I inclose copy of letter I wrote to the comrade I worked with when I first got to Barcelona. He then went to Russia with a delegation and he was away for two months. He is a wonderful type and kindness itself. You will see by the inclosed letter what I am planning here. Whether I will succeed is another matter. There is interest in Spain, but most of it was already harnessed by the Communists. Marvelous people. How they do creep in every where. Well, I can only try my damndest.

Who is the man who was to sail for England. I wonder what address you ~~xxxxx~~ have given him. I talked to Marion Jarschinger. She had not heard from him. Marion invited me to spend New Years with her and Caesar. They are giving a party. Spain is so much in my bones I am not so very keen on parties. But I will go, perhaps I can meet people who will be helpful in my work for Spain. Did Bushwick deliver the Durruti film and the handkerchieves. I forgot to let you know that if she had to pay duty you will have to collect it from the ~~tr. arb.~~ Stimme as the things are for them.

I have to be off to meet the comrades. Will write more another time.

A very happy and interesting New Year to you and the family. I hope I may see you all again the coming year and take you in my arms.

With much love and New Years greetings to all the members of our family. Sashas stamps will go to Ian tomorrow. I hope he has luck. But if he has E. is to get only a monthly share of it. She spends money like water. and if all will be sent her it will go. Please tell Ian to let me know soon what he thinks of Sashas collection. Love of

I wonder how he is in London. What about that? Is he still in London? Is he still in London?

husband

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 29, Neath [Wales, to Emma Goldman, London] / S[am] Mainwar-
ing. — 3 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19933

29/12 '36

236 Old Rd. Neath
Glam.

Dear Comrade:

As you are probably aware I have been from time to time asking Com. Barr to keep me posted as to your movements. Yesterday he let me know of your arrival in London and sent your address; hence this letter. First of all is one correct in surmising that you will lose not time in letting the workers in this country know of the wonderful work in building up the new Society that is now being carried on by our comrades of the C. G. S. & F. A. S. I am prepared to do whatever is possible to arrange and organise a meeting or lecture here. This might be possible also at Port Talbot Swansea & Llanelli. Unfortunately I am, apparently, the only avowed anarchist in all this area as Com Barr has told me that the next nearest "Freedom" subscriber is Com. Edmonds at Plymouth and Plymouth as you know is many leagues

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[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 29, Neath [Wales, to Emma Goldman, London] / S[am] Mainwar-
ing. — 3 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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19934

from here. Maybe if one got in touch with some of the friends you made in Swansea they would help. It is as well to realise that the apathy and indifference that the workers have sunk into, is appalling ~~and~~ during the whole of my active career. It has never been so bad. We, of course know the causes only too well without enumerating them. It is this that has made one visualise a great renaissance for our ideas here in Britain ~~as~~ as a result of the brilliant torch that our Spanish comrades are keeping alight. You may send me ten or a dozen handkerchiefs. I am receiving the bundles of the "Boletín del Informacion" from Barcelona every week. I have made the most of them by giving their subject matter all the publicity possible, but up to now have not succeeded in getting any of the local Press to publish it. I was lucky enough to see yesterday's "Manchester Guardian" and your talk to one of their reporters. It would be as well if you

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[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 29, Neath [Wales, to Emma Goldman, London] / S[am] Mainwar-
ing. — 3 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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19988

Let me get the same talk into the "New-Church"
With feelings comrades may I conclude.
With Love
With Salut.
S. Mainwaring

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 30, London [to] Anita and [Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20011

London Dec 30th 36.

dearest Anita, dear Pam.

You must have formed a nice opinion of me not having written you a line since I landed here. Believe me my dears it was impossible. I did write Mollie and asked her to let you know by phone that I arrived safely and that I would write you just as soon as I could find time. Well, here I am trying to write you. It is 1.30 P.M. At two thirty I expect the Secretary of the Independent Labour Party. And at five o/c I expect Darling, (nice name isn't it?) but I fear not so nice to achieve something in the way of publicity for Spain. This letter will, therefore, have to be squeezed in between.

First of all, here is a copy of a letter I wrote Martin. It will show you that our people in the Layetana are even less dependable at a distance than they were when we parked on their heels. Imagine, I wrote Carbo the day after our arrival in Paris telling him the whole sad story about the information bureau in London of the Generalidad, in other words about Stewart having made a get away with the £100. I begged him for an immediate reply and if possible for money so that Darling can pay the debts incurred here. Its ten days ago but nothing from Carbo. Or from Maretvillas, (I hope I spell the name rightly). It is outrageous to be so negligent and indifferent to an undertaking the PROPAGANDA BUREAU in Barcelona was so keen on having. Well, I can only say that I will not have anything to do with the Bureau until all the obligations incurred by Darling are settled. And not until a certain sum of money is deposited to guaranty at least two months expenses. Apropos of this, if you should be asked to go to Czecho Slovakia insist on being guranteed, not merely in promises. But in cash at least for two months. As I wrote Martin our Spanish people do not seem to realize that outside of Spain we cannot requisition houses even if we wanted to, nor take the right of using electricity, the telephone and other necessary things without pay. Anyhow, the BUREAU of the GENERALIDAD looks dubious to me.

Not so the work I am to do here for the CNT-FAI. The COMITE at my insistance gave me £100 for two months. I realize I will ~~find it difficult to get this money~~ that this will not go a long way. But I mean to prevail upon the few comrades in London to contribute to the expense of the publicity for the CNT-FAI. I have made a good start yesterday at a gathering of forty comrades. They contributed £17 towards the first large meeting we will have Jan. 18th and they will do more. I feel therefore that the COMITE ~~or~~ REGIONAL will only have to cover deficits and not stand the whole brunt. The Christmas holidays have interfered in doing anything here. Everybody I wanted to see is away. I have seen two artists friends of mine who will help with the exhibition. I only hope it will be more impressive and successful than the Paris affair. Of course, I will not have it in an exclusive place. I want the exhibition to be within reach of the workers. It will be a

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]36 Dec. 30, London [to] Anita and [Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20012

2

difficult job to find the right place. But I will do my damndest. My real work will begin next week. Wish me luck. So far only one paper has brought an interview. That was the Manchester Guardian. I have ordered copies and if I get them to day I will inclose one. A Sunday paper called the Referee had a man to see me. But because I would not give him sensational personal stuff his editor refuse to bring the write up. Rotten, don't you think?

Dear Ann, I hate to make you uneasy but I must let you know that several books have already appeared on Spain. One by Landon Davies which I understand is quite favorable to the CNT. I am going to get it in the Library as I can not afford to spend 12 shillings. There is also another book, very antagonistic to the CNT-FAI. I will get that too. I have been told that Golanc has become more Communistic than ever. So he may not consider your MSS. But that is not important as I mean to submit it to a few American publishers first. By the way I stupidly forgot a very important house in New York as alive as Simon and Shuster but of a higher standing. That is the Viking Press. I know one of the owners whose name is Benjamin Huebsch. I can't imagine why this firm escaped me. But I came upon it in the New York Sunday Times Supplement when I got my copies from New York. Anyhow, I will ask my very dear friend Arthur Leonard Ross whom I will ask to act as "our" representative to take the MSS to Simon and Shuster first. Then to the Viking and only after these to Knopf. The only thing is you must rush the MSS to me. You see, time will be lost with my reading it. The before it will get to New York. So you really must hurry on. Poor Anita, you will have to work harder than ever. Even neglect your dogs. But that is the penalty for having a journalist husband.

You know the English saying "if wishes were horses mine would fly to you". I wish you a jolly Sylvester. And many, many glorious experiences for the New Year. I will drink to your health at a New Years Eve party with American friends of mine.

Please call up Mollie for me Suffrenne 14 80. Ask her to give you Roca's phone. Then call him up and tell him Mollie had told her he had received money for me from Barcelona and that he was mailing it. So far nothing has arrived. This money must be the amount I mentioned to that dreadful Calvet. I gave 38 pounds. Actually forty four were septn here for furnishing of a small Apt that was to serve as an office for our famous art exhibition. fthirty four of that for the furnishing and ten my friend had spent on her trip from ence and a lot of excess weights she had for the things she brought along. Worse luck the Apt is anything but luxurious. It will do of course. But unless HERERRA has actually sent the £38 which he promised I shall have to borrow that amount in A. to reimburse my friend. In addition to laying out the money she worked like a galley slave to have the Apt ready for my arrival. By the way, I found on my arrival that there is already a whole committee that plans to grab the Paris exhibition of the Cataln art after it has been shown there. Such a mess.

With loving gre tings.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1936 Dec. 30, Paris [to] E[mma] Goldman [London] / F[acundo] Roca. —
1 p.; 21 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19842

OFICINA COMERCIAL
PARIS

PARIS. 30 Diciembre: 1936.
52, Avenue George V

Camarada E. Goldman.

Leída y examinada tu carta la contesto a vuelta del correo para tranquilizarte.

Hoy mismo remito tu carta a Martin, por conducto seguro.

Por otra parte, tengo que decirte que con fecha 24 del mes en curso, es decir, al día siguiente de tu salida, te mandé una carta certificada con el número 363, que contenía un Cheque a tu nombre, de 47 L. 14 Chelines. No comprendo el por qué no lo has recibido. Espero lo reclames y me digas que lo has cobrado. Igualmente te mandarás el recibo para Tarradellas; o se lo mandas a él directamente.

Sin otra cosa de particular, saludos afectuosos de este amigo.

F. Roca

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Tuesday
 Dearest, Please
 do not be angry
 with me I will
 make up for it
 Fortunately the
 letter is short
 It not mention
 about Samuil,
 meeting me here
 or in Paris, Not
 but the information
 he gives about
 the damage
 Communist make
 several copies,

64

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937? London? to unknown recipient (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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[fragment, n.d.]

Yet here is the virgin pure Communist leader Stalin shamelessly going to bed with the bourgeois harlot France, and everybody finds it quite *comme ils faut*. It is enough to make the gods laugh. Well, you and the other intellectuals in Europe and America may keep silent. "Never will I do it. In the last analysis one must not do what Ibsen has Stockman say, "spit in one's own face."

The Emma Goldman Papers

861028490

[Letter, 1937? Corwen, Wales to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Cowper Powys. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COPY.

392 0/2

My dear Emma Goldman,

From my heart I wish all success to this timely meeting of yours to help the victims of the Spanish war. Spain is fighting for the future of humanity. She is fighting for the preservation of all in civilisation that is most precious. Spain has always, above all countries, possessed a tragic and invincible soul; and a soul that the evil powers of a cruel and blood-sucking despotism in Church and State have never been able to destroy.

Issues that with us are concealed from view come openly into the light in Spain, where the living hands of desperate individual Liberty have been for centuries struggling to push back from the throat of mankind the dead hands of a life-draining ruling Church and a life-draining ruling class, both of them swollen and diseased by the very blood they have vampirized from the veins of the people!

Spain gave the world our noblest and most Christ-like character in all fiction; and Cervantez, the creator of Don Quixote, got himself maimed for life in the struggle to save Western civilisation.

This battle is still being fought; for the spirit of Cervantez is not dead; but it is being fought more desperately than at the Battle of Lepanto, and against far more deadly and insidious enemies! History will declare that never has any people struggled - while the world looked on - against odds so cruel and unfair.

And it is all happening so near to us! Across a few leagues of water, across a few miles of mountains, at this actual moment, this proud individualistic race - loving liberty as passionately as we do ourselves - is making its supreme, its hope-against-hope effort, to shake off the incubus that has been strangling it and sucking its blood for so long! But by the aid of every sort of mechanical weapon, every sort of murderous invention, that foreign despotic efficiency and foreign despotic ambition can provide, this Incubus of an oppressive Church and an oppressive class is getting its sepulchre-smelling dead hands well into place again upon the living throat and the living heart of the people. And what they are destroying is the most precious inheritance of all human civilisation, the right to feel, to think, to speak as our individual conscience bids us!

Well, my dear Emma Goldman, I certainly do from the depths of my heart wish your meeting success.

Yours as ever,

(Sgd.) JOHN COWPER POWYS.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937? Los Angeles to Emma Goldman, London? (fragment)] / [Thomas H. Bell]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

indignation at the time that translation of Rudolf's book would not do. It was brought to me to look at by Yaffe, who no more than I myself could believe it. And I saw at once that though the style was all right, anything by Sasha would have style if it were read backwards — the mind behind was no longer alert as it used to be. He made strange blunders. Something was wrong. I understood that he had had a physical breakdown without ever hearing about it. The uremia was already clogging him.

I never heard one word in the movement against him, you understand. ~~Sasha~~ Sasha was indeed a man much loved.

Ray Chase has made now an excellent job of the translation.

I wrote, of course, an indignant letter to The Nation protesting against their sneering and their misrepresentation of Sasha — the sons of bitches actually dared to say that his outcry about Kronstadt had been funny — but I knew I had no chance of getting it.

I read with much interest that letter to you from Powys. I had a very fine letter from Powys myself not long ago. You know that he has written with a better appreciation of Wilde than anybody else yet. I quoted him quite a lot in my book. He had spoken in high praise of my Edward Carpenter pamphlet, and I wanted him to see my manuscript of the Wilde book. Unfortunately old Havelock Ellis sent it straight back to me by a misunderstanding, whereas I wanted it to go to Powys.

Yes, I had hoped that Havelock would write me a preface. He did send me three letters, all of them very kind; but I had asked him to ~~write~~ write not so much on the homosexual matter as on the Libertarian ideas of Wilde. He objected that Harris was not a Libertarian — of course, he wasn't, and I had not said that he was — and protested that he wrote prefaces, if at all, only for books dealing directly with his special subject. Very kind and high praise, but evading the request. I may possibly try Bertrand Russell.

Schuster refused my book. I have sent it to Macmillan (so that if accepted it will be published in Britain as well as in the States). My main trouble is that while I am sure many publishers would take the book if I confined myself to the tale they will all object very strongly to the propaganda chapters. I have ~~indeed~~ rewritten them connecting the matter better with Wilde — the connection, I must admit, is sometimes very attenuated — and I have improved the book quite a lot; but my last chapter on Wilde's Individualism Today will stick in the gizzard of any publisher. He will not ~~not~~ be able to judge my economics and be afraid to print stuff which may be just ~~xxxxxxxx~~ foolishness to the economist. That is why I need Bertrand Russell. We shall see.

Rudolf's fate seems ~~xxxx~~ to be not quite so irrevocable. The latest news is good; the prospects are much better. I mean in regard to his staying in the U.S. I expect to see him here in

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005138

[Letter, 1937? Los Angeles to Emma Goldman, London? (fragment)] / [Thomas H. Bell]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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20142

I have just had a talk with Yaffe. It has been largely through his energy and determination that the affair for Berkman came off so well. It is largely through his energy that most of the affairs here are put through. He tells me that he has collected \$20 and in a day or two will have made up the \$25 needed to bring here some of your new pamphlet. Her had a talk with Mrs Levin when she was here. She recognized a kindred spirit, I have no doubt.

He is no speaker at all and never had a scrap of formal education. He is indeed a self-made man. He can just barely write and I can see that he does not read with any great ease. Yet he is a man astonishingly well-informed on all the main issues. To a sound and clear understanding of our ideas he unites a practical ability of the highest order. His capacity for work is incredible. Working at high pressure in his own business from morn to night, he manages nevertheless to rush our affairs through too.

I am not alone in my high estimate of him. Dr Roman evidently esteems him highly. C.V. Cook works with him hand and glove, a great pair.

It was he who drove through that translation of Rudolf's book.

He is brusque in his manner and a lot too impatient about wasted time to be popular in the Workmans Circle. They are splendid people too, I think, the people of the Kropotkin Branch here, but they do need a good deal of time to put a thing through.

We had a long discussion today when I rode round with him on his business. He is full of plans for the future. I could not get him to see, Emma, any more than the young people in New York, that many things are not possible for us now that were possible enough once. Yaffe and the young fellows will have it that our failure is our own fault; we have not been energetic enough or we have ~~done~~ not done this or that. He must now revive the movement.

No, we cannot revive the movement, any more than we can be young again.

The defeat was not due to our faults but to our fate. We have been overwhelmed in a world catastrophe. The depression is not merely a "business" one; we are in an intellectual panic and a moral debacle.

We are not to lie down and weep, but to keep our heads and seek to keep together some sort of an organization out of which in time will come a new movement, or which at least will leave a memory to serve as an inspiration and a guide to those who will follow us.

It may be, of course, that out of the Spanish struggle something distinctively Libertarian will emerge. It may be.

It may be for all we know that the world is going into a still deeper plunge. We do not know. The young men in New York are indignant at my "pessimism" But optimism or pessimism it matters not at all provided one goes on fighting as determinedly as ever. It is for us oldsters to look at the sweep of history, to recognize that we alone cannot change the direction of the swing, but to remain firm and steady, with clear eyes and cool heads as well as stout hearts.

Your book, Living My Life, and Rudolf's coming book on Nationalism and Culture will be enduring strongholds even if the enemy conquers the country round. And there are some ~~fine~~ other fine

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871005138

[Letter, 1937? Los Angeles to Emma Goldman, London? (fragment)] / [Thomas H. Bell]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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20145

books appearing nowadays, fine books even if not so important. I console myself ~~axxxxxx~~ when I feel blue at my own helplessness with the thought that my own book will aid a little. Oh, for just a few years yet free from asthma! What I should like to do.

But Yaffe will go on fighting the present battle boldly. He does all he can do. He sighs, I know, at the thought that he had no chance to learn when he was young, and that now he cannot spend the time to learn because there is so much to do for the movement. His consolation, I can see, is that his daughter Freda is majoring in Sociological subjects and may do something in her time.

We have some very splendid people in our movement.

Just received a very nice letter from Dr Gerson

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937? Los Angeles to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / T[homas] H. Bell. — 1 p. ; 13 x 21 cm.

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I forget it that both my sons are very much interested in Spain. But Tom though very keen to go has not yet fully recovered from pleurisy he had and is in rather poor health, not in fit shape for Spain; and Bob though all right that way has upon him just the responsibility of his mother and sister and cannot shift it.

My wife and I both happy to hear of the I. L. P. coming along. Many fine people we remember among them. We had a very kind letter by the way not very long ago from E. W. Nevinson.

And very happy to hear of your own success. That is really good news. You have been given new life over Spain, and finding a new sphere in England.

Fraternally,

T. H. Bell

The Emma Goldman Papers

901129000

[Letter, 1937? Glasgow, Scotland to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / Frank Leech. — 1 p. ; 17 × 21 cm.

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The Saturday evening papers are not very interesting
being mostly filled with sports results.

I will have to cut my letter short as
I have a lot of work to do and we want to get ahead
with it.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Frank Leech

Secretary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937? London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / V. Dugdale.—
1 p.; 23 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19640

22, POWIS SQUARE, BAYSWATER, W.11.
Wednesday.

Miss Emma Goldman,
West Kensington, W. 13.

Dear Madam,

Mrs. D. Zhook has told me that you want
someone for temporary "Secretarial" work.

If you care to use me for three months' work (or more) of any kind, I should be only too delighted to help you, as my work at present is very uncongenial; my speed is 80 words on any typewriter; 130 in Shorthand; education good, and am used to busy people and offices; professional, and also ordinary business men. English certificate; am not a 'Junior', but very energetic; can type M.S.S., literary, students, and scientific. Also address envelopes, rate 100 an hour.

Usual salary, £2.10. 0., weekly.

I could come to see you any night between 5 and 6, and give you details. As a matter of fact, I am being trained in Hairdressing and Beauty Culture, and hope after another 6 months or so to make that a means of living, but am not sure if it will be used in a private way, or as a means of living. Trusting that you will bear me in mind for a 'long-period' post!

Yours faithfully,

(Miss) V. Dugdale

P.S. Sent you a postcard this morning.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Book inscription, 1937, Paris to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Hanns-Erich] Kaminski. — 1 p. ; 18 × 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Fredrico Arcos, Windsor, Ontario, Canada.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan.? Brno, Czechoslovakia to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Emmy Eckstein. — 2 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.

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Emmy Eckstein c/o Dr- Kutna
Brno) Bruenn(
Na Mustk u 2a

Meine geliebte Emma,

heute, an dem ersten Tag meines Hierseins, will ich Ihnen einen kleinen Brief schreiben, damit Sie wissen wo ich bin und dass ich gut nach Hause angekommen bin- Es war eine unheimlich anstrengende Reise- Halbtot kam ich in Wien an, wo mich unser wunderbarer Kamerad, Nettelau wie ein Vater begleitete und direkt in den Zug setzte- Am Bruenner Bahnhof war Dr- Kutna, mein Vater, und nun bin ich Heim- Die Liebe meiner Eltern, das grenzenlose Freude meiner Mutter und die Waerme ihres Empfanges haben meiner Seele wohlgetan- Ja, Emmachen, Sie waren weise, dass Sie mir rieten nach Hause zu gehen- Danke Ihnen, danke Ihnen so herzlich dafuer- Wissen Sie, eine seltene Erfahrung mache ich durch- Wenn der geliebte Mann nicht mehr ist, dann kann man, wenigstens ich kann es, ganz und gar zu den Aerten zurueckkehren- Der Geschmack und die Atmosphaere sind fuer mich noch heute ueberraschend- Es ist bei uns, obgleich meine Aelter sehr arm geworden, dieselbe Atmosphaere, der Ton, die Alluren- Ich fuehle mich ganz zu Hause- Man sollte nicht glauben, wie die Zeit an meinen Aeltern geschliffen- Sie sind mit der Zeit mit gegangen, und in ihren Ideen ueberraschend grosszuegig und verstaendnissvoll- Meinem Leben gegenueber, unserem grossen Sasha gegenueber und Ihnen gegenueber sind sie absolut freundlich gesinnt- Mit den noblesten Werten und Gefuehlen trauern sie- Mit Ihnen und mit uns- Oh, Emma, geliebte, wie wohl tut es mir, und da ich weiss dass Sie mich lieben, so sage ich Ihnen dieses alles- Also, ich moechte, dass Sie wissen, dass meine Aelter einfach grossartig sich zu mir zeigen-

Meine Gesundheit ist sehr duerftig, und meine Radioaufnahmen muss ich heute von einem grossen Prager Spezialisten sehen lassen- Emmachen, ich bin wieder ganz runter und ich MUSS ja gefeunden- Aber Mutti geht mit mir, und ich schreibe Ihnen eofort was der Professor sagte-

Ich lebe mit meinen Eltern in der Wohnung- vorlaeufig, wenigstens- Sie haben zwei Zimmer und eine Kueche- und ich werde dann entscheiden was zu tun, je nachdem was der Arzt sagen wird- Mutti ist verendert- Sie ist schoen, wie immer, grazioes und hat immer noch alle ihre wunderbaren Zaehne, denken Sie- Aber sie ist krank- Und sie leidet an Zucker und grosser Schwache- Das hat mich sehr betruengt- Vater ist immer noch der geistig sehr agile Student, sehr klug und belesen, und auch frei in theoretischer Ansicht, und ich denke, dass er im Herzen auch Anarchist ist- Er hat eine grosse Bewunderung fuer Sie und Sashenka-

Emmachen, ich will tapfer sein und meinen alten Eltern das Leben nicht vermissen- Ich beisse die Zaehne zusammen und versuche froh zu sein- Doch mein Herz ist tot- Keine Sehnsucht zu Sasha sehr schmerzhaft, und Emma, nie in meinem Leben habe ich mich so sehr nach Ihnen gesehnt wie jetzt? Nach Ihrer Liebe und Verstaendnis- Und bitte, schreiben Sie mir und halten Sie mich in Kontakt mit meinem alten Leben, DAS IST MEIN SONNTAG- DAS IST MEINE EINZIGE FREUDE- Senden Sie mir zu tippen, lassen Sie mich Ihnen helfen in der Arbeit- Und schreiben Sie bald- Ich muss schliessen, mein Vater geht mit mir jetzt zum Arzt-

Wie geht es Auntie? Einen schoenen Guss und den Teppich den sie mir mitgab, den musste ich zum Fenster hinausf schmeissen, sonst haetten mich die Mitreisenden hinausgeschmissen- Er hat es abgehaert, dass Niemand mit mir im Coupe bleiben wollte----- aber das wusste sie wohl nicht- Ich wuensche ihr Erfolg in ihrer neuen Wohnu-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan.? Brno, Czechoslovakia to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Emmy Eckstein. — 2 p. ; 28 x 17 cm.

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und moechte gern wissen, was fuer Miniature sie evtl- braucht zum Verkauf-
man koennte das dann irgendwie senden-

Mein Vater, der jetzt davon lebt, seine immer noch ansehnliche Miniatur
sammlung zu verkaufen, wuerde mir gern einige solche fuer Auntie geben
zum Verkauf- Meine Eltern haben es sehr sehr schwer- Sie sind dennoch
alt geworden, und wenngleich ich es nicht sagen werde, so fuehle ich
wie die Jahre an ihnen das Ihrige getan-

Ich bin sehr sehr neugierig von Ihnen ueber Spanien zu hoeren,
Emma und Ihre dortigen grauenhaften Erlebnisse, die wahrscheinlich von
dem einzigen Lichte erleuchtet wurden: Ihren Glauben und Ihrer
Hoffnung fuer die Idee- Emma, Sie sind sehr sehr brav- Ich bin stolz
auf Sie-

Ich umarme Sie in Liebe,
von so weit- EMEZ

Es ist SEHR sehr kalt hier- Schnee und Eis- Und mein Herz ist
so leer, Emmachen- Nizza ist weit und meine Erinnerungen essen
und nagen an meiner Seele-

Es ist Vaters Maschine entschuldigen Sie bitte Fehler-

Dearest Auntie, Emma will tell you all about this letter-
My heartiest greetings to you- Emmy- Write me a line-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan.?] London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ida Gershoy.—
2 p. ; 20 × 25 cm.

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Dear Emma,

We just discovered
today that you are in
London and both he
and I are, naturally,
immensely anxious to
see you again. I know
you are far too busy
to bother about personal

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan.?] London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ida Gershoy.—
2 p.; 20 × 25 cm.

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matter for the last few
years.

We both send our love,
Ida Gershoy

P.S. Leo is here on a Guggenheim
Fellowship this time. Countries
may rise and fall around
us but the French (old
model) Revolution still
goes on.

(Our phone is Terminus 6.538.)

as two may not come
and say hello? If
you need an extra
hand at running your
exhibition for Spain I'd
be only too happy to
help. Exhibitions, you
know, have been my

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 1 [London to] Chris [Lewis, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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1st January 1937.

Dear Chris,

Thanks for your letter of the 30th ultimo.

At the moment I have only one date fixed viz the
20th March.

I cannot say anything about the film as we have not
it
received/yet.

I want the names and addresses of the Secretaries of
the local Trade Union Branches as we have a folder printed showing
the constructinal structure of the C.M.T. and we desire to get this
into every trade union branch and possibly local Labour Party.

I am glad that you^r are interesting yourself in the
children at Street. They ceratin certainly need someone who under-
stands them. I am afraid that is not the case in many of the homes,
so called.

Give my kind regards to Auntie and my wish is that
the New Year will bring you both joy, which I know would be greatly

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 1 [London to] Chris [Lewis, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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by a complete victory of our comrades in Spain.

SALUD,

Emma Goldman

London

Dear Sir

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 1, London [to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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12333

Londres, 1^o de Enero de 1937.

Querido camarada Roca:

Te agradezco tu carta. Por ella veo que dirigiste mal la carta que contenía el cheque, y a la cual te refieres. No existe tal calle en Londres con el nombre de Gjeline. Las señas que yo te di y que fueron repetidas por Collie en el teléfono son:

18, Castletown Road,
LONDON, E.14,
Inglaterra.

La carta se ha perdido, sin duda, pues yo no la he recibido. Si la hubiese certificado tal vez hubiese sido posible recuperarla; pero como podrá serlo ahora, cuando ni siquiera pones en tus sobres la dirección de procedencia? Mientras tanto creo que harás bien en procurar pasar por el Banco y pedirles que anulen el pago del cheque, de forma que si es hallado por alguien, no pueda ser cobrado. De todas maneras, confío que el dinero no se perderá. Sería demasiado contratiempo, maxime después de las £106 de que se apoderó Stewart en la Oficina de Propaganda.

Envío mi primera información para el Comité Regional, el que te ruegos hagas el favor de leer antes de reexpedirlo a Barcelona. Podrás ver que aún cuando sólo hace una semana que estoy en Londres y estorbada por la locura inglesa con sus fiestas de Navidad, ya he empezado a trabajar por la CNT-FAI, el que espero pronto nos rendirá fruto. He conseguido levantar cierto entusiasmo por el maravilloso trabajo que nuestros camaradas están realizando en España, en las filas de la "Independent Labour Party" (Partido Obrero Independiente), y el secretario del partido hablará en el gran mitin que tenemos proyectada para el día 18 del actual. Además, nos ha prometido conseguir personas bien conocidas para que presidan el acto.

La exposición que estoy tratando de organizar, similar a la de París, tendrá lugar probablemente en colaboración con la I.L.P. Tienen mucho interés en celebrarla conjuntamente con nosotros, y como ellos tienen mayores posibilidades de llevar hacia una masa mayor de público que la que nuestros camaradas pueden abarcar, me parece ve tanoso que vayamos juntos en esta empresa.

Hasta estos últimos días la I.L.P. era el único partido revolucionario que existía en Inglaterra; pero ahora están en negociaciones para afiliarse con la Liga Comunista y los Comunistas. Esto, desde luego, los descartará para con nosotros; pero en el interin no tengo inconveniente en colaborar con ellos.

Me verás, querido camarada, te envidio tu estancia en París. Puedes comunicarte diariamente con la CNT-FAI y obtener noticias auténticas. Yo, por otra parte, me hallo completamente separada de todo eso. Aparte de mi deseo personal de permanecer en contacto con Barcelona y Madrid, se me hará muy difícil seguir adelante con mis gestiones si no se me tiene al tanto de todo cuanto pasa. Se me ocurre que como quiera que tu estás en comunicación directa con Barcelona, tal vez podrías enviarme un comunicado diario por avión. En español, por supuesto. He tenido la suerte de encontrarme aquí con un camarada español que podrá traducírmelo. Al mismo tiempo, podré también escribirte en español. No ignoro que estás sumamente ocupado. No obstante, comprenderás perfectamente la importancia que para mí representaría el recibir una carta diaria tuya con información sobre asuntos y acontecimientos de importancia, tanto en Barcelona como en Madrid. Me alegraría obtener las noticias por teléfono; pero yo aquí no puedo gastar el dinero necesario. Cuando la Oficina de Propaganda de la Co-

sigue...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 1, London [to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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heralidad esté reorganizada y Darling haya conseguido que las conferencias telefónicas sean pagadas en Barcelona, puede que me sea posible hablar contigo; pero aun así no podría utilizar el teléfono para asuntos de la CNT-FAI. Esto tengo que hacerlo aparte. Así, pues, confío buscarás tiempo para escribirme acerca de la lucha y labor que se realiza en España las más veces que puedas.

Te acompaña cartas para Souchy, Martín y Carbo, que me harás el favor de hacer seguir a Barcelona. Todas son importantes y deben llegar a a manos de los interesados cuanto antes.

Un saludo cariñoso de,

P.S.

Ahora veo que la carta con el cheque vino certificada, de lo cual me alegro. Sin embargo, yo aquí no la puedo reclamar, lo que debes hacer tu desde ahí, por mediación de las autoridades postales.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 1, London [to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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19566

London Jan 1st 37.

Dear comrade Roca.

Thank you very much for your letter. I can see from it that you have unfortunately addressed your letter containing the check you write me about wrongly. There is no such street in London as Cjeline. My address I gave you and which Mollie repeated over the telephone is 18, Castletown Rd. London W.14 England. The letter must have gone astray for I certainly did not receive it. If you had sent it registered it would have been possible to trace it. But how it is to be done now when you do not even put on the envelope your return address I don't know. It is too bad. Meanwhile I think you will do well to stop the payment of the check in the bank. So if anyone will get the letter you sent he should not be able to cash the check. I certainly hope the money will not be lost. It would be too terrible on top of the ~~xxxx~~ 106 Stewart has appropriated from the propaganda bureau.

I am inclosing my first report to the Comite Regional which please read before mailing it to Barcelona. You will see that though I am here only a week and handicapped by the British craze for Christmas I have begun some work which for the CNT-FAI which I hope will bear fruit. I have succeeded in rousing some interest for the wonderful work our comrades have and are doing in Spain of some of the members of the Independent Labor Party. The secretary of that Party is going to speak at our large meetings Jan. 18. And he is also trying to get us wellknown people to preside at the affair. The exhibition similar to the one in Paris which I am planning will most likely also be together with the I.L.P. They are very eager to have a united exhibition and as they have greater possibilities of reaching a large public than the few comrades have I think it will be profitable to have it together.

Actually, the I.L.P. was up till now the only revolutionary Party in England. But it is now negotiating affiliations with the Socialist League and the Communists. That will finish them for us. But until then I have no objections to work with them.

I really envy you dear comrade that you are in Paris. You can keep in touch daily with the CNT-FAI and have the right news. I am completely cut off from that. Aside of my own desire to keep in close touch with Barcelona and Madrid it will make it most difficult to go on with the work if I cannot be supplied with authentic news. It occurred to me that as you again touch with Barcelona, perhaps you could send me by Avion a daily report in Spanish of course. I am very fortunate in having found a Span Spanish comrade who can translate. So that I will be able to read your letters and write you in Spanish. I know you are

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 1, London [to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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19567

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frightfully occupied. Still you will realize what a help it would be if I could get a daily letter from you giving me information about important points and events in Barcelona and Madrid. I would be so glad to get the news over the phone. But I cannot spend so much money at this end. When the Generalidad Propaganda Bureau will be reorganized and Darling has succeeded in getting telephone calls paid at Barcelona I might be able to talk to you. But even then I could not take up the phone for CNT-FI work. I have to keep that apart. So perhaps you will take time to write me a report of the struggle and work in Spain as often as you can.

I am also sending you letters to Souchy, Martin and Carbo which please forward to Barcelona. They are all very important ~~xxxx~~ should reach the comrades as quickly as possible.

Affectionate greetings.

P.S. I see that you have registered the letter with the check. That is fine. Only you must trace it from your side.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001132

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 1, London to Facundo Roca, Paris (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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London Jan. First 36.

Secretariat CNT-B.I.

Dear Comrades.

I am glad to be able to write you in Spanish as I am most anxious to keep in touch with you directly. It will save time on both sides as you can also write me Spanish. This direct way of communication will be due to a Spanish comrade I have met here who knows both ~~Spanish~~ both Spanish and English.

I can report on the first steps I have taken in regard my work here for your heroic struggle. Though only a week in London I have already organized a CNT-B.I Committee that will ~~attempt~~ attempt to do intensive propaganda for the Revolution and the Anti Fascist war. A public meeting for Jan 18th has been decided upon where I will speak on the glorious part the CNT-B.I have had in the Spanish Revolution and in the Anti Fascist war.

I have succeeded in interesting the Independent Labor Party which is still the only revolutionary party in England. The secretary of this organization will be one of the speakers at the meeting. In this way we hope to reach wider circles of workers in England which the comrades few in number here could not possibly reach.

You remember my talking you of an exhibition which would give the Revolution and the struggle in pictures. I was going to have it independently. But ~~through~~ several members of the ~~British~~ I.L.P have approached me to join their exhibition which of course will be on a much larger scale than I could have it. I have made the condition that the CNT-B.I must be given a conspicuous place and must receive an equal share of all moneys contributed at the exhibition. I am to have a final conference with the people of the ~~British~~ I.L.P. I will then decide whether to have it with them or independently.

So far only one paper has come to interview me about my impressions of Catalonia. I inclose a copy of the write up. It gives your work the necessary publicity which it has not received so far. Later I hope to get more especially as a result of the meeting and the exhibition. As I shall use every opportunity to raise funds I want to do so by concentrating on the children and women evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. Perhaps you will let me know if you agree with this, or any other instructions you would like to give me. It may even be advisable to send me a list of things you need most ~~out~~ outside of weapons I mean in the way of food, clothing, medical supplies or what else.

A very important thing is the recruiting that is being carried on here by the Communists. Do you want it done for the CNT-B.I. If so what kind of men do you need and would you be prepared to cover their travelling expenses. Please write me in detail and as soon as possible.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001132

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 1, London to Facundo Roca, Paris (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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It will interest you to know that while there is all sorts of work carried on for Spain by all sorts of people the CNT-FAI has received very little attention in England and I take it no support at all. I know that you did write to America over two months ago saying you had received nothing from the large amounts of monies ~~contributed~~ contributed by the workers. In other words you have been as sabotaged outside of ~~Spain~~ Catalonia as you are inside of it. Well, I am determined that the disgraceful neglect of the CNT-FAI outside of Spain should not go on. Even if my efforts will not bring very much I can expose the miserable people who are ready for the meanest methods to hurt you and your struggle.

Dear comrades while with you there were of course a number of decisions the Comite passed which seemed a grave contradiction of our ideas ~~which~~ which you have defended all your lives. But not knowing Spanish and not wishing to add to your responsibilities I never imposed my own ideas on the Spanish comrades. But the latest news of the erection of a concentration camp which Oliver Garcia is supposed to have advised make it impossible for me to keep silent. I know what a dangerous undertaking that is. What it has done in Russia. There too the concentration camp was begun for the counter-revolutionists. It ended up by serving the Soviet government to silence all opposition. Not counter-revolutionists but all Left elements, opposition Communists, anarchists, Socialists peasants and workers fill the camps by the hundred thousand. Do you not see the same danger in Spain. And should you not guard against it? I wish you would let me know the real facts in the matter. You see I will have to answer many questions that will be hurled at me at meetings and lectures. I will have to explain your entry into the government, militarisation and a lot more. Naturally I want to do nothing that would in the least hurt your brave struggle and your difficulties. Perhaps you will give you your reasons, especially for that dreadful institution the Concentration Camp.

You have let me take with me 300 handkerchieves I found on my arrival that there is a great demand for them. I have written Martin and have asked him to get thousand more for them. ~~Handkerchieves~~ If I will sell them for the evacuated children I think I might raise a considerable sum. You will let me know whether that meets with your approval. ~~Handkerchieves~~ and please send me the handkerchieves. They must be shipped from France, preferably Paris. Your letter to me too should be forwarded on from Paris. It is safer and will not be opened as it would coming directly from Barcelona.

I think that is all for the present.

Salut.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 1, London [to Comité Nacional and Comité Regional] CNT-FAI, Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 25 x 17 cm.

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ES COPIA.

LONDRES, 1^a de Enero de 1937.
Secretariado C.N.T.-F.A.I.
BARCELONA.

Queridos camaradas:

Celebro poder escribiros en Español, pues mis deseos son tener contacto con vosotros directamente. Esto ahorrará pérdida de tiempo, tanto a mí como a vosotros, que también podéis escribirme en español. Esta forma directa de comunicación se la debemos a un camarada español, con quien me he encontrado aquí, y que se encargará de traducir nuestras comunicaciones.

Puedo daros cuenta de los primeros pasos que he dado en relación con el trabajo que voy a desarrollar aquí, por vuestra heroica empresa. Aunque solo hace una semana que estoy en Londres, ya he organizado un Comité de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., que tratará de hacer una propaganda intensiva por la Revolución y la guerra antifascista. Se acordó organizar un Mitin que se celebrará el 18 de Enero, en el cual hablaré de la parte gloriosa que la C.N.T.-F.A.I., ha jugado en la Revolución española, y en la guerra contra el fascismo.

He logrado interesar al "Independent Labour Party", (Partido Independiente Obrero), que es el único partido revolucionario que aun queda en Inglaterra. El Secretario de esta Organización, será uno de los oradores que hablará en dicho Mitin. De esta manera tenemos la esperanza de poder abarcar un círculo más amplio entre el elemento obrero en Inglaterra, que nuestros camaradas aquí pocos en número, no podrían aspirar alcanzar.

Recordareis que os hablé de una exposición que diera una perspectiva de la Revolución y de la lucha, en película. Tenía pensado organizarla independientemente, pero varios elementos de la I.L.P., se han acercado a mí, y me han propuesto unirme a ellos, con su exposición, la cual desde luego, será de mucha mayor escala que si yo la intentara por mí sola. He puesto por condición que la C.N.T.-F.A.I., debe ocupar un puesto preferente, y que recibirá una parte igual en cuantos fondos sean recaudados por la exposición. Tengo que celebrar una última conferencia con la gente de la I.L.P.,.Entonces decidirá si celebrarla sola o colectivamente.

Hasta ahora tan solo un periodico ha venido a interesarse por mis impresiones sobre Cataluña. Acompaño copia de mis declaraciones. Ello dará a vuestro trabajo, una publicidad no recibida hasta ahora. Más tarde confío recibir más visitas, especialmente con motivo del Mitin y exposición. Como quiera que haré uso de cuantas oportunidades se presenten para allegar fondos, deseo hacerlo, concentrando mis esfuerzos en lo que respecta a las mujeres y niños evacuados de Madrid, y otros frentes. Díganme si estais conformes con esto, o pasadme las instrucciones que creais convenientes. Tal vez sería conveniente, que me enviaseis una lista de las cosas que necesiteis con más urgencia que no sean armas; es decir, víveres, prendas de vestir, artículos sanitarios, etc., etc.

Una cosa muy importante es el reclutamiento que está siendo llevado a cabo aquí por los comunistas. ¿Deseais que se haga en nombre de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.? En caso afirmativo habeis de decirme la clase de hombres que os conviene, y si estariais dispuestos a sufragar los gastos de viaje. Escribid detalladamente, y tan pronto como os sea posible.

Os interesará saber que mientras aquí se realiza una labor muy diversa en pro de España, por toda clase de personas, la C.N.T.-F.A.I., apenas ha recibido atención alguna en Inglaterra, y ayuda ninguna. Sé que escribisteis a America hace más de dos meses, notificandoles que nada habais recibido de la crecida suma de dinero contribuida por los obreros. En otras palabras; lo mismo habeis sido saboteados dentro que fuera de Cataluña; pero estoy determinada a que no siga prosperando esta intolerable negligencia acerca de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. fuera de España. Aun cuando mis esfuerzos no consigan grandes resultados, al menos prodré desenmascarar a aquellos miserables que por los métodos más reprobables, tratan de causar daño a vosotros, y a vuestra lucha.

Queridos camaradas, durante mi estancia entre vosotros fueron tomadas varias resoluciones por el Comité, que por supuesto parecían una grave contradicción de nuestras ideas, las cuales habeis defendido durante toda vuestra vida. Pero desconociendo el español, y en mis deseos de no aumentar vuestras responsabilidades, nunca pretendí imponer mi opinión personal a los camaradas españoles. No obstante las últimas noticias, de la creación del campo de concentración

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 1, London [to Comité Nacional and Comité Regional] CNT-FAI, Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 25 x 17 cm.

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al parecer con la autoridad de García Oliver, hace imposible que siga callando. Estoy convencida del peligro que tal empresa supone. No hay que ver, sino lo que se ha hecho en Rusia. Allí también el campo de concentración fue empezado para meter en él a los contra-revolucionarios. Y terminó sirviendo al Gobierno Soviético, para silenciar TODA OPOSICIÓN. No contra-revolucionarios, sino todo elemento de izquierda, comunistas de la oposición, anarquistas, socialistas, campesinos y trabajadores, llenan los campos en cientos de miles. ¿No preveís vosotros el mismo peligro en España? No sois de opinión que debéis guardaros en contra de esto? Desearía que me diéseis a conocer los verdaderos motivos de este asunto. Tendré que responder a innumerables preguntas, que me serán hechas en mítines y conferencias. Tendré que explicar vuestra colaboración en el Gobierno, militarización y muchas otras cosas. Naturalmente no deseo hacer nada que en lo más mínimo pudiera hacer daño a vuestra heroica lucha y dificultades. Estoy segura que me explicaréis vuestras razones; sobre todo en lo tocante a esa horrible institución; el campo de concentración.

Traje conmigo 300, pañuelos que vosotros me procurasteis, y a mi llegada he encontrado que tienen una gran demanda. He escrito a Martín, pidiéndole que me consiga MIL más. Si los vendo en nombre de los niños evacuados, creo poder realizar una bonita suma. Decidme si esto es de vuestra conformidad, y enviad los pañuelos. Deben ser expedidos desde Francia, preferible desde París. vuestra carta para mí, también debe ser enviada desde París. Es más seguro y no sería abierta, como sucedería de ser enviada directamente desde Barcelona. Esto es todo lo que tengo que deciros por de pronto.

Salud:

EMMA GOLDMAN.

(firmado.)

Hay el sello de " Information Service,
C.N.T.-F.A.I.
18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
LONDON, W.14

The Emma Goldman Papers

871106067

[Letter] 193[7] Jan. 1, London [to Eusebio] Carb[ó], [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

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3 copies to be made

19629

London Jan. First 36.

Dear comrade Carbo.

I am very distressed over your silence. I wrote you from Paris two weeks ago in regard to ~~the appropriation~~ Stewart's appropriation of £100. Actually it was 106 pounds and the condition of Darling. Since I arrived here I have found even a worse condition, debts and debts and no means to meet them.

Stewart did exactly what I feared he would. He worked for his party not for the bureau of the Generalidad. In fact he was given help by the Socialist ~~League~~ very close to the Communists an office, electricity and telephone all free. One does not have to be a prophet to foretell why this was done. But that is not the important point. What is is the fact that Stewart actually had no expenses for the office, and the rent and yet he ~~incurred~~ incurred a lot of debts that will have to be paid before anything new can be started. I have written you all that and Hererra whom I told the sad story has I am sure reported the same to you yet not a word from you. Dear comrade you must realize that outside of Catalonia or Spain ~~no effective work~~ effective work cannot be carried on. Actually, I feel completely cut off from Barcelona and the ~~index~~ events there ~~with the exception of the~~ Now, unless I am kept informed I will not be able to bring results here. So what is to be done about it?

You said there is a direct communication by ~~index~~ telephone between Barcelona and London. If I am to use it who will pay the expense? Once the new office will be established I will have to talk to you/ or someone who is in a position to keep me informed of the important things happening in Catalonia and the rest of Spain. Perhaps you do not know the Anglo Saxon mind. Well, I can tell you that unless one can give them authentic proofs for any statement it will have no effect. So you see how necessary it is to keep in close touch with me.

Of course I am most disappointed that you have not kept your promise in regard to the photos you assured me you would keep on sending. Won't you please hurry them up especially as many photos as possible of Luridid.

You remember you told me that I should find some Socialist who might represent the third tendency, ~~in the~~ in the Generalidad Bureau of Propaganda. (Is it the U.G.T.?) Well I found a very able young Socialist. He belongs to the Independent Labor Party. For over four years he has worked for the NO MORE WAR organization every large movement of an International character. He left this group because of the Anti Fascist War He was for it and the others against. He therefore felt that he could no longer support it. Previous to this position he was connected with the Liberation movement of India. He is intelligent and from what I hear very efficient as an organizer. He is very eager to join Darling and myself in the London Bureau. Of course we should go to Spain first for a few weeks. It will carry more

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871106067

[Letter] 193[7] Jan. 1, London [to Eusebio] Carb[ó], [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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weight when he will be able to say he had been there.

The name of the young man is Rastinald Reynolds. He is very well known in labor ranks in London and a good worker. Now the question is will ~~himself~~ the party of your third colleague in Barcelona pay his fare? If so he would come. He is a workman ~~he has no means of his own. Now~~ ~~my comrade~~ do write me at last and as soon as possible. ~~he~~ I really do not know what to do about the bureau of the Generalidad, nor about the photos and any new material you might have since I left. Then of course there is the letter you promised me, ~~that~~ I mean the direction about the bureau. Finally, about Reynolds, is he to come to Barcelona and will the Socialists or the Generalidad pay his fare? If you send instructions how he is to go about.

There is one more thing it is the budget intended for the bureau as you told me. Write about everything.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001195

[Leiter] 1937 Jan. 1, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / F[acundo] Roca. —
1 p.; 15 × 21 cm.

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1937

OFICINA COMERCIAL
PARIS

PARIS, 1.^o de Enero, de 1937
68, AVENUE GEORGES V

Querida Emma:

Unas líneas para decirte que ayer, cumpliendo encargo de Barcelona, la Oficina de propaganda de la Generalidad de París, embió 5.000 francos, o su equivalente en Estras, a Darling con destino a la oficina de Londres.

Mis mejores augurios para las tareas anarquistas en el presente año, y un saludo cordial de tu camarada

F. Roca

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005250

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 1, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell]. — 2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona 1 de enero 1937

Дорогая Эмма!

Только сегодня получил В. письмо, которое В. писал 22 дек. в Париже. В нем В. жалуетесь как будто бы я Вас совсем забыл и не пишу. Это не правда. В это время я В. уже писал 4 письма. Вспомнил еще 3 номера всяких газет. Также В. писал мне новые альбомы, которые теперь мы здесь издаем.

Кроме того я писал на Ваш адрес одну наклейку прокл. F.A.I. по поводу анархического конгресса, который хотят сделать в Барселоне. Вас прошу, чтобы Вы рассказали это приглашение всем английским группам.

Тошчу мне говорить по поводу кино. Он мне утверждает что все уже сделано и на днях вы получите этот фильм.

Die Frau Sutton ist schon am Front von Aragón mit der Leute von Durruti. Den Brief schicke heute ab.

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Вам посылаю испанский и
иностранные бюллетени. Не знаю по-
скольку-ли Вы „solidaridad obrera“.
Из ~~такого~~ газет можете заметить, что
некоторые время отношения между тов. и
бюрами были не очень-то хорошие. Они казали
пропаганду — правду, против нас. Мы им
погрозили и кажется что дело пока не
принимает широких размеров.

Нам нужны иностранные тов. Если
есть у вас добровольцы, пусть приезжают.
Но важно чтоб были анархисты. Или по
крайней мере антибольшевики. Пусть они
в Париж и там обращаются к этому
тов. Nemesio Galvez, 30, rue St. Augustine, Paris II.
Он уже устроит все чтобы они приехали
в Барселону.

Пока все.

Отсюда от К. писал. Из Лондона до
сих пор ничего не получил.

Поздравление и хорошие пожелания
с новым годом. Вся Барселона работает.
сегодня. Также работала 25 и 26. Празд
уже не может праздновать.

Сердечный привет
Вам Martin

The Emma Goldman Papers

890128030

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 3, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].—
3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Gud

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Vía Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

LONDON ADDRESS.

18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
LONDON. W.14.

LONDON.

Barcelona 3 rd January 1937.

Dear Martin,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote to the Comité Regional. You will wonder that I should have acquired Spanish so quickly. At last miracles do happen. I was fortunate in finding a Spanish comrade here who knows English and volunteered to help with my mail including translations. I feel so relieved because I will be able to keep in touch with the C.N.T. in a direct way. If only I had that possibility whilst I was in Barcelona I could have come infinitely closer to our Spanish comrades. I could have had my say on some of the steps taken by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. which seemed deplorably inconsistent, to and sometimes futile. Well I can hope to make up when I return to Spain because the comrade has consented to give me an hour a week with my Spanish reading and a little of the grammar. I am very determined to know more of the language when I get back.

From the letter to the Comité you will see what has been done so far. If they and you only knew the hard task I had on other visits you will realise how wonderful was the response at our first meeting of comrades. I am sure now that we will be able to arrange an extensive campaign for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. We have a few old comrades here that are helpful. They and the Committee will constitute quite a working force. The reason I am sending you a copy of the letter is that you may know what I have written and also that you may urge the Comité to reply, ~~me~~ also to let me have things I have asked for. I have received your letters and so the letter heads, you sent me. I really wanted the stationery of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Since I am here in the capacity as their representative I should use their stationery. If the Comité agrees send me another batch of 200 or 250 sheets of their paper, if not the ones you have sent will do just as well. Comrade Roca stationed in Paris has notified me that he has received the money for ~~the~~ representing the advance expenses for the unfortunate scheme of ~~the~~ exhibition. In fact he notified me that he sent on a cheque the 24th. Fortunately he registered it so I am not worried because it has not yet arrived. It may have been delayed owing to the heavy Christmas mail. To-day I had another letter from Roca telling me that the ~~President of the~~ Propaganda Bureau of the Generalitat has finally sent over 5000 francs for our bureau here. The money has not yet come; but when it does it will be a drop in the bucket, because the good Communist Stewart who got away with £106 has left in addition quite a number of debts. This if you please regardless of the fact that not a single penny had to be paid for rent, light and telephone (except trunk calls). The trunk calls have to be paid for. I have not yet seen the bills in Darling's hands. I will know what it is all about when he submits them to me. I don't know how much of the 250

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2.

will go for the debts; but I am quite sure very little will remain for a new office, telephone and light, for I am quite determined to have nothing whatever to do with the old office, which by the way is part of the Socialist League, an organisation very closely related to the Communist Party. I will have to insist that ~~the~~ ^{Gudell} Bureau is removed from that office and the influence with which it has been surrounded.

Thank Herrera for me for having ~~having~~ settled the disagreeable money questions so effeciently. I dislike keenly to have to discuss money with comrades; but I wish you would tell him that it is necessary to make it very plain to the Bureau of the Generalitat that nothing effective can be done here in the way of propganda unless the work is guaranteed at least ~~for~~ ^{two} months. Now Carbo told me that the Generalitat had decided on a budget of £350 a month. Granted that this is rather a stif sum, it is essential that the largest part of it should be in England, safely deposited in a Bank, and drawn only on the signatures of Darling and myself, ~~with the usual balance~~ ^{with the usual balance} ~~with the usual balance~~ ^{with the usual balance} But frankly it is impossible to move quickly and decide on important jobs unless money is within reach. I would like to have that matter over and settled upon. I am sure that Herrera will agree with me that in capitalist countries where one is compeled to pay for evry turn one makes, one must have a secured working capital.

Now ~~if~~ ^{for} our own C.N.T.-F.A.I. ~~can~~ ^{could} offer to guarantee two months for the propaganda we are to do here, there is no reason why the Generalitat should ~~not~~ be able to do likewise even if the sum for that ~~account~~ will have to be very substantially larger. I hope that I will not have to recur to this matter because it is really trying for me to appear "Mercenary".

As far as our own C.N.T.-F.A.I. is concerned we need material more than a great deal of money. Everybody promised to send me material; but so far no one has kept his word, yet ~~everyday~~ ^{everyday} some necessity arises for publicity. For instance the other day the "Daily Telegraph" had an article containing a letter from Cambó stating that Fascism in Spain was a negicable quantity, and was giving life ~~key~~ ^{key} the C.N.T.-F.A.I. That the C.N.T.-F.A.I. consists of a gang of criminals and that they were leading Spain to rack and ruin. This would give me a splendid opportunity to reply if I only had data of Cambó's participation and material support in the Fascist conspiracy. Can you send to me as quickly as possible this information and anything elase connected with that man. Inasmuch as he was considered the richest man in Spain I should like to ~~know~~ know what his source of wealth was and to what extent he was involved with the Catholic Church and any other material that will enable me to answer the scurrilous attack of Cambó. It would mean considerable propaganda for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. It would also be well to have some data on the strength of the Fascists in ~~Barcelona~~ ^{Barcelona} ~~Spain~~ ^{Spain} Now be a dear Martin and gather that material. I am sure you must have it. As I have already told you, you can send it in Spanish.

~~I~~ ^{My} I discover much to my surprise that I have not the name of the ~~airman~~ ^{airman} who brought down several of Franco's planes and was then killed by one. I mean the one in whose body German bullets were found. I have his photo which I wish to use for the Exhibition. I was given his name when I visited ~~your~~ ^{your} Aerodromes in Barcelona. I have to confess to a very bad memory for names, yet I must have it, so will you please

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890128030

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had better stop the copy machine at the mark
Gyd
send it in your next letter. I have to admit the same failing in regard to the two women malitias who were killed. I have their photographs but not their names, nor do I remember at what fronts they lost their lives. I am sure that you or Souchy or the comrades of the Comite will know. I am not quite clear as to your reference to the Art Exhibition, or rather to Herrera. You say that I should not worry about it any more. Does that mean that I am never to be put in charge of it in London. Herrera is quite right to have confidence in the man on the Generalitat who was handling the matter. I would like to know whether these people are eventually to have an Art Exhibition. In my case it would not only be in London of considerable help; but it would help me considerably to get into America, and in addition aid me in raising a great deal of money for the C.N.T.-F.A.I.; but if it is not to be it cannot be helped.

Please ask Ruediger to put my name on the list for the German Bulletin. The English edition we have received so far is woefully insufficient. The German edition contains considerable material. We can use it here for two publications. "Spain and The World" published bi-monthly, and the little magazine called "Fighting Call" published by the London Group in conjunction with the comrades in Scotland every month. I am hoping that eventually we can make something worth while out of the magazine, especially if people who promised me original material will actually send it. Souchy, Ruediger, Poe, and Berneri. I wish I could also get something once a month from Fredrica Montseny. Where is she now, and what does her Ministry amount to?. Again I must ask your help and co-operation as well to let me have any new posters or photographs you can get hold of. I know that it will take some of your precious time but I will not be able to carry on the work as efficiently unless you will seriously supply me with stuff. You can write me in Spanish now or Russian but write both on the machine. It will be easier reading and transcribing.

The Soviet newspapers costs like the devil but I will try to get one of them over, the Investia or Pravda; but the fact is that to subscribe to both of them for a long time takes a fortune, and I had to give them up. The lies and bumptious tone, I don't know how long I shall be able to stand them; but if I get some numbers I will send them to you.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Fraternally,

Emma

P.S. Get in touch with Rosa of the Spanish propaganda department, that girl Russian and see whether the Album she was preparing is finished. If so I would like some copies. She gave one as a sample to a member of the I.L.P. who was in Barcelona. If she will send me a supply, and put down the lowest possible price to avoid the high custom charges, I think I could dispose of quite a number.

I dictated this letter to a comrade who has been apt at stenographic practice for years. The result is this dreadful looking thing. I am sorry. I got to day, and

had better stop the copy machine at the mark
I hope the Bulletin is better than the one which I have read so far
Spanish Bulletin
girl
large call at Spanish Bulletin

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 4, London [to] Michael [A. Cohn, Nice?] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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16, Castletown Rd. London W.14. Jan. 4th 37. C. Lin

Dear Michael. One is expected to turn a new leaf in the New Year. Leave one's old sins behind and sin no more. Or at least make a resolution not to sin any more. The trouble is I am an incurable sinner as far as my correspondents are concerned. And yet I have written more letters in my long life than many another I know. Well, it cannot be helped. My friends and comrades will have to love me for my ~~unpleasant~~ bad sides. For my good sides are too few to merit much love. Leave it or take it old man. You have no other choice.

Well, I am back in the country I have cordially hate ever since I came here first many years ago. I hope it is not going to be too long before I can return to Spain. All my thoughts are there, and all my innermost wishes.

Dear Michael does anyone know himself? I ask because I met few people who know themselves so little as you. You are so cock sure of being right, always. And of never contradicting yourself. As to being a judge of ~~human~~ human beings. Leave it to dear Michael Cohn. He never ~~xxxx~~ makes mistakes. Dear, dear Michael, you are funny.

First, about your certainty that d'Eck is an active Fascist and AUNTIE is one as well. If what you say is true how could you see d'Eck and even call on him in the hospital? Would you do that with Franco? Or would you not rather send him zu jener Welt? Or AUNTIE, if she is a Fascist why did you accept ~~man~~ so many favors from her, and why have you been friendly with her? Of course I do not believe a word about either d'Eck or AUNTIE. I have known them long enough to know they are neither active or in active Fascists. Proof for that is the interest d'Eck has ~~given~~ taken in Sasha and Emmy, the time he spent on them, the medical help he gave them. What motive do you think induced him to do that? ~~xxx~~ I do not mean to suggest it was his interest in our ideas. I do not think for a moment d'Eck has any political or social interests, any more than AUNTIE has. I only mean to say that D'Eck's devotion to Sasha and Emmy is a very strong indication of friendship. ~~and~~ If he were a Fascist, and active at that he would not ~~xxxx~~ have done the hundred and one kindly things for a man whom he knew to hate Fascism worse than death. Especially as d'Eck gained nothing whatever from Sasha, not even a fee for his visit of Sasha in Nice which made him lose a whole day, nearly. True, you say AUNTIE told you D'Eck ~~xxxx~~ is a Fascist. But do you think it is enough to charge a man with such a thing on the statement of another person, be that even a friend? Nowadays one has no right to lightly charge anyone with Fascism because it may have dire consequences.

As to AUNTIE being a Fascist that is really childish. AUNTIE has never had a political idea in her life. She has a heart as large as the world ever ready to help people in distress. As to her affection for Sasha and me there is nothing on earth she would not do for us. If proof were lacking her sympathy and her help with Sasha's funeral should be enough to protect her against

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the hideous label *Fascism*. Her willingness to come to London to fix a place for me, and to be of help in the work for Spain should have dissuaded you from the notion about her *Fascism*. There is one thing about AUNTIE which is a common human failing. It is that when she gets wrought up about anybody or angry, she is apt to charge him with the most far fetching offenses. She told me yesterday how disgusted she was with d'Eoks because he took her to a *Fascist* meeting and how excited. She blurted out the nonsense about him being a *Fascist* because you happened to be the first she ran into after that meeting. But she has no other proofs and she was never sure herself about her charge. After all, going to a *Fascist* meeting does not make one a *Fascist*. I understand you were sorry you did not attend it. AUNTIE admitted that she should not have taken d'Eoks going to the meeting and inviting her as an indication of his *Fascism*. Anywhy, my dear you could have spared yourself the information to me. At least you should have waited until you had more convincing proofs.

You charge me with contradicting myself in my letter to Mollie. Yet here you are in your letter of Dec 12, writing the following "personally I think you could do more in England than in Spain". ~~As~~ "AS to propaganda I doubt whether you can achieve much there". In view of the fact that my going to England was only for propaganda and that you write I might achieve much there it seems quite a contradiction to say in the same breath that I would achieve nothing in the line of propaganda. Now fess up isn't it contradictory?

As to my contradictions in my letter to Mollie, it certainly reads like that as the torn out sentences read which you have jumbled together. But the letter read coherently as I wrote it implied no contradiction. Unless I have forgotten the text of my letter I am quite certain that I did not ~~blat~~ call our comrades stupid nor did I blame them for their stupidities. For they are neither. True, they are naive, they know little of diplomacy, ~~that~~ nor of its intrigues. That is why they are being shamefully sabotaged by their allies.

I did not ask whether the Communists should have been "put against the wall" or whether we should have "created a dictatorship of our own". I did write that our comrades had one of two alternatives. Either to give all other parties outside of the *Fascists* complete political freedom as they have or declare a dictatorship. I am glad they chose the former though I feel certainly they will pay dearly for it. Yet I think that any prize they will pay will be more in keeping with the ideas they have defended for so long. If I did not say it in so many words that was exactly the meaning of what I wrote.

True, I said it was wrong to enter the Government. Having been on the spot I knew perfectly that they were forced to do so by the scandalous sabotage of Caballeros Cabint. But that does not do away with the inconsistency of Anarchists entering a government. In point of fact the comrades themselves know it was inconsistent. Many of them argued against it strenuously.

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So where was the contradiction on my part? However, it was quite logical to say that since our people decided to entry four ministers they should ~~have~~ at least have insisted on two of the most important. For, in that way alone could they checked the Spanish "Stalin" as someone called Caballero. You know the Jewish saying "when a Yid esst Chasser soll er essen as die Smaltz soll arunter laufen in Bord. I hope you can make this out.

My next contradiction in your estimation is that I felt Barcelona a load on my heart. Yet I admitted that the comrades work like galley slaves. Now what on earth have the two to do with each other? If I would have said that our comrades are idling I could understand that you were puzzled. But I wrote the very reverse. If I nevertheless felt Barcelona as depressing it was for quite other reasons which I did not even mention in my letter to Mollie. The same wrong interpretation on your part applies to my saying that the comrades "will have a rude awakening". In fact to all the other passages distorted by being torn out of their context. Really my dear I have not the time to go over them all that you might see how far removed from my letter the distortion is. I do not mean to say ~~that~~ that I did not write all that you have quoted. I only mean to say that everything loses its coherency and meaning when torn out of its body. But what difference does it make? My faith in the ultimate realization of our comrades of whatever errors they may have made is undying. As is my faith in the determination of the Spanish people, the peasants and the workers to exterminate Fascism. Nothing else matters for the present.

I see you don't give a damn for the motive of Russia in sending arms. You probably think it nothing at all that Stalin waited four months before he sent anything. And that since he began sending arms it was never anything for Catalonia. True, it went to Madrid. But remember Catalonia has a number of important fronts. ~~But~~ But the CNT-FAI being the strongest there Stalin would rather see it taken by Franco than our comrades. The main thing however is that all this cry and hue about the arms sent by Russia is fairly exaggerated. Because our comrades in Barcelona in their munition factory turned into one within twenty four hours of the Revolution are already producing a great deal of arms of their own. Of course I do not mean to belittle what Russia is sending. I only mean to say that as usual Stalin is misleading everybody including yourself into having suddenly become keenly interested in the freedom of Spain. Whereas he is shipping thousands of his catspaws and is arming them for the purpose to establish a Spanish dictatorship of the Communists. And they would immediately proceed to put every one of our comrades to the wall. I admit he will have as difficult a problem to meet as Franco has. But we ought to face the fact that ~~that~~ Stalin is sending masses of trained men, a very small part of whom are actually fighting on the Madrid front. The rest are kept for the more fundamental purpose. In point of fact, Stalin is not even waiting until Franco will be gotten rid of. His comrades have already shown their teeth. They are more powerful in Madrid. And they have actually suppressed the Madrid CNT paper.

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SP Lin

Hereupon The cause of it was as follows: One of their big guns passed a barricade whose sentries were CNT men. They demanded his documents, which he refused to give. He ordered his chauffeur to drive on. ~~Then~~ they fired in the air, again demanding their documents. He told them he did not recognize the CNT authority and he again attempted to get away. Our comrades merely carrying out the task for which they had been stationed then shot the man. I admit it was foolish and unnecessary. They should have arrested the Stalinite instead. But the patience of the comrades has ~~been~~ already been tried to the breaking point. It is only by sheer will power that they are holding on to their ~~package~~ of a united front with such people whom they know to be ready to stab them in the back and to interfere on every step. As a result of the shooting the CNT paper in Madrid was stopped. So you see the situation, don't you? As to Stalin's generosity, I am certain that if the powers will insist on an embargo on ~~ministry~~ "Volunteers" Russia will join them as she has joined them in Blums idiotic Non Intervention policy for three months. Rather strange that you like so many others should be carried away by the ~~display~~ gesture of Stalin in re Spain. Had he really been in earnest Franco would now be dead and forgotten. Three valuable months lost and tens of thousand of lives.

You understand that I can not let you use all this for your articles. Since our comrades in Spain feel they must keep silent on the scandalous doings of the Communists or Caballeros, we outside must keep our counsel. There is nothing else to do for the present. Which only strengthens my contention that by making common cause with gangsters our people ~~will be~~ may eventually be gangsterized by them. Or at least begin another life and death struggle. Was it necessary for ~~them~~. *Rem?*

Yes, it is true about the slaughter ~~of~~ ^a Dragoza. This has since been augmented by ~~thousands~~ a great many thousand in every place under the Fascist rod. Who is B? You wrote "B. is organizing three hundred ~~thousand~~ thousand men. I don't know whom you mean. Three hundred thousand is a large army, isn't it?"

I am inclosing copies of letters I have written about the plans for England and what has already been achieved. Please send back the copies. They are the only ones I have.

All good wishes for your health and interesting experiences for the New Year. The same for Syd and Leo.

Salut ~~to the people of Spain~~

as they say in Spain.

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 4, London [to] Michael [A. Cohn, Nice?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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18, Castletown Rd. London W.14. Jan. 4th 37.

Dear Michael. One is expected to turn a new leaf in the New Year. Leave one's old sins behind and sin no more. Or at least make a resolution not to sin any more. The trouble is I am an incurable sinner as far as my correspondents are concerned, and yet I have written more letters in my long life than many another I know. Well, it cannot be helped. My friends and comrades will have to love me for my ~~past~~ bad sides. For my good sides are too few to merit much love. Leave it or take it old man. You have no other choice.

Well, I am back in the country I have cordially hate ever since I came here first many years ago. I hope it is not going to be too long before I can return to Spain. All my thoughts are there and all my innermost wishes.

Dear Michael does anyone know himself? I ask because I met few people who know themselves so little as you. You are so cock sure of being right always, and of never contradicting yourself. As to being a judge of ~~other~~ human beings. Leave it to dear Michael Cohn. He never ~~ever~~ makes mistakes. Dear, dear Michael you are funny.

First about your certainty that d'Eok is an active Fascist and AUNTIE is one as well. If what you say is true, how could you see d'Eok and even call on him in the hospital. Would you do that with Franco? Or would you not rather send him zu jener Welt? Or AUNTIE, if she is a Fascist why did you accept so many favors from her and why have you been friendly with her? Of course I do not believe a word about either d'Eok or AUNTIE. I have known them long enough to know they are neither active or in active Fascists. Proof for that is the interest d'Eok has ~~given~~ taken in Sasha and Emy, the time he spent on them, the medical help he gave them. What motive do you think induced him to do that? I do not mean to suggest it was his interest in our ideas. I do not think for a moment d'Eok has any political or social interests, any more than AUNTIE has. I only mean to say that D'Eoks devotion to Sasha and Emy is a very strong indication of friendship. And if he were a Fascist, and active at that he would not ~~have~~ have done the hundred and one kindly thing for a man whom he knew to hate Fascism worse than death. Especially as d'Eok gained nothing whatever from Sasha, not even a fee for his visit of Sasha in Nice which made him lose a whole day nearly. True you say AUNTIE told you D. Eok ~~was~~ is a Fascist. But do you think it is enough to charge a man with such a thing on the statement of another person be that even a friend? Nowadays one has no right to lightly charge anyone with Fascism because it may have dire consequences.

As to AUNTIE being a Fascist that is really childish. AUNTIE has never had a political idea in her life. She has a heart as large as the world ever ready to help people in distress. As to her affection for Sasha and me there is nothing on earth she would not do for us. If proof were lacking her sympathy and her help with Sashas funeral should be enough to protect her against

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the hideous label Fascism. Her willingness to come to London to fix a place for me and to be of help in the work for Spain should have dissuaded you from the notion about her Fascism. There is one thing about AUNTIE which is a common human failing. It is that when she gets wrought up about anybody or angry, she is apt to charge him with the most far fetching offenses. She told me yesterday how disgusted she was with d'Eek because he took her to a Fascist meeting and how excited. She blurted out the nonsense about him being a Fascist because you happened to be the first she ran into after that meeting. But she has no other proofs and she was never sure herself about her charge. After all going to a Fascist meeting does not make one a Fascist. I understand you were sorry you did not attend it. AUNTIE admitted that she should not have taken d'Eek going to the meeting and inviting her as an indication of his Fascism. Anyhow my dear you could have spared yourself the information to me. At least you should have waited until you had more convincing proofs.

You charge me with contradicting myself in my letter to Mollie. Yet here you are in your letter of Dec 12, writing the following "personally I think you could do more in England than in Spain". As to propaganda I doubt whether you can achieve much there". In view of the fact that my going to England was only for propaganda and that you write I might achieve much there it seems quite a contradiction to say in the same breath that I would achieve nothing in the line of propaganda. Now fuss up isn't it contradictory?

As to my contradictions in my letter to Mollie it certainly reads like that as the torn out sentences read which you have jumbled together. But the letter read coherently as I wrote it implied no contradiction. Unless I have forgotten the text of my letter I am quite certain that I did not ~~blat~~ call our comrades stupid nor did I blame them for their stupidities. For they are neither. True, they are naive, they know little of diplomacy, ~~that~~ nor of its intrigues. That is why they are being shamefully sabotaged by their allies.

I did not ask whether the Communists should have been "put against the wall" or whether we should have "created a dictatorship of our own". I did write that our comrades had one of two alternatives. Either to give all other parties outside of the Fascists complete political freedom as they have or declare a dictatorship". I am glad they chose the former though I feel certainly they will pay dearly for it. Yet I think that any price they will pay will be more in keeping with the ideas they have defended for so long. If I did not say it in so many words that was exactly the meaning of what I wrote.

True I said it was wrong to enter the Government. Having been on the spot I knew perfectly that they were forced to do so by the scandalous sabotage of Caballeros Cabinet. But that does not do away with the inconsistency of Anarchists entering a government. In point of fact the comrades themselves know it was inconsistent. Many of them areured against it strenuously.

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So where was the contradiction on my part? However, it was quite logical to say that since our people decided to entry four ministia they should ~~have~~ at least have insisted on two of the most im-
important. For in that way alone could they checked the Spanish "Stalin" as someone called Cuballero. You know the Jewish saying "when" a Yid east Chaser soll er essen as die Smaltz soll arunter laufen im Bord. I hope you can rake this out .

~~My~~ My next e ntradiction in your estimation is that I felt Barcelona a load on my heart. Yet I admitted that the comrades work like galley slaves. Now what on earth have the two t to do with each other? If I should have said that our comrades are idling I could understand that you were puzzled. But I wrote the very reverse. If I nevertheless felt Barcelona as depressing it was for quite other reasons which I did not even mention in my letter to Hollie. The same wrong interpretation on your part applies to my saying that the comrades "will have a rude awakening". In fact to all the other passages distorted by being torn out of their context. Really my dear I have not the time to go over them all that you might see how far removed from my letter the distort ion is. I do not mean to say ~~that~~ that I did not write all that you have quoted. I only mean to say that everything loses its coherency and meaning when torn out of its body. But what difference does it make? My faith in the ultimate realization of our comrades of whate ver errors they may have made is undying. As is my faith in the determination of the Spanish people, the peasants and the owrkers to exterminate Francoism. Nothing else matters for the presen

I see you don't give a darn for the motive of Russia in sending arms. You probably think it nothing at all that Stalin waited four months before he sent anything. And that since he began sending arms it was never anything for Catalonia. True it went to Madrid. But remember Catalonia has a number of important fronts ~~unopposed~~ But the CNT-FAI being the strongest there Stalin would rather see it taken by Franco than our comrades. The main thing however is that all this cry and hue about the arms sent by Russia is fairly exaggerated. Because our comrades in Barcelona in their munition factory turned into one within twenty four hours of the Revolution are already producing a great deal of arms of their own. Of course I do not mean to belittle what Russia is sending I only mean to say that as usual Stalin is misleading everybody including yourself into having suddenly become keenly interested in the free freedom of Spain. Whereas he he shipping thousands of his satraps a and is arming them for the purpose to establish a Spanish dictator ship of the Communists, and they would immediately proceed to put e every one of our comrades top the wall. I admit he will have as difficult a problem to meet as Franco has. But we ought to face th the fact that ~~that~~ Stalin is sending masses of trained men a very small part of whom are actually fighting on the Madrid front. The rest are kept for the more fundamental purpose. In point of fact Stalin is not even waiting until Franco will be gott rid of. His comrades have already shown their teeth. They are more powerful in Madrid. And they have actually suppressed the Madrid CNT paper.

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The cause of it was as follows; One of their big guns passed a barricade whose sentries were CNT men. They demanded his document which he refused to give. He ordered his chauffeur to drive on. Then they fired in the air again demanding their documents. He told them he did not recognize the CNT authority and he again attempted to get away. Our comrades merely carrying out the task for which they had been stationed then shot the man. I admit it was foolish and unnecessary. They should have arrested the Stalinite instead. But the patience of the comrades has ~~been~~ already been tried to the breaking point. It is only by sheer will power that they are holding on to their pledge of a united front with such people whom they know to be ready to stab them in the back and to interfere on every step. As a result of the shooting the CNT paper in Madrid was stopped. So you see the situation don't you? As to Stalin's generosity, I am certain that if the powers will insist on an embargo on ~~Volunteers~~ "Volunteers" Russia will join them as she has joined them in Blum's idiotic Non Intervention policy for three months. Rather strange that you like so many others should be carried away by the ~~disgraceful~~ gesture of Stalin in re Spain. Had he really been in earnest Franco would now be dead and forgotten. Three valuable months lost and tens of thousand of lives.

You understand that I can not let you use all this for your articles. Since our comrades in Spain feel they must keep silent on the scandalous doings of the Communists or Caballer we outside must keep our counsel. There is nothing else to do for the present. Which only strengthens my contention that by making common cause with gangsters our people ~~will be~~ may eventually be gangsterized by them. Or at least begin another life and death struggle. Was it necessary for them.

Yes, it is true about the slaughter of Zaragoza. This has since been augmented by ~~thousands~~ a great many thousand in every place under the "arrest rod. Who is B? You wrote "B. is organizing three hundred ~~thousand~~ thousand men. I don't know whom you mean. Three hundred thousand is a large army isn't it?

I am inclosing copies of letters I have written about the plans for England and what has already been achieved. Please send back the copies. They are the only ones I have.

All good wishes for your health and interesting experiences for the New Year. The same for Syd and Leo.

Salut ~~goodbye~~

as they say in Spain.

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xxxxxxx London Jan. 4th 37.

dear Comrade.

Thank you for your letter. I am delighted to know that you are ready to help with the activities for our brave comrades in Spain. I hope it will be possible to get up a meeting or two in Swansea or your place. I am inclosing a copy of a letter I wrote the comrade Avery Scott. of the LIBERTARIAN GROUP in Plymouth which I organised last year and ~~which has been~~ that has been doing work since then. The letter explains what we have achieved here so far and what we mean to do. It also explains my purpose in England. Lastly the contents will give you an idea in regard to meetings in the provinces.

Do you think you can approach to the I.L.P people at your end to help with a meeting. I do not see how else you will manage to have one. While I want no fee I will have to have the rail way expenses and hospitality. and the expense of the meeting itself will have to be secured. Perhaps you will tell me how you expect to go about in the matter. I am sorry to say I have no contacts in Swansea. I spoke there years ago. and I have moved about so much since then the addresses, and they were very few have been lost. When Jim Colton was alive he usually organised my tours through South Wales. He was a wonderful worker. Alas, he died last July and there is no one else. So I cannot be of much help in bringing you in touch with comrades anywhere in South Wales. I am sorry.

I have brought handkerchieves with me but not enough to distribute them for sale in the provinces. They are to be sold at my London meetings. Later I may get more. I will then send you some as per your request. I am preparing a statement about my impressions of Spain. I will send you a copy when it is ready.

Please let me hear from you again soon.

Fraternally.

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[Letter] 1937 Jan. 4, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
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LONDON ADDRESS

18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
LONDON, N.14.

LONDON.

----- 4th January 1937.

Dear Augustin,

~~I am~~ sorry you do not deserve a letter from me.
I had hoped that you would be more attentive to my correspondence than you were when I was working round the corner from you. Really my dear you try the patience of a Saint, and I have never pretended to be one. Seriously speaking, what was the sense of my going to England if I am not to be supplied with such material that will help me and the comrades here to bring the C.N.T.-F.A.I. before the British public and to raise funds? If I have appealed to you once I have done it a number of times that I need urgently articles weekly or once in two weeks, treating some vital points of the Anti-Fascist revolutionary struggle. I know how crowded you are with work and people; but also I know that propaganda in England is of the utmost importance. You yourself ~~was~~ ^{wer} so insistent on my coming here. The least you can do is to help me by supplying me with material.

What about the unfortunate Film? Is it ever going to be ready?, and am I to get it here, -when?. There is a mystery about the Durruti film. It seems that the one Darling got in Paris has come. else in the English speaking part. Someone with a strong Oxford accent. Who?. Is it possible that two separate films were made or was the script changed? I should like to know. You see when Comrade Barr wrote me that Darling had brought a Durruti film, I sent the one intended for use here on to the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. Can you explain the mixup?. As to the Durruti film Darling brought he has turned it over to Ivor Montagu who has got the film of Madrid, and who has offered to run the Durruti film in between on the basis of 50-50. I consented to this arrangement because I have no idea when we will get the longer film that has already taken two months in the making. Another thing long overdue is your Album. Is the ever to be finished?. We could certainly use some for sale. Last but not least the Durruti Brochure. What on earth has become of that?. If only we could have it at our meeting on January 18th. I am sure we could sell many. I have written Martin last week and have given him the exact number of copies to be sent the U.S.A. and Canada. No doubt he has shown you that letter. I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Carbo.

I have since heard from Rose that 5000 francs was sent to Darling by the Generalitat; but with all the debts Stewart left this amount will prove a drop in the bucket, and where is the money to come from for the new office, telephone and lights, not to speak of some sort of a salary? Everything seems so vague that it is very difficult

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~~to-achieve-anything~~

to achieve anything under such conditions. Now that Stewart has obliged us, and has taken himself off the job, a third person for the Propaganda Bureau in London of the Generalitat will be necessary.

Carbo imposed the pleasant task upon me to find a suitable man who will fill the need, namely a Socialist known in the labour ranks here. Comrade Barr suggested a fellow who may meet the requirements- I donot know. He is a member of the I.L.P. and would join us in the Bureau as an individual. He is most anxious to get to Spain to confer with you and the members of the Propaganda Bureau of the Generalitat. I have given Carbo all the details in my letter about him; but as there is no reliance on Carbo to act speedily in any matter, even if so ever important, I want you to get in touch with him, and the other two working with Carbo to discuss Reynolds. I would like to know as soon as possible whether he is the man you people want. Naturally, if he is to go to Spain for a few weeks the return trip will have to be paid, and the credential in the form of an invitation will have to be sent him. Will you see that I receive a letter or a wire about this matter.

I have written Martin at length about the preliminary steps we have taken and the Committee we have organised and all the other things we are hoping to do, and I am also writing the Comité direct in Spanish giving a report of what we have achieved so far. I am very fortunate in having met a Spanish comrade who knows English and who has offered with translations. I wish I could have had him, or someone else whilst in Barcelona. I could have been in close touch with the Comité and it would have saved me many hours of anguish when I have wanted so much to express my views on the different negative sides of the struggle of our comrades. I still hope to make up for it in my correspondence with the C.N.T.-P.A.I.

Now dear Augustin do reform and do be more dependable than you have been. After all it was you who insisted all the time on the need of my going to England to launch a publicity campaign. The least therefore that you can do is to help as far as it is in your power.

Fraternally,

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PARIS, January 4, 1937

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Dear Emma:

I suppose you've just about given up hope of ever receiving another letter from me. And I suppose you've been wondering what kind of comrade I can be when I fail to write in such times as these.

Paradoxical as it may seem, I have not written for so long precisely because I have been dying to write to you! How is that possible, you must be asking.

Upon my return from Madrid, I had so much to write that I wanted to sit down immediately and give myself over to it. But I knew that what I would write you would never pass the censorship: And the failure of both Spain and the World and the FAS to print or even acknowledge receipt of at least one of three or four articles that I had sent out before my Madrid trip did not give me great confidence in the efficacy of our means of transmitting correspondence. Finally, a number of things conspired to convince me that I might as well leave my tragic Spain and return home.

So that, from the Madrid trip until the present I had been trying to get out---illegally at first. And never knowing when a ship would be leaving Barcelona for France, I lived more or less from day to day and was unable to do very much of anything except finish up my work at the office, including the translation and typing of the manuscript of the book. Incidentally, I got out of Spain legally, by brow-beating the government into giving me a Nanssen Passport, and threatening to get out illegally if they didn't. (This was after I had been waiting for one of our ships for some 4 weeks!)

I have now been in France for almost two weeks, have written some 10 or 12 letters and only after I got them out of the way, have I been able to sit down and try to tackle my letter to you. Because what I want to write to you is bigger and requires more thought than the others. Also because it is so big that I haven't known where to begin, how to follow up and how to conclude.---I've been afraid to start!

Maybe that explains the long introduction!

How shall I start?

As you may recall, when you were still in Spain, I had no intentions of leaving the country as yet. I was discouraged, yes. I had lost a lot of hope. I was recognising and acknowledging the justice of Sania's criticisms---but I was still opposed to their coming out in the open. At the time I was planning to remain in Barcelona at least through the winter and all I wanted was an unhampered free and rigorous criticism and discussion within the movement itself.

And especially, when you came back from Madrid and told of the marvelous spirit there, I was distinctly bolstered up and ready to continue the work I had been doing: the Bulletin and translation of another book.

Then we took our trip to Madrid. Now we were there only 2 or 3 weeks after you, but something seems to have happened within that short time.

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A- The spirit of militance that radiated an optimism in the future of the Revolution was conspicuous by its complete absence. On the contrary, men like Zugadi, formerly from New York, now a member of the Regional Committee of the FAI for the Center and Head of the Propaganda Commission of the CNT and the FAI, were decidedly pessimistic. Why?

1- Our Movement was not allowed to hold any more meetings, demonstrations, lectures, etc.--not only in Madrid but even in the smallest villages far behind the lines where they could not plead the pressure of the war;

2- The censorship was severe and unrelenting;

3- A number of comrades had been caught distributing illegal literature and had simply disappeared. Neither he nor the other ~~responsib~~ responsible comrades had the heart to call for volunteers for this work any more, especially in view of the fact that the Movement was not taking any real steps to fight against the vicious oppression and reconquer its liberties of speech, press, assembly, etc.;

4- "Frente Libertario", that had aroused so much enthusiasm in you, had disappeared from the scene. Its plant had been padlocked by the government, and the Movement was no longer issuing its illegal, uncensored organ because the government had prohibited it;

5- Zugadi attributed this spinelessness to the political line of the Movement--to the fact that they had not only been in the government once, but were fixing everything possible to get there again.

In this respect a very curious incident occurred on the second or third day of our stay there.

Louis came back from the film studio one evening and started to tell us about a very intelligent leaflet that had been issued by the Caballero Socialists that day, a leaflet indicting the Negrin-Irieto Government. One of the leading comrades of the movie syndicate had picked it up in the street. It appears that 2 or 3 men had sped through the streets in a fast automobile and dropped bundles of them in various spots from which the people picked them up. They did not dare to drop them out while moving slowly in traffic. Only when they were moving at a good speed would they drop their bundles. And, according to the comrade's description, people picked them up and put them into their pockets to be read later. But all the leaflets were grabbed up.

They had all read the leaflet at the syndicate and had decided that it was a very good one. And altho it was an unsigned leaflet, everybody there, comrades all, simply took it for granted that it had been issued by the Caballero Socialists.

Out of curiosity, we asked what was in the leaflet.....

Upon Louis' description of the contents, I thought I recognized it. Going over to the desk where I had been translating 4 different leaflets that were to be published as a special English bulletin from Madrid, I picked up one of them and asked Louis if that were the leaflet in question. He looked at it in amazement. It was.

It had been issued by the CNT and the FAI. And the few that were still left around the headquarters were to be destroyed lest we

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be raided. I took a few copies with me and have sent them out of the country. If they reach my New York address, I'll send you a translation of the contents - so that you may see it for yourself.

I will not deny that Madrid has a remarkably joyous and strong spirit, considering the pressure under which they have been living for such a long period of time. But that spirit was not necessarily or specifically revolutionary. It may be due to the inherent character of the Madrilenos; it may be a direct reaction to the strain of their existence. I don't know its causes exactly, but I am certain that what I saw was no manifestation of revolutionary spirit.

Thus, I returned from Madrid with my last prop knocked out from under me.

Emma, as I see the situation in Spain, not only is the counter-revolution, with the communists at the top, making great strides forward, but, far worse, our Movement is doing absolutely nothing to resist the tide. And such an attitude is in itself an aid and a comfort to the reaction.

As you must have noticed, I tried to have my bulletin continually show the pressure and the oppressions that our Movement was compelled to endure. The idea behind it was that our comrades had the will but were hemmed in by insuperable obstacles. But when I became convinced that something had happened and that our comrades did not have the will I believed them to have; when I could no longer tell things (more due to Government censorship I hope than that of our own comrades) that had to be told, then I felt that there was no purpose in my staying on.

The only healthy revolutionary tendencies are now the various illegal oppositional groups that are beginning to spring up. They are not coordinated, nor are they, in my opinion, thoroughly clear in what they want. But I believe they will get there.

If I would have ^{known} Spanish better, I would have remained in Spain and joined the opposition. Definitely so. Only my limitations as a foreigner prevented me from getting into the illegal activities.

I will not say that the Anarchist Movement in Spain is in a hopeless condition. But I will say that it is in the most difficult position conceivable, and mainly for internal reasons. The members of the leading committees, the writers and editors, the official organs of the Movement have begun a very serious campaign that you, or all people, as a veteran of the Anarchist Movement, devoted all your life to the Idea rather than being a representative of some specific organisation with its internal disciplines and foibles, will have to consider very carefully and think over very seriously as to the course to be pursued regarding it.

I want to emphasize that I am not referring to the external objective factors militating against our comrades in Spain, ranging from the murderous onslaught of the international fascism to the bourgeois-Stalinist counter-revolutionary alliance behind our backs.

I am talking now of the evolution of our own Movement at the present time. Here we see not only more than a year of steady compromise and retreat that threatens to liquidate every last conquest won on July 19th, but we see much more--and much worse. The apologists of the Movement have naturally engaged upon an attempt to defend

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their "line". So long as they limited that defense to a declaration of the imperative necessities of the moment, it was tolerable if probably not wholly sound.

But what had been undertaken initially under the pressure of a given situation became the line that they have followed ever since and promise to continue following indefinitely. Such a course leaves the category of extraordinary, unusual, and becomes the normal regular course. But this course is a complete 100% reversal of their former activities. And one cannot plead the exigencies of a specific crisis for a permanent line. An entire philosophy of social thought must underlie social action.

This the CNT and the FAI ^{are} now trying to formulate. Emma, under our ^{eyes}, our Spanish comrades have begun to undermine the entire philosophy of Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism. Still holding on to their names, they are dressing them up with a new set of ideas that you will readily recognize----as something thoroughly alien until now to the entire Libertarian Movement.

I am giving you below the first two paragraphs that appeared in an editorial in "CNT", our most militant paper at the present time. It struck me at the time I read it and I took it down in translation. However, at the time, I thought it might just have been the slip of a pen on the part of an individual editorial writer, despite the fact that "CNT" is the organ of the National Organisation. Imagine my surprise therefore when that very editorial was reprinted in toto in Tierra y Libertad a week and a half later, after they had ^{had} sufficient time to think it over and appreciate the full significance of the passage. It therefore can no longer be considered an accident. On the contrary, its reprinting makes it the conscious policy of both the CNT and the FAI, since it appeared in the official organs of both organisations.

Significantly enough, although both "CNT" and "Tierra etc." usually receive rough treatment at the hands of the censors, not a line or a word was touched of this editorial in either paper.

I quote (all emphasis mine):

"The Syndicates Should Not Participate In the Government"
(from the Congress of the UGT of Catalonia) (headline)

"For a long time--years and years--all the Spanish political sectors censured the CNT for their refusal to participate in elections. The confederal organisation believed that, so long as the State remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the other privileged castes, the limited advantages that the proletariat would be able to win through participating in politics would be neutralised through the loss of pressure it could have by means of direct action. July 19th presented the opportunity to wrest the Spanish State from the privileged classes. The CNT, reluctant to assist at elections, rushed into the streets to destroy by force of arms what the elections had failed to accomplish.

"And once that was accomplished, once the Spanish State had passed into hands other than those that had been using it against the working class, the CNT was not opposed to declaring its former political position at an end. But, since then, a curious movement has arisen in certain political sectors that were before asking us to participate in the life of the State. Now they say that the functions of governing belong exclusively to the Parties, and the Unions should

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limit themselves to organising working conditions."

I could give you more but I don't think it is necessary. Something has happened in Spain that none of us can as yet explain. But its consequences are beginning to assume sharper and sharper outlines from day to day.

Now I am not a lover of abstract principles per se. Nor am I long enough in the Movement or old enough to be a traditionalist as such. But I am an Anarchist Communist and Anarcho-Syndicalist because I believe that the principles of these two schools of thought and tactic contain the truths that will help us to fight for and win our emancipation. So far as I can see, the Movement in Spain abandoned these principles in fact after July 19th, and are now trying to wave them out of existence by a stroke of the pen.

Am I harsh? It is in measure to the hurt and the shock of disappointment I have suffered.

Moreover, what I write to you is not for publication--not yet. At first, I believe that we must ourselves clarify our opinions regarding Spanish events and developments. Then we must be prepared to act.

Our Movement and our Ideas have had an acid test in Spain. So far, the Movement seems to have failed---but not the Ideas. That must be emphasised. The Movement abandoned the ideas and now seems to be trying to change them in order to fit its new tactics. But it still sticks to the name of Anarchism.

And because of that, you and I and a host of others want to help them out. But it is becoming ever more difficult to help them. And the difficulty is of their own making.

We can aid them by exposing the counter-revolution within the antifascist front itself, and the role of Soviet Russia and the Communist ~~Russia~~ International as agents of the reaction. But our Spanish comrades don't want us to do that. On the contrary, our own organs in Spain seem to be bending over backward in extolling the virtues of Soviet Russia. And in pressing for antifascist unity, they want to minimize and neutralise the effects of the counter-revolution upon their own revolutionary workers and peasants.

Further, I saw in the recent number of Spanish Revolution and IAS, your article of appeal for the antifascist prisoners in Loyalist Spain. But here too the CNT is actively preparing to put a stop to your work. I have had several talks with Calve here in Paris--perfectly friendly for I let him do the talking and I did the listening. He told me that the CNT has given him official statistics that it has only 200 prisoners in all of Loyalist Spain, of whom exactly 7 are foreigners. Rudigher said the organisation claims 18 foreign comrades are prisoners. But he also says that the DAS alone has 12 prisoners and he believes that there are many more than 18 foreign comrades in prison. You yourself saw how many comrades were in one prison, and either Brandt or someone else said that in one jail alone in Barcelona, the CNT has some 600 prisoners. The widespread, tho admittedly unofficial belief, is that there are some 10-15,000 antifascist prisoners in loyalist territory. Even if the figure is reduced to 3-5,000, it would still be bad enough.

But the CNT ~~is~~ now declares that only 200 of its members

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 4, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe Bluestein.—
8 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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6

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are languishing in the jails, and that these will soon be released. When these 200 comrades, concerning whom they have evidently reached an agreement with the government; are released, the CNT will of necessity inform the world that no more revolutionists are suffering persecution at the hands of the government.

And you will either have to support this official position and continue to work with and for the CNT or tell the truth.

The CNT, seeking unity with the communists and the bourgeoisie at all costs, has to forget all differences existing between ~~and~~ them, and defend them against the anger and resentment of the workers and peasants of Spain, which you yourself saw so clearly and told me about.

Furthermore, the CNT must extend its conciliatory attitude toward the communists outside of Spain on a world scale. That is why they refuse to protest against the prisoners of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

But such an attitude not only abandons our comrades in Russia. It abandons ~~our~~ thousands of comrades in Spain itself, and must inevitably discourage those militants who would otherwise wish to carry on a brave struggle against the counter-revolution. The abandonment of the imprisoned comrades means the betrayal of those comrades. And a general knowledge of such an action must lead to the demoralisation of those comrades ~~in~~ who have been following the National Committee of the CNT and the Peninsular Committee of the FAI.

But in this respect another element enters the picture. At the very time that the National Committee of the CNT is preparing to announce that it has only 200 comrades in the prisons and they are to be released, the illegal paper of the Youth (in the opposition) is not only demanding the release of the 15,000 antifascists in jail, but is demanding a stop to the continuing and growing persecution of the revolutionists. They have begun to raise the slogan of an eye for an eye etc. and have declared that the terror of the Cheka must be met by terror against the Cheka! Yes, dear Emma, in the face of the continued oppression the Youth have raised the cry of individual terror as their only possible reply. And their illegal paper has a circulation of 30,000, comes out weekly, and is being supported and distributed by a number of ^{copies} unions, among them the food workers, who handle thousands of ~~them~~ in their office at 30 Via Durruti each week.

So that your appeal for the imprisoned revolutionists is far more in the spirit of the militant opposition than it is in that of the official line.

And your struggle against the communists is also against the official line of the organisation but in direct harmony with the activities of the illegal opposition. For only the illegal press today carries on a stiff fight against the communists and right wing socialists. And you will find, within a very short time, that the organisation's policy of internal reconciliation with the communists within Spain itself, will be pushed on an international scale. Thus, if you will continue to follow their lead, you will find yourself seeking a rapprochement with the Bolsheviks and all that that implies.

Emma, in these most crucial days for our Movement and our

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7

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Ideas, we all bear a tremendous responsibility. The Spanish comrades are carrying theirs as they see fit---fighting and sacrificing their all---but threatening to abandon everything that they stood for until now and that we still stand for. There is no doubt that our Ideas have suffered a severe blow in Spain.

That many comrades in Spain itself are aware of it was made clear ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to me when one powerful illegal paper appearing in Aragon printed a full column article thanking their French comrades for having dared to criticize so thoroughly and so fearlessly, telling them that the Spanish militants have been following their work with interest and benefitting from it, and urging them to continue their good work. I read the article two days before I left Spain and was thrilled by the warm comradely spirit with which it was written.

The paper is called "Frente y Retaguardia", is spread in every town and village in Aragon and speaks in the name of the FAI militants, although not in that of any official committee or organism.

I could go on further, and probably will in future correspondence. But I believe that this is long enough for one letter.

To sum up:

A point has been reached in the present activities of the CNT and the FAI where they must modify and transform the basic Ideas of Anarchism if they are to continue in the future the course characterized out since July 19th, and still keep the label of Anarchism. This they have already begun to do--perhaps subtly so far, but there can be no mistaking the trend.

Their course of collaboration with the communists within Spain requires a similar course in all other countries. This means that they will abandon their own militants in Spain who are victims of the oppression and will forbid or at least fight against every manifestation of solidarity with our victimized comrades in Russia as well.

This must lead to demoralisation among the Spanish militants unless the opposition is able to rise quickly enough to forestall it.

It also means that we on the outside who have been appealing for solidarity with the Spanish Revolution and denouncing the counter-revolution will be compelled to stop all that and fight for---antifascist unity. For only the illegal opposition press is still fighting for the Revolution. In this respect, it is curious to note that while the communists imply that July 19th represented a step forward by saying let's go back to the status quo prior to July 19th, our comrades have suddenly come out with the declaration that there was no revolution in Spain at all, but only a legitimate defense against fascist aggression, thereby implying that no steps forward have as yet been taken.

As I said before, Emma, we shall have to reach a decision. To go on with the official CNT-FAI means to abandon the Spanish Revolution, to abandon the revolutionists in Russia and Spain, victims of the Bolsheviks, and to abandon all those principles for which

The Emma Goldman Papers

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8

 Fle

You have fought all your life, and which have still to play their role in the Social Revolution ~~in~~ throughout the world.

I will not say more for the present, Emma. But please answer soon and let me know what you think of all I have said. My address, until I get a home of my own, will be: 508 East 173rd Street, Bronx, N.Y..

Mollie and Senia, and Sania and Fania join me in sending you their love.

Your devoted comrade,

Abe Blustein

P.S.: The enclosed article is absolutely true. I saw the passport, the letters to fascist Spain, the foreign currency. I tried to give it to the N.Y. Post because they have such a large circulation and it would have a much greater effect that way. But they were afraid to handle it. It will appear in Combat, and I am taking a copy with me to America for FAS, Spanish Revolution. Copies are also being sent to our papers in Holland and Sweden. It should make a big sensation. *Please sign it Abe Coleman.*

Incidentally, have Spain and the World sent to Tierra now because no one will take care of it at the Casa. Greet Barr for me-- Also Recchione.

And write soon!

Your comrade

P.S. Just learned by accident that you are waiting for Santillan's new book to have it translated & published in English. The book appeared about 2 weeks before I left Spain; an edition of 10,000. Tierra had already sent 3,000 copies to Valencia & Madrid & was preparing to distribute it throughout Catalonia & Aragon. But the entire edition has been confiscated -- by the CNT! They are not allowing any copies to be sold. Santillan is in hiding, his life having been threatened. And the comrades at Tierra, Verde & Finklestein, are so disgusted they want to quit. I learned all this 3 days before I left.

Are they Anarchists -- or Bolsheviks?

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 4, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Roger Baldwin. —
1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Jan. 4, 1937.

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
London W. 14

Dear Emma:

I have unhappy news to report to you. Colonel MacCormack, the Commissioner of Immigration, died on New Year's day and heaven knows who will take his place. All the confidence we had built up in the Department may have to be created all over again with a new man. Miss Perkins keeps her hands pretty well off the Immigration Department and, although I will talk with her, I do not expect anything but a reference to the new Bureau head.

I tell you this because it certainly will have an effect upon an attempt to get a visa for you, which I will pursue just the same.

Yours ever,



RNB/IE

Copy to Mrs. Ballantine

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 4 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / [Roger Baldwin].—
1 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.

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Copy to Mrs. Ballantine

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005258

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 4, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 1 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25 Prospect St.,
New Rochelle, N.Y., U.S.A.
January 4, 1937.

20305

Dear Emma:

Your letter with enclosures to Roger and Van all of which is very interesting. They should have been answered long ago but alas each winter of my discontent gets harder than ever for me and it seems as soon as Nov. or December comes they bring a cold that hangs to me for months and I have been home with one for more than three weeks.

When I wrote you some time ago offering to help in any way to return here frankly I depended largely on Roger for as you know passports no longer seem to be a right but a privilege and it depends on whether one knows the "right" people. I know a few liberals and radicals outside our movement but none who really have any influence. Well, I wrote Roger at once and or better say after I saw my cold might prevent me from getting to the city, in other words I wrote him on Dec. 22nd and he answered by sending a note and with it a copy of his letter to you dated Dec. 5th. Judging from that letter it looks very favorable for you and I hope it works out O.K.

The situation in Spain transcends everything with us and while unable to do but very little it keeps us awake nights anyway. I get the bulletins from Barcelona regularly and it is inspiring to read what is being done and yet for months I have been trembling in my boots for fear that the long and deep seated antipathy of the anarchists and socialists to nothing of communists for each other might prevent or destroy the common front which would be fatal. If Madrid is captured then all the forces of Franco could be turned to Barcelona and even if the fight is long drawn out the loss and suffering would be terrible. Only yesterday in the Sunday Times an article by Herbert Mathews, correspondent of the Times had an article describing the reconstructive work being done in Catalonia and it is positively thrilling to one who has lived on husks as long as we have. Mathews by the way keeps on saying in the Times that Franco cannot take Madrid without at least 60,000. troops supplied by Germany or Italy or by both so that seems the key to the whole situation. The attitude of the Roosevelt Administration on the situation is damnable but the two papers I read daily the Times and Post of New York indicate that the condition or state of mind of the people is growing more and more in favor of the Leftists. Incidentally it was both interesting and significant to read in the Times that Norman Thomas is actually aiding and encouraging the enlistment of a Socialist Brigade to go and fight for the Leftists for he has been a consistent Pacifist from the time of the world war down to the present.

I went to Boston in November to speak at a united front meeting in old South Church and came back with a cold that I have had ever since.

Naturally I hope you have a successful trip to London and somehow feel it may be better than you expect. After all, poor as they are the workers - not always the leaders of course - are sound and will probably respond if you get to them.

I had a post card from Nettlau with a note at the bottom from many a couple of weeks ago and a letter from him last week but he doesn't say anything about Spain. The letter and card came from V.

Take it with as to Clara that the baby is so was really when I saw him a few weeks ago with much love from

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005033

[Letter, 1937 between Jan. 4 and 11] Neath [Wales to Emma Goldman, London] / S[am] Mainwaring. — 1 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19981

236 Old Road Neath
Glam.

Dear Comrade

My apologies for not replying sooner. The reason is that I've been preparing the ground for your projected visit to this area. What is wanted now, is to know when you could come. If any efforts of mine can be successful we could have meetings at Neath, Swansea and Port Talbot. It is unfortunate, but since Jim passed out, there is no one in the Ammanford district that I am in touch with.

Am returning the covering letter as per request. Would you kindly keep me two of the handkerchiefs as all those that Com. Barr. sent me were sold to other people. Hoping to hear as early as possible
Fraternally Yours
S. Mainwaring

P.S. I am negotiating to get the local Labour Party people to help. The Neath L.P. have promised to do so.
S.M.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 5, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

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London Jan 5th 37.

Dear Mark. I am glad to hear from you and that you are still in London. I am also inclosing a copy of my letter to Ben Capes. You will see that while I have spoken quite frankly in my letter for publication. I have been more explicit to Ben. The so-called United Front in Spain hangs on a straw. We would only make it harder for the CNT-FAL if we were to come out with plain talk. We simply must wait for the present. Even if it is rather trying. I only hope our comrades will come out on top. The danger to them from the Communists grows daily. In Madrid they suppressed the CNT paper because of an accident not at all of our making. One of their big guns was fired upon by a CNT sentry because he refused point blank to show his identification card. In as much as Madrid reeks with Fascists the orders of utmost strictness was given to all sentries. I admit ~~it was~~ they should have arrested the fool instead of drawing their guns. But as I said in my letter the patience of our comrades has been taxed to the breaking point. Anyhow the Madrid Communists have used this as a pretext to get rid of the CNT publication. Of course they will be made to draw in their horns. But it only goes to prove the odds our people are up against. Unfortunately this can not be disclosed in all its hideousness.

Dear Mark, send at once five hundred copies of the Rocker pamphlet or pamphlets if he has written two. I will be responsible for them. Have them sent without delay to my address 18, Castletown Rd. London W.14. Stella has no doubt brought you the Durruti film the Picasso plaque and some handkerchieves. The Durruti film went by mistake. I thought there is already a film of that sort in England. That's why I sent the one intended for my work here to you. Then I discovered it is not the film we made for which I prepared the English text and also did the talking. But a different film made by the Generalidad. So now I am without our own film. So you see you and the New York comrades are in luck. When the exhibition will be over here I mean to send it to America. I will write about it later on.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 5, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

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Please tell whoever mails the Fr.Arb.Stimme that I have been away from St Tropez for five months. There is no sense in ~~keeping~~ sending the paper there. It is so much waste. Insist that my address should be changed please.

All best wishes for an interesting and eventful New Year for you and Johanna.

Affectionately,

Emma

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2 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19864

London Jan 5th 37.

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Not so late than never. Here is a long message for the
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copy of my letter to Ben Capes. You will see that while I have
spoken quite frankly in my letter for publication, I have been
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19368

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 5, London [to] Ben [Capes, Los Angeles?] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Martin Gudell Archive.



LONDON ADDRESS.

18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14

- 5th January 1937

My dear Ben,

I was very glad indeed to get your letter which I found in Paris on my arrival. I understood that you must be intensely occupied to wait so long to write to me. I myself was completely engrossed in my work in Barcelona to be able to continue my American correspondence. The fact as I neglected everybody. I am hoping that the rest of my friends will be understanding as you are.

Actually ones own personal interests appear meaningless when one is face to face with the heroic struggle of a whole people desperately trying to save their freedom. One feels very unimportant indeed. As to the struggle of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. and as to what it has already achieved in the face of danger and death, I can only say that whatever price I have paid in the 47 years of my anarchist activities it was all worth while, to see our ideas come to life. To see them play such an important part in the re-making of Spain. It was the most wonderful thing that has happened to me - to be called to the colors - My deep regret was that I was not younger, or I would have certainly gone to the front. As it is I had to content myself with educational work that came my way. I have never known the feeling before in my life to be accepted by comrades without question, and to have their complete and absolute confidence. I know that my name acted as a pass word, and that it was accepted and honoured. It gave me a feeling I cannot possibly describe. Our Spanish comrades are childlike in their naivety. They actually did not believe when I told them that my name in capitalist countries acted as red cloth to the bull. It was impossible they thought. How could it be when it was a magic word in Spain? Can you wonder therefore that I found it so bitter hard to leave the comrades, to leave them in danger, while I was going to a country of comparative safety. I struggled for weeks against it, but the comrades were anxious for some sort of publicity in England. I admit it is sadly wanted. On the one hand is the scurrilous attack on the C.N.T. - F.A.I. in the capitalist papers, on the other the conscious sabotage against the C.N.T. - F.A.I. are the part they are playing in the struggle. True, the few comrades we have in England, have done their utmost to bring the C.N.T. - F.A.I. before the workers, but they are too few and too poor to be able to do their work on a large scale. That is not their fault of course. Anyway I feel there is much to do here, and I mean to do it. If I can raise interest in the C.N.T. - F.A.I. I will be amply rewarded for my leaving Spain. I am however determined to bet back to Spain when the work here will be thoroughly on the way.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Jan. 5, London [to] Ben [Capes, Los Angeles?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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2.

 Gud

I am enclosing copy of the letter to John Haynes Holmes. It will give you an idea how very hard pressed our comrades in Spain are. Not only are the fascists at their throats, but their so called friends are doing everything in their power to sabotage our people. I do not think that comrades of any other country would under similar circumstances show such extraordinary tolerance and unending patience; but at present they realise that any friction would bring grist to Franco's mill. In addition the Spanish comrades love freedom, to the extent of injuring themselves. I mean by this that all those who are with them in the united front should have political freedom. Unfortunately both the Communists and the Socialists are interpreting freedom to mean all for themselves and little for the C.N.T. - P.A.I. Time on end I called the attention of the comrades that while Communists are being augmented by the thousand, sent by Stalin and well armed - while they are spreading themselves out in daily demonstrations with music and flags - while they have expropriated some of the best places for their propaganda, our comrades make no protest. They feel that nothing should or can be done at present. They feel themselves strong enough to meet the situation when the time will come. I hope fervently they may not find it too late. I am convinced that it is the deliberate intention of Moscow to establish a Dictatorship in Spain if and when Franco is defeated. I should feel more apprehensive than I do but for the fact that anarchism has its roots deeply in the masses themselves, in the worker and in the peasants. So perhaps Stalin will find it as difficult as Franco - to eradicate our ideas from the masses. Of course it means playing with fire. May it not happen again as it did so many times in the past, with our comrades rescuing the chestnuts from the fire and burning their own hands.

at odds with the government
For the present the sabotage of our friends - the enemy, has forced our comrades to take a step which they themselves know to be at variance with our ideas. They consented to enter four Ministries which have been forced upon them. Forced by the criminal sabotage of Caballero and his comrades. Our people were before the alternative of imposing a Dictatorship or taking Caballero by the throat and forcing him to his knees. As it was they decided to take a deliberate part in the Government. Caballero sabotaged the defence of Madrid until it was almost too late. His hatred for the C.N.T. - P.A.I. is perhaps deeper than the hatred of Franco, therefore he did everything possible to undermine the influences of the C.N.T. - P.A.I. All this will come out in due time. Only then will the workers see once more the sinister effects of the Socialists in power. Unfortunately this cannot be made public at present. Franco and his gangsters must be defeated everything else must take a second place, except the gigantic constructional work our comrades are doing. Not for a second have they relaxed in that, regardless of the task of meeting the terrific burdens of the Anti-Fascist War. I am writing you all this in order that you may be able to meet the criticisms and objections of our own people and others with regard to our Spanish comrades entry into four Ministries. I do not have to tell you that I was opposed to this and that I have and still consider it inconsistent. Moreover, I do not think it is having the result our people expected. Actually our comrades know themselves know that this step is inconsistent. Nor are they

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3.

 Gud

deceived about the importance of their ministries. To them the so called Government decisions are mere scraps of paper. They lay absolutely no weight upon it. When the time comes they will fling the whole pack overboard. But for the present they feel they can meet the internal sabotage only by having a decisive voice in the Government.

It is sad, yet understandable that some of our comrades far removed from the Spanish people, are so ready with their condemnation of our comrades. Actually there are comrades in Toronto who have had the temerity to say that the C.N.T. - F.A.I. had betrayed anarchism. In Holland some of the anarchists have carried on a campaign of slander quite on a par with that of the enemy. I consider the attitude of these people not only stupid but also cruel. I am sure if they were in Spain, close to the comrades, to see their sterling integrity, to see their complete consecration, not to speak of their tireless work, they would realise their mistake. That does not mean that I want comrades outside of Spain to accept every false step of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. may make. I hope I still believe in the right and freedom of people to criticise, but after all one must be informed before one can criticise. That has been the trouble everywhere outside Spain. There was not enough correct information.

I am hoping that our work here may have the effect in every English-speaking country, and through them in Europe, to show our comrades how hasty and unwarranted they are in their judgment of the C.N.T. - F.A.I.

Yes my dear Ben my visit to Spain was indeed a fitting experience to the rest of my life. It will be more fitting when I return there, and give whatever years left to me to the comrades in their great effort to make anarchism a living factor. I have no other aim or wish in life. All countries, with the exception of perhaps America, have lost their meaning to me. I do not say that I would not love to return to the States for a time, but then it would only be to articulate the Spanish Revolution. By the way - Roger Baldwin is on the job to get me another Visa, perhaps for six months. That must be kept quiet for a time. How I long to get back and speak in every city as loudly and passionately as I can on behalf of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. but outside of that Spain has become my spiritual home, and I want to get back.

Give my love to Florence. She looks lovely with her baby, and what a proud grandfather you are, though you look as much of a youngster as when I saw you last.

Greet Burnett for me. Loving greetings to Ida and Hardy. Greet all the comrades. With my old love to you dear Ben.

P.S. Thanks for the contribution you sent. I used it to purchase sweets for the children of our comrades in Barcelona, they ~~has~~ probably havnt had any for a long time.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005229

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 5, London [to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen [Wales] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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18, Castletown Rd.,
W. Kensington,
LONDON, W. 13.

Jan. 5th., 1937.

John Cowper Powys, Esq.,
7, Cae Coed,
CORWEN. (Merioneth).

Dear John Powys,

Here I am again in England after three months in Spain. I may say, without exaggeration, the three most exultant months of my entire career. No, my presence there was not a bed of roses but it was the first time in my life that I could see an attempt being made to realise the ideal and ideas for which I had struggled all my life. Of what importance are all the hardships and vicissitudes of one's life compared with the birth of something one had held high for so many years! Everything seemed trivial to me in the light of the events going on there. Besides, it also meant the renaissance of myself after having been called by my comrades to help in their heroic and gallant fight. It could not have come at a more psychological moment. It was so close on the heels of my irreparable loss. All in all, I have reason to be thankful to whatever powers there be that it brought the call of my comrades to me just at that moment.

I know that you will understand why I have left your letter of Sept. 18th unanswered so long. I was pulled along by the terrific current I found on my arrival in Spain, to the exclusion of any thought of myself and everything that had happened in my long life the moment I put my foot on Spanish soil. I was kept so very busy, travelling up and down Catalonia and the part of Spain not occupied by the Fascists, that my friends outside of Spain had perforce to be neglected. I am only now trying to renew my old friendships by answering letters that had accumulated during the last four months, yours among them.

I wish I could meet you - it would be easier to tell you about the great courage and fortitude of my comrades who are fighting such a valiant battle against Fascism. It would take too long to do so in writing; I have not the time for it.

in
I came here for a double function: as the accredited representative of the CNT (Confederation of Labour) and the FAI (Anarchist Federation of Iberia). In Catalonia they represent numerically and in revolutionary spirit the strongest party. Indeed, they are the people who eliminated Fascism in Barcelona and Catalonia in

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J.C. Powys, Esq.

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four days! They have done more: they have immediately proceeded to reconstruct the large industries and to collectivise the land - the large estates. In point of fact, they are the first to undertake, during a revolutionary period and while being besieged by enemy forces, constructive work. It was that even more than the necessity of defending themselves against world Fascism which appeals to me so strongly in the Spanish Revolution. Actually, it is the first time in history that such a thing was attempted. You see, therefore, dear friend, that I have reasons to be exceptionally glad. The very thing which our opponents declared to be impossible and ~~for~~ which Anarchists were incapable is now being demonstrated all through Catalonia. In other words, I was a witness to the colossal efforts made by my people - people, maligned, misrepresented, charged with every crime in the calendar. Why, then, should I not feel proud? I wanted passionately to remain in Spain, but my ~~friends~~ friends thought I might have some influence in dispelling the outrageous calumnies spread about them in the English and American Press.

So I came back to England - not very hopeful, I must say; but it seems that there are people keenly interested in the Spanish Revolution and the Anti-Fascist war. I have had a much better response than I ever had during any of my previous visits. Already a public meeting for the 18th of this month at Conway Hall is in progress. Several people out of our own ranks will speak, as well as Ferner Brockway of the I.L.P., and we are hoping to get either Bertrand Russell or Josiah Wedgwood, or Mr. Langdon Davies to take the chair.

I am also preparing an Exhibition, showing the Spanish struggle in photographs and posters. My chief aim is to raise funds for the starving women and children evacuated from Madrid. You see, I will be busy. It is a great relief to me that I can give all my time and whatever energies I have left to so grand and worthwhile a cause and that I will have to ask nothing for myself.

I have seen a review of a new book of yours, but have not yet read it. However, I have not forgotten you, and I hope you have been keeping well and that you, too, have not cast me out.

With my best wishes for a happy and eventful New Year,

Cordially,

The Emma Goldman Papers

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W. Kensington,
London, W. 14

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Jan. 5th, 1937

Mr. John Haynes Holmes,
26, Sidney Place,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear John Holmes,

The enclosed copy of my letter to J. C. Powys will tell you about me and my reaction to what I found in Spain. It will also tell you why I had to neglect you longer than was my habit.

It was very thoughtful of you to write me such a lovely letter expressing sympathy with me in my great and irreparable loss. As I have written to some of my American friends, the call from my comrades in Spain saved my life. I do not know whether I should have been able to continue after my comrade's death: everything seemed futile - especially as every avenue was closed to me. But Spain revived my spirit and filled me with exultant joy. It was, perhaps, the first time that I began to feel that my life and my struggle had not been in vain! Indeed, I feel that no price I have ever been called upon to pay quite compared with the wonderful experience of seeing anarchism in the bud. Not in my wildest dreams did I think it possible that I will live to witness what seemed years and years ahead! Yet that is exactly what is happening in Catalonia, at least. This is the more remarkable because my comrades are besieged, not only by Fascism but also from the sides that are their allies at present. Never did I see such open and brazen sabotage as the Caballero Government had practised daily until it betook itself to Valencia. Leave it to any Government to run "to cover" at the first sign of danger! Perhaps there is more truth than fiction in the saying that "every cloud has a silver lining". It was fortunate for Madrid that the Government did run away - it was only then that the people themselves - men and women and even youngsters resolutely began to dig trenches and to prepare for the attack of Franco's hordes. How marvellous their courage and their determination to save Madrid has already been demonstrated. Mr. Franco and his mercenaries met their Waterloo there, and unless Germany and Italy continue to send not only armaments but also tens of thousands of men, Madrid will never be taken. Moreover Franco will never again be able to raise his head. Meanwhile, however, he is being supported by the Fascists of the world. Yes, even by those who call themselves "democratic countries," for a more

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Mr. J. Haynes Holmes.

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despicable part England and France have never played, - yes, not even in the pseudo-sanction policy in regard to Abyssinia - than in the present anti-fascist struggle in Spain.

I hate awfully to hurt your feelings, dear friend, but I cannot help calling your attention once more, as I did in regard to Russia, that it takes Socialists in power to be guilty of treachery against their own comrades. Blum, an old Socialist, has again demonstrated this truism. However, the present issue is Fascism - Fascism not only in Spain but in the rest of the world, for victory of Fascism in Spain means victory for the same black pest in the rest of the world, whereas the defeat of this modern political scourge in Spain would inevitably undermine this breed everywhere. It is because of this terrible danger that my friends in Spain have allied themselves with all the other parties in their country, and it is also because of this that I have no intention of causing friction between the same elements outside of Spain; but you may believe me when I say that the methods employed everywhere by the Communists and the Socialists of the Caballero type are such as to try the patience of saints.

The Spanish Anarchists are demonstrating their tremendous tolerance in regard to their allies. It may seem an exaggeration and yet it is absolutely true that Spain, outside of the Fascists, represents the freest country politically in the world: Socialists, Communists, Trotzkeyists, Left-republicans and ever so many other parties of the United Front enjoy the fullest liberty of Press and Speech and the widest opportunity to carry on their propaganda. There is no other place I know of where the same situation exists. True, the comrades of the CNT - FAI may have to pay for it eventually, but, at least, they will have demonstrated that freedom, even if interpreted as licence by some people, is still preferable to dictatorship. In that the Spanish Anarchists have shown themselves absolutely consistent with their principles. I say this in all humility, for they are so humble and want nothing of glory for themselves.

I have come here to present the nature and aims of the CNT - FAI to the British public. I am glad to say, I have already made some progress to the extent of interesting members of the I.L.P. who have offered help for our meetings, the first of which will take place on the 18th Jan., also an Exhibition we are planning of photos and posters of the Spanish struggle. It would be the first time in many years that I have succeeded in arousing interest for a cause as I present. But then I have no right to claim any desert for that. It is the glorious struggle in Spain which must needs move hearts of stone, even. I intend to use this to the very limit. I know I could succeed in my aim to arouse sympathy and moral and financial help for the women and children evacuated from Madrid infinitely better in the United States - but how to get there? That is the rub.

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Mr. J. Haynes Holmes.

5/1/37.

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Well, dear friend, this is the beginning of a New Year. I wish you health and very many happy and eventful experiences in 1937 - that alone makes life worth continuing.

Praternally,

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 5, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
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xxxxxxxx London Jan 5th 37

Turling. I received your letters of Dec. 24th and 26th came about five days apart. I believe I have written you twice since I have returned to London. I have been busier since my arrival in spite of the holiday week than I had expected. With the exception of the New Years party at the Searchingers which was quite dull I have not been out of the house. Oh, yes to the Koldofskys twice. But people have come to us. And there is a mountain of unanswered American letters for which I had no time in Spain. Then too there is the work for our first mass-meeting and the planned propaganda exhibition.

I am sending you copies of letters to the Fr. Arb. Stimme, and to ~~Harpo~~ Ben Capes. They will give you all the news about my plans here and the conditions I left behind. I have nothing to add to this except to say I feel relieved there is better response to my call for Spain than there ever was to me. But I am no fool to indulge in high expectations. I know only too well that the amount I will raise here in months will be insignificant indeed compared with what I could do in America. But whatever it is I mean to leave no stone unturned.

Yes, I heard from Roger. He wrote the same as he told you. I never expected he would proceed at once. I am not impatient nor do I expect the impossible. But it will be great if he succeeds. Yes the art exhibition is a painful disappointment. ~~But~~ And costly besides. I think I have already written you that on the assumption of the art exhibition I had AUNTIE come here. I did that because I knew I would need just such a person to help and because she told me she could furnish up one of her Apts for little money. She hoped to collect simple pieces of furniture from her friends. Instead it cost a mint to have it arranged. If you please £ forty & three pounds. Her trip extra. True we have a nice little place, one I never had before. But when one has so little \$250 for something I will probably not use more than three for months is a shock. It is that much because I will have to pay AUNTIE's trip from France and return since she came only to help me. Fortunately the ministry of arts will pay most of that because it is the fault of these people ~~who~~ to have led me on. The truth of the matter is that the Company outfit became so enamored with my idea of an art exhibition they decided to do it themselves rather than to give an Anarchist the "glory". On the other hand it was a news-paper man who writes for the New Statesman who let the cat out of the bag. I had told him about the proposed venture. So he got busy on his return to England to interest a lot of high mucky rucks. And they have evidently

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rotten in touch with the Generalidad. Well, if I know my Catalonian middle class the exhibition may never come off. I wish it did whoever will bring it about. But it was a blow to me because everything seemed to be so certain. Well, it does not matter.

We will have an exhibition anyhow and a very wonderful one. I have explained that in my letter to the Fr. Arb. Stimme. I am glad it will be with the I.L.P. people because it will save me no end of labor and anxiety, not to speak of the expense. Of course I will have to contribute to the general expenses. I was told £500 is to be spent. But the share of the CNT. I will not be more than 25 pounds. It would cost double were I to run it independently. On the other hand it will have the publicity I could never hope to receive. And it will be most impressive. Artists friends of mine are cooperating with the artists of the exhibition. Committee of the I.L.P. I had them all up at our place last night to show them my material. They are an awfully nice young bunch and quite in accord about the mounting and hanging of our material. I am on the Committee myself, will attend the first session tomorrow. I feel sure I can safeguard the interests of the CNT.

Speaking of art. I received the head Teddy made. It is most striking. Will it be in an exhibition? I hope it will. And little Helene what a lovely child. I feel rotten that I have never yet sent her a little gift. I must do that soon. And I must write Ruth and Bob. Meanwhile give them my love and the very best of health and happiness for the three of them.

It was sweet of Amy Hicks to remember me. Fizzi also sent me a gift, which I am sure she could ill afford. If you can let her read this letter. I am simply swamped with mail and no one competent to take my letters. I do have an awfully nice Spanish comrade who is translating my mail to Spain in Spanish and who will also translate the Spanish papers for me. Besides he is also to give me an hour a week ~~to read~~ fro reading with me and just the rudiments of the grammar. I'll do the rest myself. I must know something of the language when I go back to Spain which I certainly will unless my going to the U.S. is made possible.

Talk about Emmys impudence. You never believed it before my own Stell. You would have had you lived close to her. She actually feels we owe her a living. She told Mollie and Senia, she was hoping her PENSION from America will come soon. Poor Mollie was ~~will~~ over it. Since Sashas death she must have had about five thousand francs. That would not be so much of course. But Emmy lived with friends of AUNTIES where she had not a penny expenses. She was with the Parsons three months. For me it is nothing new that E. wastes money for nothing at all. No wonder Sashas expenses were a bottomless tank. However that is all beside the question. You wrote me once I should not have her on my mind. How can I help it. Sasha left her on my shoulders. If only I had money I would set aside a monthly allowance for her. I would never give her a

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lump sum as she spends it in no time. But I have no money. It will be the first time in my life that I will have to accept my living expenses from an organization. And by heavens I will see to it that they are kept down to a minimum. Out of that I certainly can send Emy nothing. Well, my dearest you will have to help me by doing a bit of canvassing for Emy. I inclose her last letter which is as ~~much~~ self centered as the one to you. Not a word how I am getting along. Not a word about the unfortunate children in Spain. Only herself and her stomach. It is pathetic. Please show this letter to Modest. Prevail upon him he should let you have \$25 a month. You would send it to her. Tell him it is disastrous to send her a large sum all at once. The ten the Fr. Arb. Stirne sends her and his twenty five would keep her nicely while she is with her family. It would have to. Perhaps she will get better. The very regime she is taking now Fuller advised in 1930. She would be well by now if she had followed it. I hope she will do it now though I have my doubts about it. Poor Sasha struggled with her for years to keep a regime actually until his last day. His worry over her condition and the everlasting struggle with her for her good helped very considerably to drive him to despair. Well, that's over now. The main thing is to help her until she does feel better. I am sure she could then make her living. So please go after Modest. I am also going to write to Jeanne Levey to raise a few ~~dollars~~ dollars a month from a few Chicago friends, privately of course. In that way she can be kept going.

Dearest I did not mean to hurt Rosa Peseta. I only meant to say that I could not ask the CNT to invite her as an organizer. You see they are so pure in heart and so naive they do not understand any kind of maneuvering. And that is more if I told them why Rosa wants an invitation they would not have cared to be a party to it. Funny people these Spanish Anarchists. Can you think of any others anywhere in the world who would turn over all the wealth found in churches, convents, monasteries and palatial homes to the government? That's exactly what our people have done, to "show that we want nothing for ourselves, that we are not rubbers or bandits". I ask you? It would have been a reflection on my own integrity had I told them why Rosa wanted such an invitation. I could not do it. But I impressed on Souchy the need of sending her an invitation or anyone of the labor people who want to come to Spain. I hope Souchy has not forgotten. He is overloaded with jobs and he has become forgetful. Let me know at once, or get Rosa to cable me if the invitation has not come and I will immediately get in touch with the Comité Regional in Barcelona.

You are mistaken darling the Powers are not deserting Franco. On the contrary they are standing by him. Think of the last two outrageous moves on the part of Germany. Yet there is no talk of England protesting against them. As to Italy the day before the signing of the so-called Gentlemen's agreement Mussolini sent six thousand Italian troops to Franco. Talk about gangsters

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They have a much finer conception of agreement than the Powers whatever country they represent. England is the most hypocritical as usual. Always prating about her sense of justice and freedom yet sitting by supinely while the Spanish ~~revolutionists~~ anti Fascists are being slaughtered. How high the fighting forces on our side loom with that hired ~~gang~~ gang. Hired by Hitler and Mussolini and tacidly accepted by France and England. I can tell you dearest whatever the outcome there never was such ~~conspiracy~~ a brazen and savage conspiracy against a whole people. And there never was such courage, such selfless concecration ~~such~~ such generous sacrifice on the alter of freedom. That should act as an inspiration to all of us, especally us. For it is the CNT-FAI that hold the Revolution highest. The others do not go further than a dear old ~~democratic~~ democratic lady.

It was very gratifying news about Hyman. Yes, indeed he has borne his cross for a long time. What are his children saying to the divorce? I hope he will get it soon to be rid of the unpleasant experience and her. Give him and Snee my loving greetings.

Dear old Sarah Gruber. You once sent me her address. It was when I was so worried about Sasha. So I never wrote her. Thank her for her gift and give her my love. I will certainly write her when I get her address. We will receive your friend when he comes. I hope you gave him our phone. That is if I did not forget to send it to you. It is Fulham 68 29. In case you will want to give it to someone.

What can be the matter With Mildred ~~Mesirov~~ Mesirov. They have always lived so elaborately. Can it be that they are down and out. Much as I could use the \$18 I am more concerned in their condition than in the money. I hope you can find out what happened to them. Give Angelica my love. Ask her to write me. I want to know how she is.

I must be off to a committee meeting so will close. You have enough to read in the two letters.

Give Teddy, Ian Davy, Saxe and his family my love.

I embrace you dearest.

I hope the stamps will arrive safely. Whatever Ian will realize on them money should be sent Emy in small sums. It will last long

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xx xxxxxxxx London Jan. 5th 37.

Dear Comrades of the SPANISH REVOLUTION AND THE FREIE ARBEITER STIMME.

I have to write you jointly because I have no secretary, and too much to do to write separately. You probably know already that I am out of Spain. I can assure you it is much to my regret. I wanted so much to remain with our comrades. But they decided otherwise. ~~They~~ In their eagerness to have their case put before the ~~Anglo~~ ^{Anglo} ~~Jaxon~~ ^{Jaxon} workers in the right light they credited me with more than I deserve. They did not realize that my name in Spain having opened all doors continues to effect capitalist countries like a red cloth ~~xxxxxx~~ does a bull. They thought I could and would rouse the people in England to the understanding and appreciation of the marvelous struggle the CNT is making. And so I had to leave Spain. It was very painful indeed to leave our brave comrades in danger knowing that I would be in safety in "His Majesty's" country. But since I had put myself and whatever I can still give to the struggle in Spain at the disposal of our comrades there I could not very well refuse their request to go to England for an intensive publicity campaign.

Well, here I am in the country where I have always felt completely lost and where I have never succeeded in reaching people. This time it seems I may really have better luck. But then, the power of attraction is Spain. It is the fact that Anarchism so maligned and misrepresented as criminal and impracticable has been proven to be a living force. With two such factors ~~xxx~~ to attract English people it will not be so bitter hard as it had been in the past. I will now be able to bask in the glorious sun of the Spanish Revolution. Of the great courage and fortitude of our comrades of the CNT-FAI. In point of fact my main ~~subject~~ ^{subject} quest here is to make the CNT-FAI known in England. So far its importance is grasped only by the few. ~~Amidst this situation~~ On my arrival I found that while much is being done in England for the Anti-Fascist struggle and the various parties allied with the CNT-FAI, very little has been done for the latter. This partly out of ignorance and mainly out of deliberateness. This could not have happened had we an Anarchist movement in England. This unfortunately we do not. There are a few comrades in London and in a few provincial towns willing enough. But either too old to do much willing as they are, or not able to make themselves heard. Yet, they have done what they could in making the work of the CNT-FAI known. Alas it was but a drop in the sea. ~~However~~ More reason for my being here and straining every nerve to put the CNT-FAI "on the British map" as we used to say in America.

I arrived the 23rd of Dec, rather an unfortunate time to

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to begin a publicity campaign. If anything the English make more fuss about Christmas than people do in the States. It is a great holiday here and this year it was more so because it gave the Britishers a chance ~~for~~ an extra day. Many went away on their holiday. Anyway I did not think I would succeed in getting even our comrades together ~~for~~ But I did, in fact more came than I had ever seen at a private gathering. I mean in England of course. And greatest of wonders they responded enthusiastically and practically. A mass-meeting was decided upon for which £16 were contributed. This may not seem much to you spoiled comrades working in the country where the "silver dollars are strewn on the streets". (That used to be the conception of all immigrants.) You would appreciate the amount collected at our gathering if you knew how frightfully poor the workers in England are. To me who on former visits could never score up sixteen pounds in five months this was most encouraging. However the material response ~~was not~~ of our comrades and those who are interested in the Spanish struggle while most necessary is yet not to import as the new interest in our ideas in ranks that had always repudiated them in the past.

Imagine, I actually found willingness on the part of members of the Independent Labor Party to cooperate with me in behalf of the CNT-FAI. Thus Fenner Brockway, the General Secretary has consented to speak at our mass-meeting Jan. 18th. And he and other members have shown eagerness for a joint exhibition of the material I brought from Spain. That is indeed an event. Ten years ago when I tried desperately to make the plight of the political prisoners in Russia known not a single person in British Labor ranks would help. Not even Fenner Brockway who is among the ~~most~~ most revolutionary in the I.L.P. This time he and others are willing to be of help. But then, the CNT-FAI are not to be sneezed at. They are a great force, in fact the most dominant force in Catalonia. One cannot afford to ignore them especially when one's comrades who are the POUM in Catalonia have had a change of heart towards the Anarchists. It is ironic that ~~these~~ Anarchists should be the defenders of Marxists against their own family. For after all the Trozkists and the ~~the~~ honest to god Stalinites ~~are the off~~ are the offsprings of the same holy trinity Marx, Engels and Lenin. But family feuds are always the most bitter and relentless. How very relentless Stalin himself has proven when he ~~once~~ dispatched his erstwhile comrades to their death. His satraps in Spain would do the same with the POUM members if they only had the power. As to the CNT-FAI. They would long before this have been put against the wall. There is a German saying to the effect that the Lord takes care the trees should not grow into ~~the~~ sky. Fortunately the comrades of Stalin have not the power, and if the CNT-FAI can help it they never will. They and the POUM are therefore safe for the present. Not that the CNT-FAI is in love with the POUM. But that our comrades believe in freedom ~~for~~ for their allies as they do for themselves. Anyhow, the I.B.B. seems to realize that. Hence the readiness of some of its members to cooperate with anything done for the CNT-FAI.

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3

Whether this or any other motivation the I.L.P is the most revolutionary in England and perhaps also the most interested in the ~~our~~ revolutionary outcome in Spain. I am therefore quite content to have whatever support some party members will give me. Its not an official support thank goodness. For the rest we will see.

As I said my first public appearance for the CNT-FAI will be the 18th of this month. I will speak on the part of the CNT-FAI in the Revolution and in the Anti-Fascist struggle, an overwhelming part yet ~~xxx~~ hardly known outside of Spain. We will have more meetings of course in London and the provinces. ~~xxxxx~~ Next to our first mass-meeting will come our exhibition. I have brought out with me a large amount of material in photos, posters, ~~handkerchiefs~~ handkerchiefs and other things. I had planned an independent exhibition. But I have since decided to throw in my stuff with that of the I.L.P. I have however made the condition that the CNT-FAI material should have a prominent place in the exhibition and a share of the proceeds after expenses will be covered. I am ~~xx~~ certain the people I am working with on the exhibition will keep the agreement. ~~xxxxxx~~.

I said the the part of the CNT-FAI in the Spanish struggle is hardly understood by the outside world. I fear even some of our comrades are still lacking in understanding of the colossal share our Spanish comrades had and have in the events there. I ~~was~~ led to this conclusion by the reports of the condemnation coming from our own ranks. In holland for instance where some of the Fascist Anarchists are carrying on a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ systematic attack on the CNT-FAI, heaping the same insults and calumny on their heads as the Fascist do. And from private correspondence I ~~also~~ gather that our comrades in Spain are being charged with nothing short of treachery. That is very deplorable. To say the least it proves lack of understanding of the situation in Spain and the conditions under which the CNT-FAI are labroing. Perhaps I can put them right ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ even if all the actual facts of the inner work of the so-called United Front can not be given to the world. The truth has its own way of coming to the fore. Just at present we cannot oblige Franco and his backers. Nor is it necessary at present. ~~xxxx~~ Once Fascism will be defeated as it MUST be, if the Revolution is to go on in its marvelous ~~xxxxxxxx~~ constructive work all our comrades as well as the rest of the world will learn the truth. The truth of the gigantic share the CNT-FAI have played from their very inception ~~xx~~ until this day.

I hope I am still the old Anarchist and that I still believe in the necessity of criticism of steps taken that apparently look inconsistent with our ideas. I have never justified the notion that wrong acts committed by ones own comrades should be ignored more than when committed by our opponents. ~~The proof in the pudding is that our dear departed comrade Alexander~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 5, London [to] Freie Arbeiter Stimme, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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74

And if I know anything of the comrades of the CNT-FAI I can say with certainty that they themselves would be the last to expect complete acceptance of anything they have done with which we cannot agree in full. They do however expect our comrades outside of Spain to acquaint themselves with the real situation and the steps imposed on them by the factors working in their country. These factors left our comrades only one of two alternatives, either dictatorship. Or ~~participation~~ direct participation in the government. Never before was a revolution and its leading organizations so scandalously sabotaged as in Spain. In point of truth the sabotage was systematic and flagrant enough to jeopardise the rescue of Madrid from the Fascist hords. It was only the ~~decision~~ decision of the CNT- to take a responsible share of the government that Madrid was made ready at the eleventh hour for ~~the defense~~ the defense since known to the whole world as one of the most heroic battles in history. ~~For it was only when the Govern~~ For it was only when the Government betook itself to Valencia that the real drive against the Fascist gangs equipped with every sort of German and Italian arms could be undertaken. As on the 14th of July so in Madrid the people themselves, the dumb inarticulate masses undertook the defense of Madrid and with it the defeat of Franco and his hirelings. ~~Let it be understood by all comrades that the CNT-is~~ Let it be understood by all comrades that the CNT-is was not at all unaware that Anarchists in ministries are an anomaly. But in the first place government and ministries do not mean the same thing to the Spanish Anarchists as it does to Europeans or Americans. They are mere makeshifts to them to be thrown overboard at will. In the second place it means the safety of Madrid, in fact the safety of Spain. Only the future will tell whether the CNT acted wisely or not. For the present it should suffice our comrades outside of Spain to know that the next step to entering the ~~ministry~~ was armed revolt against the sabotage that had been going on for months on the part of some of the allied ~~for~~ parties that had joined the United Front.

I have already stated that our comrades had but one of two things to choose dictatorship or the widest possible freedom for all their so called friends in the ~~Anti~~ Anti Fascist struggle. I am glad to say the CNT-FAI chose the latter. It may seem an ~~exaggeration~~ exaggeration when I say that Catalonia is to day the freest place politically in the world. But for the Fascists every party enjoys unlimited freedom of speech, press and assembly. In fact some of them are interpreting liberty to mean licence. They have requisitioned the most conspicuous buildings, they hold forth until all hours of the night in ~~the~~ speakers and meetings. They have daily parades in military form and music. They do pretty much what they damn please including intense preparation for the happy hour when they might be strong enough to put our comrades to the wall. True they will have as much luck in that as Franco has so far. But the fact remains this is their greatest dream. I have often felt and expressed that such tolerance as the CNT-FAI shows may bring disastrous grave results. And yet I had to agree that this danger is preferable to dictatorship. While the CNT-FAI does not believe in all the public mummary the others practice they are not blind to the danger, they are prepared for it. But so deep rooted is their faith

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5

base freedom that they would rather endure the daily annoyances that would ~~take~~ the patience of saints than to ~~maintain the position~~ ~~introduce~~ forcibly prevent those who must rely on outer methods to win adherents. Our people feel that Anarchism and Libertarian Communism is so ingrained in the Catalan workers and peasants they need no public shows to rouse their enthusiasm and evotion. This will have to do for the present ~~for~~ as proof that far from having betrayed our dies the CNT-FAI are to day the only gallant ~~defend~~ fighters and defenders of them. Actually, they are the only large group of people in the world who still love ~~liberty~~ liberty enough to struggle and die for it. I feel therefore that whatever our regrets maybe of our Spanish comrades having entered minsitries or having made other mistakes we jave no right in judging them at least until Fascism has been crushed. At present there is only one menace that is Fascism by whatever name it goes. Everything else must wait. Our duty outside of Spain is to help our comrades, to help the antiFascist battle with material and moral support. To help the women and children evacuated from the various fronts.

Dear comrades bear in mind Catalonia is carrying the whole brunt. Thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for Anti Fascist Spain. But not a cent went to Catalonia. Yrt Catalonia is feeding Madrid, and it is feeding thirty thousand women and children from other parts of Spain. Last but not least Catalonia is the spear head of the Revolution, the one part of Spain that is doing constructive work amidst the horrors of war, cold and hunger. And in all this the CNT-FAI plays the leading and ~~dominant~~ dominant part. All strength to the CNT-FAI.

Later I hope to send you something on the collectivised industries and farms. For to day I have said enough. I am here for three or the highest four months. Then I will return to Spain. I want for nothing grander for my last years than to be at the side of our comrades, to share with them in their struggle. To help them if only in a small measure to victory, or if need be to lie down my life if this should be their lot. But it never can, will or must be. And all comrades in every country must see to it that the battle of the CNT-FAI should be vixtorious. You can if you will be less fault finding and more active with your moral and financial support.

Salud. As we say in Spain.

~~18 Castletown Rd. London W.14.~~
18 Castletown Rd. London W.14.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 5, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / [Facundo Roca].—
1 p. ; 16 x 21 cm.

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OFICINA COMERCIAL
PARIS

19838

PARIS, le 5 Janvier 1937

55, AVENUE GEORGE V

Chère Emma,

Ci-joint la lettre et le chèque que je t'ai envoyé
le lendemain de ton départ de Paris, qui n'ont été retournés
aujourd'hui avec la mention "adresse inconnue".

Je te rappelle que tu dois avoir reçu une autre let-
tre en réponse à celle que tu m'a envoyée jointe à la lettre
pour Martin, lettre que j'ai fait parvenir.

Dans la première adresse j'avais mis E.G. COLTON,
18 Castletown, Londres W.14. La seconde est adressée à E. Goldman
et porte comme complément Road.

Je la réexpédie à E. Goldman dans l'espoir qu'elle te
parviendra.

Reçois chère camarade mes salutations libertaires.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 5 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Ethel Mannin. — 2 p. ; 13 x 20 cm.

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Ethel Mannin
Oak Cottage.
Burghey Road.
Wimbledon Common, S.W.19.

19560

Jan. 5th 1937

Dear Emma Goldman ,

I had your address from Comrade Barr some little time back, and had been 'going' to write, if only to ask forgiveness for my slackin' off on correspondence when you were in the South of France; but I am never any good at long-distance correspondence, and was movin' about a lot myself at the time, and anyhow I expect you understood, and didn't hold it against me. It never altered my admiration for you and my regard.

Since those days I too have had my disillusion in Russia, and am now banned there as 'an enemy of the Soviet Union', which is really very silly, for my disillusion and disappointment, and my criticism of its foreign policy and its policy in Turkestan (whether I make a forbidden journey as per the enclosed leaflet) don't make me an enemy. It's merely that one can conceive of and hope (and work for) a more satisfactory

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001101

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 5 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Ethel Mannin.—
2 p.; 13 × 20 cm.

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19561

revolution than Russia has achieved. Added to which I regard the
Stalinist regime as in many respects reactionary.

Temperamentally I am, as Reg is, more in sympathy with the Anarchist
ideal, and like him, am much encouraged by what they have achieved
in Spain.

It will give me real pleasure, therefore, to take the Chair for you
at the meeting next Monday. Will you let me know if there is
anything special - any particular point - you would like me to say,
any point you'd like me to make? If you can spare the time
let me know.

All the best to you, my dear -
Sincerely and fraternally,

Ethel Mannin

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]37 Jan. 6, London [to] Thomas H. Keell, Stroud [England] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Freedom Archive.

18 Castlemore Rd
W 14. Mary St. 1937

London Jan 6th 37.

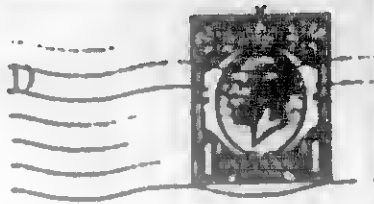
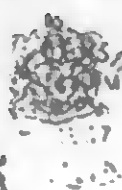
Dear Tom. I had hoped you would come to London last wee-end. There are so many hings to talk ove that cannot be done by letter. When do you think you will be here? Could it possitly be this ~~Sat~~ Saturday? I shall be busy Sunday. ~~or any day the~~ coming week? If you do you might bring hundred pamphlets on Spain with you for which I will ~~take~~ take the responsibility! Let me know. Your son must have told you of our first gathering. I di did not place him as your and Lillains son I us used to know as a kid. I got his name mixed with another Wolfe an old Anarchist I met in 24. I'll know better when I meet him next time. The I.L. P. is making all sorts of "loving" advances ~~to my~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]37 Jan. 6, London [to] Thomas H. Keell, Stroud [England] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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in connection with my efforts
for Spain. Fenner will speak at
our meeting the 18th and Ethel
Mannin will preside. Fenner has a
also approached me in view of a
united exhibition of the Spanish
struggle. I am attending their
Committee meeting to night and
will then decide definitely.
Let me hear from you soon.
Salud.
Emma



Mr Thomas H. Keell.
Whiteway Stroud
Glos.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[7] Jan. 6, London [to] Ethel Mannin, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19362

xxxxxxxx London Jan. 6th 36.

Dear Ethel Mannin.

Thank you for your letter. Your silence while somewhat puzzling in view of your warm friendship three years ago did not change my feeling for you, and I am very glad we can now renew the comradeship begun then.

I have always said that I wished everybody could and would go to Russia. They will return disillusioned. That is if they are sincere and capable of facing the stark reality in Stalin's domain. I am therefore not in the least surprised that you were disappointed. I am only sorry that you ascribe the conditions to the revolution. There was nothing the matter with the Revolution. It was the Communist state which crushed it. The same deadly machine would do it in Spain, if the CNT-FAI were not so strong numerically and morally. But they know as I do that the real battle is yet before them when Fascism will be liquidated. As it is they are being sabotaged and hampered by Stalin's satrap. For it is Stalin's deliberate intentions to impose his iron regime on Spain. Hence the sudden generosity of Russia in sending arms. This is not for publication. But it is well you and others sincerely interested in the outcome in Spain should know the facts.

Yes, I would like to have a talk with you

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[7] Jan. 6, London [to] Ethel Mannin, [London] / Emma Goldman.—
2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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19868

before the meeting the 18th. Could you and Reginald Reynolds
come to me this Friday, to tea, or after dinner to coffee? Or some
day or evening next week except Tuesday? Let me know please.

Castletown Rd is only two minutes from the West Kensington
Underground.

Sincerely,

Thanks for the pamphlets.

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. [6] Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / F[acundo] Roca.—
2 p.; 15 × 21 cm.

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OFICINA COMERCIAL
PARIS

PARIS, 6 de Enero de 1937
54, Avenue Georges V

1937

Querida Emma:

Recibida tu valija de interesante correspondencia, te escribo estas líneas para decirte que esta tarde a las 4, han salido las cartas con un correo que las entregará a mano de los interesados.

Las informaciones de Barcelona para vuestra oficina empiezan a enviarse, y pronto las recibiréis a través de la oficina de París de manera regular.

Me he informado que se os ha asignado la suma de 20 mil francos mensuales para que atienda vuestra labor. Si no es mucho ya es algo más que nada. Menos han asignado a Bélgica: 10 mil francos.

Hoy te he enviado lo nuevo el chèque y la carta certificada; espero que no faltará ningún céntimo, punto o coma. Ya sabes que a Darling le enviaron 5.000 francos para esa oficina.

No comprendo que te lloren unas cartas y otras no. Te felicito por el buen éxito que has tenido en organizar la exposición con los camaradas ingleses y por el encuentro agradable que has te-

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[illegible]

de. El hombre se ríe y continúa hablando con ese buen ánimo,

J. Ross

P. D. En copia a mi amigo Martini conteste tu pregunta sobre el reclutamiento de voluntarios dispuestos a luchar en la patria contra el fascismo, puedo adelantarte, que todos los que sienten el deseo de ingresar en las columnas de la C. R. T. y de la F. L. L. pueden prepararse para salir, pues las organizaciones así lo han acordado, y a cuyo efecto han destacado camaradas en varios países.

Feb 5 Aug

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 6, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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19847

My Dear Emma:

Yesterday I have received your letter of 28th December. I reward you this letter, because I read it with very much pleasure the same than the others.

Now, I go to answer you about all the points that they useful for you:

1st. - About the Durruti's pamphlet.

It was many time that this pamphlet must be go out, but until to-day it is not made.

After to have insist so many times, the camaradas that they are incharged of it, they have tell me that his appearance is to-morrow. When I have some exemplaires of them I shall send you immediately. I suppose that I shall can send you them before the 18th. of courant.

2nd. About the Films. ~~Some~~ have tell me that films were send you, and he suppose that you have received them.

3rd. About the newspapers. If you have not received them, You oan remain very sure that in few time I shall send you them, the Solidaridad Obrera, Tierra y Libertad, etc.

4th. About the handkerchiefs.

About the handkerchiefs that you ask me, by now I can't tell you something. *Ich werde heute so anfragen.*

5th. - About the address of the spanish boletin. They ~~are~~ so much time that I have exchange the address of the spanish boletin, and I suppose that you~~re~~ received them now. I have tell to the others sections that they must to send your five exemplaires of everyone.

6th. - I am in according with you, that is neccessary that you come here in Spain another time from to work both like others times before. I think that some ~~some~~ you will return here.

7th. About the camarade Carbo. I have speakem with him but every time he said me that he has much work from to do, but he has promised me that we shall found us for to speak of this affair.

8th. - About the camarada Rosa's affair. To-day I have tell to the camarada Rosa that she must send you ~~all~~ the propaganda that he has, and in the case that she cannot send you that, I promised you that I do myself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001094

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 6, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20291

About the Durruti's pamphlets.

The Durruti's pamphlets, are edited in
each language, and I send you several exemplaires of them.

I am sorry that I can't write you so as I will, but is imposi-
ble for me, because I have so much work, but you can remain sure that in the
next letter I shall write you for the both letters.

In awaiting yours news

I remain, Your very truly.

Martin

Barcelona, 6.1.1937

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001122

[Letter, 1937] Jan. 7, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19602

London Jan 7th 36.

Dear Augustine. To day you will receive a wire from Fenner Brockway though signed with my name. It is an order for 1500 ~~albums~~ albums of the posters gotten out by the Spanish propaganda of the CNT-FAI and thousand of the album you got out. Jenny Lee ~~an~~ a member of the I.L.P brought back copies of the first and also one of yours. Fenner is so enthusiastic ~~af~~ over the albums that h he called me up to say he wanted to order thousand of one and five hundred of the other if I will consent to a fifty fifty proposition of the sales. In as much as the I.L.P has larger facilities than we I was only too glad to consent. But I also wanted some for our own use in the provinces. So we agreed, Fenner and I to order extra five hundred of each for me. That's why the telegram reads 1500 of the album of posters and 1000 of yours. Now Martin writes me you had assured him that you sent me albums. Well, I have not received them yet. Nor anything sent from Barcelona except the call for an anar-chists Congress. I don't know why our channels are so slow. One thing is quite obvious everything from Barcelona will have to be sent me via Paris or they will be held up by the British authorities. Its no good sending anything via Perpignan because that is already known as a Spanish channel. So please rush the order and have it taken to Paris than by Express to London. I am sure quite a number of albums could be sold at our meeting on the 18th of this month. If in case of any ~~thing~~ delay of the entire order send as many as you can for the meeting. You understand that I am responsible for the whole amount. Whatever they cost will be forwarded just as soon as some sales are made.

I have definitely decided to throw in my material for the Exhibition with that of the I.L.P and the other groups on the Spanish Exhibition Committee. I could not possibly organize on one of our own for less than 75 pounds. The Paris as I understood costs 1100 francs which means sixty pounds. Whereas the contribution to the joint Exhibition will only be thirty pounds. Fenner himself suggested only as much which I think is very decent of him and the others. Should the bureau of the Generalidad ever send enough money for the work here we will have to contribute more. But so far Darling has received dribblets. The last time eighteen pounds not anything to cover the debts he and Stewart have made. Frankly I don't see what is going to become of the bureau. In its present condition it can do nothing, or very little. Few people know of its existence, and not a penny has so far been raised by ~~him~~ Darling. I am waiting for your and Carbo's reply to the letters I sent to Room to be taken to you both. I can only repeat what I wrote you unless adequate financial support will come from the Generalidad nothing can be done here. But is the statement I gave to the Comite of fifty pounds a month is going to be precious little for the propaganda for the CNT-FAI. But I mean to prevail upon the few comrades there are to carry part of the expenditures. I have gotten them to raise nearly all of the 25 pounds our meeting of the 18th will cost. I am hoping

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Jan. 7, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19603

2.

As one cannot charge admission at such a meeting we are depending on the response to the appeal I will make for contribution for the children and women evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. In that way the expenses will be covered and a surplus left. I hope so anyhow. But you must know and so must the CNT-FAI that we have neither an Anarchist movement or many individual Anarchists in England. However, you need not bother the Comité about finances, but you will have to be very determined with Meretvillae and Garbo about the budget they had promised for the propaganda in England of the Generalidad. I am quite positive that nothing has been achieved so far or will be accomplished unless the bureau is reorganized, new quarters rented and a wide publicity begun. For that means are needed as quickly as possible. I wish you would send me definite information about that.

Please tell Martin I am writing him tomorrow. In re the points he raised. Please, please rush the Album. Oh, yes we need all the publications gotten out by the German group Ludwig's pamphlet and whatever else has been printed. Perhaps sets of the German Bulletins from the beginning. Everything. We need that for the Exhibition. Also everything in French, Italian, and whatever brochures and books published in Spanish.

Goodby dear Augustine. Write me please.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 7, London [to Facundo Roca, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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London Jan 7th 37.

19827

Dear Comrade.

What a mix up with the check. But I had no idea that you have my "legal" name E.G. Colton. And as I did not put this name on the letter box the registered letter was taken back to the Post Office. It occurred to me only day before yesterday that some one may have suggested that you send the check to E.G. Colton. I called up the P.O. and was of course told that a registered letter to that name had been received and had been returned to Paris. Well, it was a mix up for which I am very sorry. The check arrived this morning for which I inclose a receipt.

For your information I wish to let you know that on my arrival I found that the expense in connection with the promised art exhibition had actually come to about forty five pounds and not as I had stated thirty eight. I have all the bills and will send them to you if you want to check them off. The reason it came to so much is this; the friend who came from the South of France to help with the Exhibition rented an Apt which she turned into living quarters for me and a bureau for the Exhibition. The furnishing simple as it is cost £34, ~~£16~~ 16/. Her fare from the South of France with incidentals cost £10. That of course does not include the rental for two months which had to be guaranteed. Fortunately it is only £6 a month. But as I need a bureau for my work of the CNT-BAI and also living quarters I prefer not to bother anybody any more about the expense for the proposed art Exhibition which unfortunately can not take place. I am writing you this in case any questions should be asked of how the amount of the check was spent. Let me know if you want me to return the £24.0 left from the amount though there are a lot of small items in connection with the work to get the Apt ready for me.

I have sent you a letter in Spanish and letters to be forwarded to the Comite Regional, Martin, Souchy and Carbo. I hope they will reach their destination quicker than the first letter to Martin written the 22nd of last month which reached him the 1st of this month. Will you kindly see that those who take my mail with them are more dependable to deliver them directly to reach Barcelona.

I wonder if you have the Durruti film made by the CNT BAI? There is one here made by the Generalidad. The one I had planned to bring with me I sent to America because I thought the one Barling has is the same. Now I discover they are different. Perhaps you can get me another of ours. I have wired Souchy to do for 1500 albums of posters the Spanish propaganda Dept of the CNT BAI has printed. The Album is very beautiful and I am sure many can be sold here. I also ordered thousand of the Album Souchy supervised of photos. Of course I could not dispose of so many. But now that the Independent Labor Party is cooperating with me

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 7, London [to Facundo Roca, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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19828

2

in our mass meeting of Jan 18th and in the Exhibition for the CNT-F.I. they have also undertaken to sell the albums. I have agreed to their condition of fifty fifty from ~~the sale~~ theirsale. In addition I will be able to sell some at our meetings in London and the provinces.

The Exhibition of photographs, posters and other things of the struggle in Spain promises to be a very large and important affair. You can imagine the scope when I tell you that five hundred pounds will be spent on its organisation, advertisements, rent and arrangements. The Committee consists of the I.L.P. the Spanish Aid Society, the Friends and myself and Darling for the Generalidad and CNT-F.I. It will be most imposing and reach thousand of workers whom we could never hope to reach by a small Exhibition. If course all must contribute to the cost. For the CNT-F.I I contribute thirty pounds which is less than half of what I would have had to spend for an independent Exhibition. If the forpaganda bureau of the Generalidad had money we would also have to contribute. But as it is the Committee is content with the thirty pounds. In as much as the CNT-F.I at my suggestion gave me only fifty pounds a month for ~~my~~ the work here in behalf of the CNT-F.I and only for two months you can imagine that I will not be able to go too far with the publicity for our side. But I mean to prevail upon the few comrades there are to contribute their share. They have already ~~received~~ *contributed to the* cost for our meeting Jan 18th.

Be careful Dear comrade it seems our comrades in Catalonia have already awakened to the Communist danger and the large number of Communists shipped to Spain. I have ~~warned~~ *warned* some of them three months ago ~~of~~ that danger. Now ~~Martin~~ *Martin* writes men ~~are~~ *are* wanted for our side, but that they "must be Anarchists". Our people in Barcelona evidently do not ~~know~~ *know* that we have no movement in England and only a ~~half~~ *half* dozen comrades. I do know of men who are only too willing to join our forces but they are NOT Anarchists. I am writing Martin to that effect in the inclosed letter. Please be sure to have it delivered quickly as the comrades are waiting for an answer.

My telephone is Fulham 68 29. I wish you would call me up some day to tell me of the ~~R.M.~~ *R.M.* situation in Spain, especially ~~from~~ *from* on our side. I will be home ~~Monday~~ *Monday* nearly every evening except Tuesday and Wed. next week

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 7-8, London [to Facundo Roca, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12335

Londres, 7 de enero de 1937.

Querido camarada:

Vaya un lío que se armó con el cheque; pero yo no tenía la más remota idea de que tu sabías mi nombre de pila, E. G. Colton, y como dicho nombre no figuraba por fuera de mi puerta, el certificado fué devuelto. Solamente ayer se me ocurrió que tal vez alguien te habría dado el nombre de E. G. Colton y entonces me pasé por la Central de Correos en donde me digeron que se había recibido un pliego certificado dirigido así, el que había sido devuelto a Paris. Biento mucho lo ocurrido por las molestias que te ha originado. El cheque llegó esta mañana y te acompaño al recibo.

Para tu gobierno, debo decirte que al llegar a ésta me encontré con que los gastos en relación con la abortada exposición artística, sumaban £45, y no £38, como yo había dicho. Abran en mi poder todas las cuentas y te las enviaré si las precisas como comprobantes. El haber aumentado tanto se debe a que mi amiga, que vino del Sur de Francia para ayudarme con la exposición, alquiló un piso, el cual convirtió, parte en vivienda para mí y parte como oficina para la exposición. Los muebles, modestos como son, costaron £34.16.0; y el viaje de mi amiga, con extraordinarios, £10. Esto sin incluir el alquiler de dos meses que tuvo que ser garantizado, que afortunadamente no es más que £6 al mes. Ahora bien, como además de vivienda para mí, también necesito oficina para mi trabajo de la CNT-FAI, no deseo molestar a nadie más con respecto a los gastos de la exposición artística, que por desgracia ya no tendrá lugar. Te facilito estos detalles por si te piden cuenta de la forma en que se ha gastado el importe del cheque. Dime si deseas que te devuelva el saldo de £24.0, si bien existen otros pequeños desembolsos en la preparación de mi alojamiento.

Te he escrito una carta en español y te he enviado otras para reexperiencias al Comité Regional, Martin, Bouchy y Garbo. Confío que lleguen a manos de los interesados con nra rapidez que la primer carta que escribí a Martin, de fecha 22 de diciembre y que sólo recibió el 1^o del actual. Te suplico procures que los encargados de llevar mi correspondencia sean más activos y la entreguen tan pronto como lleguen a Barcelona.

Pienso si todavía conservas la película de Durruti, hecha por la CNT-FAI. Aquí han dado una hecha por la Generalidad. La que yo pensaba traer la mandé a los Estados Unidos por creer que la que Darling tenía era igual; pero ahora he descubierto que son distintas. Tal vez tu me podrías conseguir la muestra.

He telegrafiado a Bouchy por 1500 albums de los carteles del departamento de propaganda español de la CNT-FAI. Son preciosos estos albums y estoy segura que se podrán vender aquí muchos. También pedí mil albums de las fotografías coleccionadas por Bouchy. Yo sólo no hubiera podido disponer de tantos; pero como los compañeros ingleses de la I.L.P. cooperarán conmigo en nuestro itán del 18 de enero y también en la exposición, ellos se encargarán asimismo de venderlos. He convenido con ellos ir mitad a mitad en lo que se recaude con las ventas, las cuales procuraré aumentar en nuestros otros mítines en Londres y provincias.

La exposición de fotografías, carteles y demás actualidades de la lucha en España augura ser una cosa grande e importante. Te formarás una idea si te digo que se van a gastar unas £500 en la organización, anuncios y otros gastos de instalación. El Comité lo componen miembros de la I.L.P., la Sociedad de ayuda a España; y los compañeros, Darling y yo por la Generalidad y CNT-FAI. Será algo que llamará la atención y que atraerá miles de traba-

../...

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918167

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 7-8, London [to Facundo Roca, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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12336

jadores, que nosotros no podríamos aspirar conseguir con una exposición a menor escala. Por supuesto que todos han de contrubuir a los gastos. Yo he donado en nombre de la CNT-PAI £30. Mucho menos que en la mitad de la suma que hubiera tenido que gastar para hacer la exposición independientemente. Si la oficina de propaganda de la Generalidad hubiese dispuesto de fondos también habría donado algo; pero como están las cosas el Comité se ha conformado con las £30. Como ha instanciado a la CNT-PAI sólo me asignó £50 mensuales, durante dos meses únicamente, para mi trabajo aquí en su nombre, podré darte cuenta que no me será posible ir muy lejos con la propaganda del lado nuestro, aunque me propongo que conseguir que los pocos compañeros de aquí contribuyan en parte. Por de pronto ya han dado para cubrir los gastos de nuestro mitin del 18 de Enero.

Querido camarada, al parecer nuestros compañeros en Cataluña han empezado a apreciar el peligro comunista, al verme el gran número de éstos que han salido para España. Hace ya unos tres meses noté yo y advertí el referido peligro. Ahora Martín escribe que se precisan hombres pero que "deben ser anarquistas". Seguramente los nuestros en Barcelona ignoran que el movimiento no existe en Inglaterra, pues apenas si hay una docena de camaradas. Se de muchos hombres que desean con ahinco unirse a nuestras fuerzas; pero no son anarquistas. Escribo a Martín sobre este punto en la carta adjunta. Entrégasela pronto, pues los camaradas esperan contestación inmediata.

El número de mi teléfono es Fulham 6829. Me gustaría que me llamasen algún día para que me digas cómo van los asuntos de retaguardia, especialmente los nuestros propios. Estoy en casa casi todas las noches, excepto martes y miércoles de la próxima semana.

8 de Enero. Hoy ha llegado a mis manos tu carta del 6 de Enero, cuyo contenido he anotado debidamente y quedo en espera de las noticias que me anuncias de Martín.

Salud.

Nota.

Apreciable compañero Roca. Salud.
Agradezco mucho tu cariñoso saludo, que retribuyo con mi mayor afecto y deseos por el triunfo completo de la causa que defiende la CNT-PAI.

El traductor.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[7] Jan. 7, Glasgow, Scotland [to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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1937

Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS

Secretary—Frank Leech,
287 Northerton Road,
GLASGOW, W.2

Treasurer—J. B. Andrew,
297 Waddell Street, S.S.

Telephone. Sootstoun 2610.

January, 7th. 1936.

Com Emma Goldman,
c/o Ralph Barr,
106, Conington Road,
London. W.12.

Dear Comrade,

Referring to your proposed visit to Glasgow, could you come on any of the following dates, 14th, 21st. or 28th. February. The City Hall is available on these dates in the afternoon from 3 to 5 p.m. We would prefer the 14th. if this would suit you. Please let me know by return if possible so that we may book the hall before anyone else steps in.

For this meeting we proposed to announce you as representing the C.N.T.—F.A.I. to make it a ticketed meeting, minimum, 6d. per head.

(3) That you appeal for funds to help the C.N.T. and
(4) that time be allowed for questions. Do you agree?

Will you let me know the title of your lecture for this meeting. We will advertise as well as we can locally, but can you get a free advertisement or one at a reduced rate from Fenner Brookway in the "Scots New Leader" or possibly from "Forward".

Forgetting to note your address and telephone number I have to send this care of Comrade Barr and, if you can, let me have a reply by telegraph if possible, so we can start advertising right away.

Could you stay for one week or two weeks? If you could do so we would arrange meetings in different parts, possibly including Edinburgh.

Best wishes,

With fraternal greetings.

Frank Leech Secretary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[7] Jan. 7, Glasgow, Scotland [to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank
Leech. — 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001095

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 8 [Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell]. — 1 p.; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

9. 1. 1937.

19548

Дорогая Эмма!

Сегодня вам выслал все альбомы, которые вы просили. Фото-альбомы вам уже высланы три или 4 дня тому назад. Всё идет через Репридан. Позавчера я говорил с редакторами всех наших газет и они обещали сейчас же выслать наши газеты.

Теперь я прикладываю переводы двух статей, которые вам послужат материалом для короткой статьи.

Брошюра Дуррути тоже завтра вам вышлет.

Теперь прикладываю вырезку из "Juli." Как только получу, сейчас переви и перепечатаю и вам пошлю.

Привет сердечный
Martin

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001243

[Letter, 1937 between Jan. 8 and 16] Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin [Souchy].— 1 p.; 30 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

OFICINAS DE PROPAGANDA C.N.T. F.A.I.

SECRETARÍA

VIA LAYETANA, 32-34, 4.^o
TELÉFONO 25041

BARCELONA,

Liebe Emma,

Deinen Brief vom 7.1. habe ich erhalten. ebenso dein Telegramm. Heute erhielt ich auch einen Brief von Jenner in derselben Angelegenheit. Die Alben werden morgen abgesandt. Gleichzeitig werden 700 Durruti Brosch. abgesandt werden. Wir hoffen sie als Drucksache schicken zu können, dann kommen sie schneller an. Für die Alben müssen wir 4 Pesetas haben, für die Zeichnungen 5 Pesetas. Dazu kommen dann noch etwa 10 Centimos Porto pro Stück. Das alles in spanischem Geld. Der Überschuss den ihr machen könnt, kann geteilt werden. Die Hälfte kann nach Frankr. an unsere Organisation geschickt werden, die andere Hälfte könnt ihr behalten und eure Propagandakosten damit decken.

Ich werde heute noch mit Mo Hair sprechen, und ihm alles Propagandamaterial was wir neu haben zusenden.

Ich werde auch mit Garbo und Miratvilles über die Angelegenheit der Finanzierung der Generalidad Propaganda sprechen.

Dein Brief muss schnell weg, der Genosse kann nicht länger warten. Ihse wird Dir alles Material für Propaganda Zwecke senden. Sie hat versprochen alles herauszusuchen.

Herrliche Gruesse für heute

Augustin

The Emma Goldman Papers

890128028

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 9 - 11, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Martin Gudell Archive.

London Jan 9th 37.

Martin, my Dear. You are a real comrade and I am glad I have in Barcelona, or I should feel completely cut off. Thank you for your letter of the fifth. I cannot understand why it takes Roca so long to have the letters delivered. I would write you direct and send it per AVION. But certain things are better communicated through some reliable person. However, I will write Roca to rush the letters to you. I had a letter from him yesterday saying he had sent through someone leaving for Barcelona the day before the letters I sent him to the Comité, you, Souchy and Carbo. So I hope these will reach all of you quicker than the others.

I am going to reply to yours of the 5th in rotation.

surude
achene
1) No pamphlets arrived yet, French or English. Why should it have taken all this time to finish the English copy? Why, I read the proofs of mine the day before I left. At that time the MSS had been with the printer two weeks. So it means six weeks to print a brochure which would take here three days. I cannot imagine how our comrades in Barcelona expect us outside of it to ~~achene~~ anything in the way of propaganda. It seems one must keep after the printer and though I know how busy you are I have to ask you to insist that the Durruti pamphlet is rushed. I mean the English one.

2) No Film has arrived. I have written Souchy about it. If he has sent it he should have notified by what means, Post Office or by someone? Besides I have no idea what Film he sent. Is it the long one, beginning with the Revolution, showing the taking of Setamo? Or is it the Durruti Film, I am anxious to get that too, if possible, because as I wrote you the one Darling got in Paris was made by the Generalidad is not at all like ours.

you sent, I have received
3) The papers ~~I have received~~ nothing so far. But this morning I got the last Spanish Bulletins. Even that is better than nothing. If you wish the papers to reach me you must wrap it so the British P.O. cannot see at once that they are coming from Catalonia or what papers they are.

3) The handkerchieves. I finally got my trunk which contained the handkerchieves I had taken along. I had to pay an awful amount for duty. £2.8 shillings for 290 handkerchieves. Whereas comrade Barr paid only £2 for six hundred. I think it will perhaps be better they should go to Barr. 106 Coningham Rd London W.12. There seems to be a man in his Post Office sympathetic to Spain. That's why he charged so little for the package of Barr. Better let's use this source. Of course if the handkerchieves have been mailed to me all right.

4) about Carbo. He is absolutely hopeless. But I think the man who could get hold of him is HERERRA. It's no longer necessary as far as the means of conducting the bureau of the Generalidad is concerned. Teradías has sent darling 20,000 as a monthly contribution to the propaganda of the Generalidad. But unless CARBO sends me a letter of directions what my part

The Emma Goldman Papers

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of the supervision of the bureau ~~xxx~~ activities is to be there will be trouble with Darling. I do not mean to suggest that he is of the type of Stewart. If I thought that for a moment I would insist on his withdrawal. No, I think the man is honest. But he is extremely ambitious. And he loves to hob nob with Lady so and so and Lord so and so. He is coming here to night so I can ~~over~~ go over the bills neither Stewart or he has paid. And also to make suggestions of reorganisation of the whole bureau. I was up there yesterday. Imagine it is a room which you can reach only by going through the office of the Socialist League. And this group is affiliated with the Communist Party. In other words, the C.P. knew everything Stewart and Darling were doing. I will not work under such an arrangement. I must insist on a new place away from that treacherous gang. And there are other things not quite sauber. You can see how important it is that I should have the letter CARBO promised me six weeks ago. A letter giving me specific instruction what part I have to take in the handling of the money sent Darling and in the various activities. Please explain all this to HERERRA and write me.

Day before yesterday I wired Souchy that I want thousand copies of the Album he had printed and 1500 of the illustrated one of posters gotten out by the Spanish propaganda bureau of which Rosa is in charge. I have done that in cooperation of the I.L.P. who ordered ~~1000~~ 1000 of the last named and five hundred of the other. I have agreed to an arrangement of fifty fifty. They have a large book store and they have other facilities to sell many. If the order has not yet been filled see Souchy and Rosa and have them attend to it. To make its arrival here safe it will be necessary to ~~xxx~~ get everything to Paris and send it by mail from there, or by parcel poste. ~~It should be sent to Fenner Brockway Sect. Independent Labor Party 35 St Bride Street London E.C.4~~ I am responsible for the Albums. I will collect the money and see that it gets back to you to be turned over to Rosa and Souchy. The pamphlets and Film can be sent to my address.

IMPORTANT It is in answer to your request for men. Here is a list of men willing and eager to join our forces. As you see they are not all Anarchists. But they are anti Parliamentarian, they are very close to us. In fact they have been getting out a little paper in Glasgow. I do not mean the men who want to go to Spain. I mean the group that has selected these men. You say the Comité wants only Anarchists. My dear we have but very few in England. And most of them are old fossils, absolutely senile and useless. As to young comrades there are very, very few indeed. / Capt White who was in Barcelona tells me he has some Irish men but they are Communists. So that rules them out. But I will look around and see whom we can get. The question is how to get them to Paris. It's all well if Calvez will ship them to Barcelona but where are the means to come for the journey to Paris? The Glasgow comrades may raise enough to pay the way of these few

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But if there should be many it will be difficult to raise money here for this purpose. So let me know please..

I see that Green has at last realize his dream to appear in the Bulletin under his name. I suppose Ethel Mc Don Ma Donald has corrected Greens "literary" English. He is welcome to all the glory he wants. Only I wish the Bulletin would not be so small and uninteresting.

Goodby dear Martin. *Emma*

Yes. I long to get back to Barcelona. But when will that be? And what will happen until then?

Monday Jan. 11th 37

Letter Martin dear. The translation of my letter to Roca was not ready until this morning. That's why this letter is delayed. It is just as well because there are two more IMPORTANT MATTERS I must ask you for. First; see if Roas has ~~photos~~ photos of some of the comrades in the International Columns that fought and still does with Durruti, ~~Hxxxxx~~ Ascasio and other Fronts. I must have them for the Exhibition. I also must know if the present International Column now ~~owned~~ owned by the Communists have our comrades and Socialists as well. Or members of the POUM. You see the Communists outside of Spain are carrying on the same poisonous attacks against us as they do in Spain. They claim the credit for everything. It is therefore for most important to have material to counteract their rotten game. So please rush whatever you have in material about our International Column and photographs, especially of the comrades who lost their lives in the anti Fascist struggle. Who died in action or who were murdered by the Fascists.

Next I want photos of Fredrica Montseny, of Puitz, I know I do not spell the name write, the one in charge of the new schools. And if possible of a few more of our comrades foremost in our ranks. I know how little our comrades want glory. But in as much as the Exhibition is to have photos of the "leaders" in all other parties of the so called united front I have insisted on ours being included. That's why I want some photographs if they can be obtained. There must be a lot in the Archive Rosa in in charge of. Perhaps there is a photograph of Dr J. Puente. Also one of Villaverde of La Coruna. All these comrades and more I want to make known outside of Spain.

I have gired a radio in orsder to get Barcelona. Naturally I want especially the CNT/FAI Station. Send me the

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 9 - 11, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].— 4 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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name and wave and when our people are broadcasting. I would like especially to hear Helmut Ruediger, and you in Russian if you speak. I would also like to hear Green at least once in order to verify whether he had really been heard in England.

Please dear Martin do attend to my requests in this letter. Imagine, I am receiving the Spanish Bulletin but neither the German or the English. I wonder why.

Affectionately.

Emma

Will it be easier for you to
read my German? Or can you
make out English?
Can you read Russian or

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 between Jan. 9 and 22, London to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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the mess is cleared I will have to attend to a double job the ~~addition~~ help on the exhibition and fill ~~other~~ lecture dates in London and the provinces. It will keep me busy. But thats the way I like it as that awful Henry used to say, awful because he never writes and seems no longer to give a damn for our friendship.

As I have written you AUNTIE did prepare a place for me but at an expense I had not anticipated. Yet I do not regretted because I would have needed an office for the work for the CNT-FAI ~~and other~~. I would have had to furnish it and the least rent I would have had to pay would have been about £70 a month. That would have left me without quaters where I could have people who are helping in the work. Of course I have to pay rent to AUNTIE ~~for the use of the quaters~~ which comes to only £5. True I have other expenses. Still it is less than ten. But I do have a decent room. I do not have to be cooped up as I was last year with the Koldofskys though I had honest to god Yiddi cooking which you know satisfys my Yiddish feeling better than English food. Besides, the comrades in Barcelona have seen to it that my going into extra expences for the art exhibition was made good. Actually I got back the amount AUNTIE spent on furnishing the apt. So thats that.

Your frined has not called yet. When he does ~~we~~ I will receive him as good as I can. I wonder how you all are Moe. How is he getting along. Never a direct line from him or Pabsie. I hope he is not suffering too much and that he still has his job. How is your mother and your dad? Saxe and his family, Ruth and her lovely baby. I have not yet had time to write her. Give them all my love, and Sree as well and Hymen if he should come to New York. Love to Teddy and the boys. I keep hoping Ian will have luck with Sashas stamps. I had another letter from Emy, either her people are tired of her or she of them. She announces that she will return to Paris in a month. I fear fro the pœce of Hollie and Senia, the only people she will have to befriend her. What she will do in Paris I have no idea. She ~~claims~~ claims she feels better and she will find so something to do. I doubt this. But I don't see what I can do. I have no money of my own and I shall certainly go back to Spa when I have succeeded here unless I can go to A. Poor Sasha he did leave me a load. I fear to the end of my days. Have you seen Stein?

I embrace you dearest.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 9, London [to Frank Leech, Glasgow, Scotland] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1939

LONDON.

----- 9th January 1937.

Dear Comrade,

Comrade Barr brought me your letter of the 7th inst, and has also taken my reply. I have wired you to book the hall for the 21st February as I could not come to Glasgow before that date. The opening day of the Exhibition has been advanced to the 13th February, and I could not possibly leave London the following day. I am willing to come on the 21st. The subject for this meeting I would like to be "The Spanish Revolution" "The Part of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the Spanish Revolution" see leaflet enclosed.

I cannot remain in Glasgow as suggested for a week yet alone two weeks, not for the present anyway. Once the Exhibition is in working order and I know approximately what provincial towns want me to lecture for them I will be able to come to Glasgow for a longer period. All I can do is to stay over an extra day or two if that will be of help. I am planning to give an extra day to every City in order to organise local committees who will later federate for the purpose of carrying on a propaganda on the lines of Anarcho-Syndicalism. I am sorry I cannot oblige you and the comrades in approaching Fenner Brockway in regard to cheap rates for advertisements. I cannot impose on people who have just come to co-operate with me in the meeting and the exhibition. We are ourselves paying the regular rates.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 9, London [to Frank Leech, Glasgow, Scotland] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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2.

I will be very glad to have questions after the lecture. I hope dear comrade that you will understand when you were here that whatever will be contributed in response to my appeal must go to the C.N.T.-I.A.I. I am here as their representative with full instructions to raise funds for their struggle and for the support of the women and children evacuated from Madrid.

Thanks for the list you have enclosed. I will write to the comrades in Spain about them and will reply by wire. It certainly would be splendid if the money for their travelling expenses to Paris could be raised locally. The comrades have written me that they will find transport for these friends from Paris to Barcelona. You have a communist on your list. Is he a Party member? If so we cannot accept his offer. As it is communists by the thousands are being sent into Spain, and our comrades are having all they can handle to cope with the opposition they are having. If he is not a member that will be alright.

Please let me hear from you because I am receiving calls from different places.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 9, London [to Alexander Schapiro, Paris?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p.; 30 x 21 cm.

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19631

London Jan 9th 37.

dear Sania. No doubt you remember Shave play BLANCO POSNESS. It was he who proclaimed the town, the judge, and everything else as ~~rotten~~ ROTTEN. Well I must say the same for your shipping company. By gawd it is ROTTEN. It did not live up to its agreement to charge only sixty francs. Neither did it send the trunk to Victoria station. In fact you told me the trunk would be delivered to the house. I realize this could not be done without the key. But still it was understood that the trunk would be sent to London, and not to Flokestone. The result was that I had to spend extra ten shillings to have it sent here. And your shipping company charged 19/6 which makes it almost hundred and not sixty francs. In addition it did not send back the key until this morning. While to avoid much more storage I had to have the trunk broken open. In other words your company acted and is ROTTEN.

Of course it was all my blunder. I should have risked the excess weight and should have taken the trunk with me. I never would have had the miserable search at the border I had at the Customs here. Not only did I have to pay full duty for the handkerchieves and the records my trunk contained. But Scotland yard was called in to O.K. my photos. It was a job I can tell you. But that is not your fault. Only one always pays for ones own stupidities. And this was among the many I have made in my long life.

~~Handwritten~~

You will probably be surprised to learn that the I.L.P. has come forward to offer co-operation. Jenner Brockway is their General Secretary, and it was he who came to see me about the Exhibition I was to prepare. Also he has offered to speak at our first mass-meeting the 18th of this month. He even went so far as to undertake to secure a chairman. It was to be either Wedgwood, or Bertrand Russell, or Langdon Davies who has just written a book on Spain which according to everybody is supposed to contain a great tribute to the CNT-B-I. He called on me the other evening and I certainly found him most enthusiastic about our people. Langdon Davies is going back to Spain. So he ~~is not available~~ is not available for chairmanship. Wedgwood is away until the end of this month. Russell has a date the same evening. Jenner how ever did get a chairman who happens to be a lady. It is the authoress Ethel Mannin who has had such a rude awakening in Russia. You can see Jenner is making love to the CNT-B-I. Well, you and I know the motivation. In case you don't here are the facts. The I.L.P. is affiliated with the POU and you know how persecuted the latter is by their erstwhile comrades, ~~the Stalinites~~ the Stalinites. As long ago as two months or more the POUM already had had a change of heart towards the CNT-B-I. And now it is altogether hanging on to the coat tails of our people. Hence the sudden flirtation of the I.L.P. with the CNT-B-I.

Naturally I accepted the offer of help most graciously. This not only for the meeting. But also for the Exhibition. I discovered that I could not possibly have our own for less than

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001133

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 9, London [to Alexander Schapiro, Paris?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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475. That not counting pay for any labor connected with the mounting etc. The I.L.P. has organized a Committee consisting of themselves, The Socialist League, the PHETDI and the Spanish Medical Aid Society. The I.L.P. had two men in Spain collecting material. They brought back an immense amount, especially from Madrid which neither the Par's or my collection have. Fenner's proposition to throw in my lot with their for a very large Exhibition therefore appealed to me. And as he and the Committee accepted my condition in re the CNT-FAI I felt it would be better from every angle to go in with them. My conditions were the same place of importance for the CNT-FAI material as others will have. The same display of our literature on our sales, and lastly a share of the proceeds for the CNT-FAI. All this was conceded. I attended the Committee session last Wed as representing the CNT-FAI. I must say there was accord among all the delegates in re my conditions. From the scenario prepared for the Exhibition, (it is to be a sort of running story in pictures of Spain as seen by tourists and since the 19th of July) the Exhibition promises to be a very impressive affair. The Committee had rented large premises, a whole house so I hope to have a special CNT-FAI room in addition to ~~the~~ our photos running in the ~~story~~ story. The only objection is the delay. I had intended ours to be around the 22nd of this month. Whereas the large affair is not to be before Feb. 13th. There is a huge job to get up the kind of a show the Committee has in view. Still, it is too bad to wait so long. But I had to abide by decision because I had to agree that it is better to have the Exhibition well done than rush.

You will have received a letter from the Sect. of the Exhibition for literature. I hope you will either collect all you can yourself or give it to one of the responsible comrades dealing with everything on Spain. You must agree that it will be the first chance in many years in England that our things will be within reach of ~~such~~ large crowds which are sure to attend the Exhibition with the publicity facilities the I.L.P. has. So be a dear and collect all you can get. In case you will not send the literature displayed at rue Bonaparte to Sweden you might send the whole collection or a similar one. And while I am on the subject won't you please have me in mind with anything on Spain published in Paris. I do not even receive ~~ESPANNE ANTI-NAZISTE~~ though I begged Mollie to impress on Volin he should send it. I will pay for the paper if it must be only I want it sent to me.

I rather think I have reasons to be satisfied with the results so far achieved in the short time that I am here. Our own comrades, the old ones, have remained sticks in the mud. They are a greater hindrance than a help. Actually, they are a nuisance. Their insistence on being anarchists and not wishing to submit to authority is pathetic really. ~~But I can do nothing with them.~~ I simply can do nothing with them. Fortunately there is Barr who is a fine worker and a few young comrades who will also be helpful. Redchioni who gets out ~~the~~ SPAIN and THE WORLD is only 22, a fine chap, English Italian, a splendid Spanish comrade who knows English well and who has already been helpful with translations of my letters.

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3.

correspondence with Roca and the Comité Regional, and several of others. That is a comfort and more encouraging than my efforts here have ever been. The little gathering of the comrades we have actually contributed £19 towards the expenses of the Conway Hall meeting. You see I am going to try to make the work here self supporting to save the CNT-FAI from having to help materially all the time. I hope I will succeed.

The General's bureau is in a frightful mess. Stewart absconded with £106, not only hundred. Besides that he made a lot of debts though I have no idea what for since they were given quarters rent free, also light, heat and telephone. Darling is coming this evening with all his bills. I will see what the damage is. Imagine they were in the office of the Socialist League. This means that the latter knew every step taken by Stewart and Darling. So did the Communist Party. They must have known the worthlessness of Stewart. Darling also does not impress me as very dependable or able. Anyhow, I am quite determined to reorganize the whole business, get an office for the bureau and have a joint bank account to which Darling can not throw money to the wind. The General has assigned 20,000 francs a month for the work of the London bureau. A lot should be done with that. So far very little has been done. I confess I dislike stepping into a mess and with Darling trutting about as if he were the General himself. Not that the latter is anything great. Well, I will see. If I cannot have it run efficiently I have but to return my credential. I am quite content to work only for the CNT-FAI.

I think that is all for this sitting. Oh, yes one more thing. Believe it or not the delegate of the Communist Party on the Exhibition Committee withdrew the moment he heard that I have been invited on the Committee for the CNT-FAI and that the Exhibition is to be held together. Glad? I am so beyond words. I hate the breed and I hate to have anything to do with them.

Greet Fanny for me.

Affectionately.

P.S. I never got the magazine des HUMILLES. I wonder if you will let me have your copy containing the Sorge article on Political Prisoners.

"6/11/11"

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005230

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 9, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John C[owper] Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 26 cm.
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and important work
as this for the masses
in Spain.
It is indeed perfectly
amazing what
they have done, both
in incredible heroism
in the field and as
you say in constructive
work behind the
fronts.

Yes, I'll tell you about my latest
book, my dear friend,
some other day. — Canelli
are to bring it out, are so
very long, over here. But
just now I have only the
heart to express my deep
sympathy with you in this
wondrous new epoch in
your life — when beyond
all human expectation
it looks as if your
ideals were actually
being realized.

As for my personal health I'm still the same old
wreck! — Trying not to be too hysterical by living
almost entirely on milk — but when I consider
all you can do — at our age — I may say so! —
I am profoundly impressed. — It seems to me it is to
have had the same integrated
and the same ideal
for so many
years!

7 Cae Goed
Corwen

Merionethshire
N. Wales

Jan 9:
1937

Dear Emma Goldman

It was good
to see you in all the
rush of what
you are doing
& have done for
the people in Spain
to find the time
to write me such
a profoundly interesting
& rousing letter.

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With all my personal sympathy my
devoted friend, John C. Powys

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005230

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 9, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John C[owper]
Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 26 cm.
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I have been so
grateful for the
propaganda-information
sent me (in English) from
Barcelona & have
sent it on to
sympathetic friends.
And now comes this
most exciting letter
about your being the actual
accredited representative here
of both the C.N.T. & the
F.A.I. !
I do see clearly why
your friends over there
felt that you would
be of incalculable
value to them as
their champion &

20338
interpreter over here where
as you say, and as I
well know, things are
so sadly misrepresented
& misunderstood -
Yes I can see that
at this moment in
your wonderful career
(now that your figure
& personality have
acquired the sort of
massive authority &
weight of a Statue -
such as our people but
hero-worshipping humanity
usually waits to put up
all the heroes who are
dead!) nothing could
mit your spirit better
than to be absorbed
in such objective

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005123

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 9, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John C[owper] Powys. — 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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C O P Y

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7, CAE COED,
C O R W E N,
Merionethshire, N. Wales.
January 9th, 1937. -

Dear Emma Goldman,

It was good of you, in all the rush of what you are doing and have done for the people in Spain, to find the time to write me such a profoundly interesting and rousing letter.

I have been so grateful for the propaganda-information sent me (in English) from Barcelona and have sent it on to sympathetic friends. And now comes this most exciting letter about your being the actual accredited representative here of both the CNT., and the FAI! I do see clearly why your friends over there felt that you would be of incalculable value to them as their champion and interpreter over here, where, as you say, and as I well know, things are so sadly misrepresented and misunderstood. Yes I can see that at this moment, in your wonderful career, (now that your figure and personality have acquired the sort of massive authority and weight of a statue, such as our fickle but hero-worshipping humanity usually waits ~~till~~ to put up till the hero or heroine is dead!) - nothing could suit your spirit better than to be absorbed in such objective and important work as this for the masses in Spain.

It is indeed perfectly amazing what they have done, but in incredible heroism in the field and, as you say, in constructive work behind the fronts. Yes, I'll tell you about my latest book, my dear friend, some other day. Cassells are to bring it out, ere so very long, over here. But just now I have only the heart to express my deep sympathy with you in this wondrous new epoch in your life - when, beyond all human expectation, it looks as if your ideals were actually being realised. As for my personal health, I'm still the same old invalid, trying not to be too hypochondriacal and living almost entirely on milk; but when I consider all you can do, at our age, (if I may say so!), I am profoundly impressed. It shows what it is to have had the same integrated and unaltered Ideal for so many years!

With all my personal sympathy, my honoured friend,
Yours most heartily,

John C. Powys.

—oOo—

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 9 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].— 4 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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9-1-37

Liebste Emma,

wir arbeiten den ganzen Tag von morgens bis abends, so daß ein Buch entsteht leider nicht von allein, und so viel wir auch in Barcelona gemacht hatten, blieb doch noch genug übrig zu ändern und zu feilen. Montag sind wir fertig, Sie bekommen dann sofort die beiden Manuskripte.

Aus diesem Grund haben wir Ihnen auch noch nicht wieder geschrieben. Denken Sie trotzdem nicht, dass wir Ihre Briefe nicht mit Freude und Aufmerksamkeit gelesen haben, es ist sehr nett, dass Sie uns alles so ausführlich berichtet haben.

An Rooca haben wir telefoniert, Er hat gesagt, es sei wegen eines Irrtums in Ihrer Adresse eine Verzögerung eingetreten, aber inzwischen müssten Sie das Geld schon längst haben. Und zwar hätten Sie für die Auslagen wegen der Ausstellung 10 Pfund mehr bekommen, als Sie verlangt hätten, und ebenso habe er Ihnen das Geld für die Propaganda geschickt. Hoffentlich ist nun also alles in Ordnung.

Anbei die Notizen über Santillan und die Investigacion. Wir haben uns die Zeit dafür gestohlen, aber wir wollten natürlich alles tun, damit Sie sie für ihren Vortrag haben. Wir wünschen Ihnen, dass es ein grosser Erfolg wird.

Die Nummer des Manchester Guardian haben wir mit grossen Interesse gelesen, wir hoffen sehr, dass Ihr Buch über spanische Revolution recht viel nützen wird. Haben auch noch andre Blätter von Ihrer Ankunft Notiz genommen?

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Haben Sie eigentlich unsern Brief mit unsern Neujahrswünschen bekommen? Wir waren inzwischen mit Flechinee zusammen, sie waren bei uns und es war ein sehr netter Nachmittag. Wir haben nur bedauert, dass Sie nicht dabei waren.

Wenn Sie die beiden Manuskripte haben, was, wie gesagt, Dienstag der Fall sein wird, schicken Sie bitte das eine gleich nach Amerika. Sie können ja inzwischen das andre lesen.

Wir halten es nicht für richtig, zu warten, bis das Buch in Amerika angenommen ist, und es dann erst einem englischen Verleger anzubieten. Wir bitten Sie vielmehr sehr, das gleichzeitig zu tun. Wir sind allerdings der Meinung, dass Golanz (?) es nicht nehmen wird, denn, wie Sie ihn schildern, scheint er völlig von den Kommunisten abzuhängen. Nun ist unser Buch zwar nicht ausgesprochen antikommunistisch aber bestimmt auch nicht im Sinn der Stalinisten. Wir möchten Sie daher bitten, es einem andern Verlag anzubieten. Sie wissen ja so gut Bescheid, dass wir Ihnen da keine Ratschläge zu geben brauchen. Es gibt bestimmt zahlreiche bürgerliche Verleger mit linken Neigungen in England.

Dass für das Thema Interesse besteht, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Wir haben das Manuskript einem Schweizer und einem französischen Verlag angeboten und beide wollten es sofort sehen, die Franzosen sogar auf deutsch. Das beweist natürlich nicht, dass die Leute es auch nehmen werden, aber Interesse ist offenbar vorhanden.

Dass es bereits andre Bücher über die spanische Revolution gibt, stört uns garnicht. Wir haben festgestellt, dass sie sich alle nur auf die erste Zeit beziehen und hauptsächlich vom antifascistischen Kampf handeln. Ein Reportagebuch ist überhaupt nicht darunter. Bitte bieten Sie es also gleich einem andern als Golanz

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2.

an, es wird sich bestimmt ein Verlag finden, der es wenigstens prüfen wird.

Wir sind so in Anspruch genommen, dass wir nicht einmal die Zeit gefunden haben, an einen der Freunde in Barcelona ein paar Zeilen zu schreiben. Das ist ein Unrecht, und wir werden es sobald wie möglich gut machen. Dass Souhy für kurze Zeit hier war, haben wir aus Ihrem Brief entnommen, wir wussten es nicht einmal.

Wir wissen nicht recht, ob wir die Sache Prag überhaupt weiter verfolgen sollen. Was Sie über die ganze Organisation schreiben, macht uns wenig Lust darauf. Vor allem aber können wir nicht gut an die Leute schreiben und ihnen nochmals unsere ~~ihre~~ Dienste anbieten. So gern wir etwas für die Sache tun möchten, können wir schliesslich nicht den Eindruck hervorrufen als machten wir Jagd auf einen Posten.

Im übrigen verfolgen wir die Ereignisse leider mit grossem Pessimismus (sogar Anita). Wir denken dabei nicht einmal in erster Linie an die militärische Lage, obgleich sie schlecht genug ist. Das Schlimmste ist, dass die Anarchisten, also die einzig wirklich revolutionären Kräfte, offenbar mehr und mehr durch die Kommunisten in den Hintergrund gedrängt werden. Wir haben den Eindruck, dass da immer weiter die ärgsten Verleumdungen begangen werden und dass die Situation immer bedenklicher wird.

Wie geht es Ihnen persönlich? Ist das Klima sehr schlimm, und tut es Ihrem Husten viel Schaden oder ist er etwas besser geworden?

Nun wollen wir noch die Gelegenheit benutzen, Ihnen schon im Voraus recht herzlich für Ihre Bemühungen um das Buch zu danken.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Es ist mir sehr lieb, dass Sie mir schreiben.
 Ich habe Ihnen geschrieben, dass es bei Ihnen in London
 wenn Sie nicht Emma Goldman, so bitte ich Sie, wenigstens
 persönlich und mit Freunden eine Erwiderung zu schreiben.
 nicht, weil wir schreiben, Sie werden es als
 verstehen. Obgleich wir nicht abgelenkt werden
 im Fall, dass Ihnen nicht genügend Zeit bleibt,
 jedoch unsere Meinung zu schreiben, so werden wir
 Sie auch mit den anderen Freunden in London
 schreiben. Wir sind sehr gespannt auf Ihre
 Antwort und hoffen, dass Sie bald kommen.
 Ich habe Ihnen geschrieben, dass Sie bald kommen
 und recht herzlich zu danken. Ich hoffe, Sie können
 lassen Sie recht bald wieder von uns hören.
 Sie werden recht herzlich erwartet.
 Ich hoffe, Sie werden bald wieder von uns hören.
 Ich hoffe, Sie werden bald wieder von uns hören.
 Ich hoffe, Sie werden bald wieder von uns hören.

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iv dear Emma.

I liked the clipping, and my father kept it. He read it and is very ~~interesting~~ interested in the Spain-question. I can imagine how busy you are, dear Emma, and, I know, as long as you can budge, will you be busy and active. That saves you from many a terrible struggle with yourself, and believe me, there is nothing futile I mean more futile than that.

I have my treatment here, my massage and there is, no doubt a progress. And that shows that my health is going to be better yet. Isn't it so, dear? Otherwise, it would either remain on the same level, or it would get worse. But, as I tell you, I am somewhat better.

-I can prolong my stay here. My dearest Emma, it is not at all sure if they make the same difficulties about it as they do in France. The C.S.R. authorities did not give me more permission than two months stay here. My father has already started to work on the prolongation, but it does not look too good for that. Besides, Emma, the doctor, who prescribed a diet does not see me more than once a week, and outside of my massages daily, I do not need him anymore. I need three times a day sine Comprese, and lying one hour with it. And my regular food.

Now, look here, Emma. My parents have a small apartment of 2 rooms and kitchen. My dear, there is a limit to everything. They are most wonderful in their hospitality, since I cannot afford a room, but I do not see any use in staying longer than another month here. Outside of that, I have only a right to come back to France until another month's time.

I plan to go to Paris, Emma, and I am going to write Voline (or Emma, dearest, if you FEEL LIKE AND HAVE TIME) so also written them, if they could do something re working papers. Here, my dear, it is OUT OF QUESTION to get the permission..... It is a poverstricken country.

I thought, my dearest Emma, that I could by and by find typing to do, or *dame de compagnie* (or anything) and then, Emma, if I will not get on my own feet again, I better give it up. I need activity. I will, so I have promised my darling mother and father, and so I will promise you: Do strictly what the doctor told me here, *ich bin schon ganz routiniert und die Diet ist sehr gut und einfach. Ich gehe frueh schlafen.* I will take a room there and will live VERY modestly in Paris. Until I may have found work.

My parents, they are going to give me the fare to Paris, and Emmachen, do not doubt their generosity.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 9, Brno [Czechoslovakia to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

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You know without emphasizing, that I cannot pay out the doctor, and daily full-massages of my own. My parents do this quietly and they are sweeter than ever..... But, as I told you, it is my sister in U.S.A. who keeps them going, and though they have a charming little flat, dear old people, they must economise to the utmost, Emma.

But, as I told you, they will help me over to Paris, where, I WILL DO MY VERY LAST) to get on my feet and work. I have not anymore the excruciating pain on the right side, and that is such a difference. My God, those doctors here are gold compared with there, dearest. IN THE CONTRARY? I must eat NO VEGETABLES AT ALL. And meat daily. And applesauce

I got better the minute I did not touch vegetables. Though I may eat dry Koet. Durchgeruehrte puree von Eglsen, Linson und so weiter.....

So, Emma steht es. Und dann, wenn ich immer weiter meine Kur mache, und dort, lassen wir sagen zweimal eine Masseurin bekommen, so kann ich doch, wenigstens in meinem Zimmer tippen oder irgend etwas tun. Ich gruebele hier zu Tode, Emma.

Die Leute hier sind sehr eigenartige Typen. Die Mittelklasse, meinem Eindrucke nach, die schlimmste Reaktion. Das Element der Arbeiter nicht konzentriert, darin dieser Kleinstadt diese armen Luder ja in der grossen Minoritaet sind. Jedoch muss in dem Lande viel Kommunismus propagandiert werden, denn die Zeitung, die ich Ihnen sandte, wird VIEL GELESEN. Das hat aber noch nichts zu sagen, Emma, da die Deutschen hier verhasst sind, seitdem die Tschechen C.S.R. und die Deutschen damit unterworfen..... d.h. wuerde mich sehr interessieren, darueber Einiges zu erfahren. Aber ich habe strenge Kur, um gesund zu werden, und die Leute, mit denen ich in Beruehrung komme, die leben von Arbeitern, und ich kann von ihnen nicht informiert werden. Was wissen Sie denn ueber C.S.R., Emma? Koennnte ich irgendwie etwas tun, Material von Prag bekommen, dass Sie interessieren wuerde? Schreiben Sie mir mal.

Ihre Ausstellung muss ja sehr aufregend und interessant sein. Oh Gott, Emma, die Welt ist ja in Flammen..... Ich begreife Ihre Reaktion gut, dass der Einzelne keine Rolle im Augenblick fuer Sie spielt, und deshalb, glaube ich fast, dass ich Sie deshalb liebe. In diesem Punkt mit dem grossen Manne gleich. Fuer die Ganze, fuer die Mitmenschen. Helfen. Die Welt besser zu lassen wie wir sie vorgefunden. So sagte Sasha oft.....

So bitte, Emma, meine liebe, ein Wort Ihrer Aufmunterung wird ein Segen sein. Ich WILL ZURUECK ZUM LEBEN. ICH WILL ARBEITEN. Solange meine Schmerzen ertraglich sind, MUSS ich arbeiten. So, deshalb werde ich nach Paris gehen in einem Monat.

Ich weiss, Emma, ich bin davon ueberzeugt, dass es eben so schwer ist, fuer mich Hilfe zu finden. Ich werde dankbar sein, fuer alles was moeglich wird, mir zu senden.

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Vergesse Sie nicht, dass das Hierbleiben fuer mich sehr kostspielig sein wuerde. Hunderte Kronen. Relations. Favars. Und ohne Zweck.

Der Aufenthalt hier bei meiner Mutter hat mir wohl getan. Ich danke Ihnen, dass Sie mich dazu brachten. Ich war in Vence absolut entgleist.

Emma, was auch immer die Menschen mich verstehen moechten, eines weiss ich: solange ich atme, werde ich Sie lieb haben und ich weiss dieses von Ihnen auch, auf mich beziehend. Wie es auch sei..... Aber kleine Seelen wollen das nicht von beiden Seiten. Emma, ich habe viele Naechte schluchzend verbracht, aber ich habe meinen Glauben an Sie nicht verloren..... Und oeffnen Sie die Briefe vor Jahren, an Sasha's Seite: Mein Wille und mein Herz waren stets offen fuer Sie und nur zu froh zu gruessen Sie die Aussicht, dass wir alle Drei in Frieden leben koennten. Es ging nicht.

Aber die Dinge, die mir Herr Cohn an den Kopf ~~kniff~~ schmiss, geliebte Emma, das war einfach verbrecherisch.....

Ich habe, nach Ankunft ~~hier~~ hier, ihm einen Brief gesandt, denn ich fuehlte, dass da allerhand mit Frau Cohn vorging, die ein schweres Leben an seiner Seite fuehrt. Meine Behilflichkeit ihm gegenueber, wurde hoechstwahrscheinlich der armen Person unter die Nase gerieben etc. Das ist alles Gequatsche, jedoch, Emma, dachte ich, dass Dr. Cohn ein Freund Sashas ein Genosse, war, und ein Brief, in welchem ich ihm alles vergab, wurde an ihn geschrieben, zuliebe Sashas. Der Idiot, dachte ich will Geld von ihm, wahrscheinlich..... und ich will Ihnen hiermit sagen, ausser den zweimal, die er half mein Hotel zahlen, bin ich nicht einmal mehr essen gegangen, um ihm den Eindruck nicht zu geben....

Well, Emma, vulgaer ist garnichts dagegen. Wenn Sie damals die 222 Francs von ihm verlangte, (von denen Sie mir schrieben) so war die Antwort: "Am I your banker?" "But Emma wrote me you should please give them to me". He answered: "She did not give me a cent". "She will" I shouted..... So he said "That we will see". More and more and most vulgaer.

Nun, Emma ich flehe Sie an, das alles fuer sich zu behalten, Geliebte Freundin, es ist zu skandaloes. Dann gab er mir die 222 Francs in drei Raten. JEDESMAL MUSSTE ICH DARUM BITTEN. Und als einmal er mir sagte, da ich bei Kitty im Bette todkrank war und seine Frau mich nicht zu Hause antraf, "You damn liar", rief ich, "What do you mean?" How petty of you always to suspect people.. HE THREW ME OUT OF HIS HOUSE. And it took me days until I could eat. And then came Mrs. Cohn with flowers and letters I should only come and that he is old and nervous. So I did. And THERE SHE DID AS IF SHE HAD NOT ASKED ME. Oh dear, dear, I've got enough of them. And then, when you were busy and did not write to all of us one day they received me so mean: "Yes, she said, "you must have given Emma nice INFORMATION, we know why she did not write". (Schlechte Gewissen) And, dear, I had not told you anything. and besides, you are not foolish

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 9, Brno [Czechoslovakia to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

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4

enough therefore to stop writing to him or being in touch as a good comrade. I know he was wonderful to Sasha. And that is the only thing.....

Darling, own Emma, I consider you as my Herzensvertrauter, and want to tell you now a thing, that you should understand me. Die paar Dreckfranken haben mich die Cohns SO FUEHLEN gemacht, dass meiner armen Mutter schrieb, sie solle ihr blos ein Geschenk machen. So sandte mein Vater an ihn alte Stiche ab und sie hat sine fabelhafte Handtasche aus Perlen, die meine Schwester Mutter aus Amerika machen liess. Alte, antike Perlen. Weil diese Menschen so verdammt geizig sind..... Also, ich schulde diesen Leuten nich s... Das schreibe ich einzig und allein Ihnen, damit Sie nicht glauben, Emmy habe sine Chuzbe im nehmen. Ich habe ihn herzlich wenig gekoetet, doch etallte er sich mit jedem Clerk hin handeln, ich sage Ihnen, Emma, das waeren Sie nicht faehig, ruhig mit anzusehen. Nie hastte ich Ihnen darueber etwae geag, aber daes diese Leute, fuer die ich meine ganze Zeit gab, mir nicht einmal einen Weihnachtsgruss als Erwidrung meines anstaendigen Briefes sandten, ist genueg. Well, Emma, denken Sie nicht schlecht von mir, aber Dr. Cohn hat sich schneelig benommen. Keine Ihnen bekannte Empfindlichkeit hat dabei nichts zu tun. Verlassen Sie sich auf mich.

Ich will nun schliesen, Geliebte Emma. Ich bin hier mit Mutti und Vater, aber Sie koennen sich es denken, dass ich denen dieses nicht sagen kann. Und es ist doch schlisselich Niemand so nahe der es verstuende wie Sie.....

Stella ist ja wunderbar. Ihr Interesse fuer mich erwasrmt meine so grosse Oede. Und ich danke auch, Emma, dass auch Sie an mich oft denken.

Vergessen Sie nicht, dass Sie unter vielen Menschen sind, wohingegen ich sehr allein bin. Ich mues aktiv wieder sein. Und moege meine Kraft widerkehren. Dann fange ich an zu arbeiten, mit Hilfe Volines or SANIA? eine Karte bekommen.

Emma, das Leben hier ist noch teurer wie in France. I was choaked when I came here. Nur einige Sachen wie Broschen und Glassachen. Essen teuer und alle andere. So kann ich auch in ~~Tex~~ Paris sein.

Herzl. Russe EMMY

Alle Post an Mama senden. Ich gehe nicht vor sinem Monat spaeter fort. Dear Emma, I count on your word that you assure me nothing to mention to Cohn. Will you?

Write soon. And let me know if you want a certain paper from Pragus or anything I could do from here.

Dearest do send me back the card from Syd Cohn. Because those damn fools tell and told everybody! "we threw her out, but she came back". They are criminals, if they say so. I stayed away for 3 weeks until they bombared me with letters. Here is ONE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001140

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 10 [London to Donald] Darling, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19688

XXXXXXXXXX Jan. 10th 37.

Dear Mr Darling,

What on earth can be the matter that you have not kept your word, Or at least that you have not called. I set last night aside for you as I was certain you would come. Perhaps you have taken ill. But even then you could have gotten someone to call me up for you. I must say it is strange.

I hope you do not think I am taking too much liberty in insisting that you clear up the mess Mr Stewart has left before I can appear on the picture of the Generalized Bureau. It is true that you are really not responsible to me. In fact you wrote that to Bouchy. That was when the propaganda bureau of the Generalized acted quite on its own. As you know this is no longer the case. Other parties are now interested in the foreign propaganda. Among them the CNT. That's why I was sent here. In other words it is no longer the Generalized alone who is concerned in the work in England. You are therefore no longer alone responsible for the ways and means of our activities. That is the only reason for my request that we go through your

institutions indebtedness. Before that is done and cleared away, nothing new can be done.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 10 [London to Donald] Darling, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1968

Please call me up tomorrow
if I am free on the afternoon
road, I'll have to ask
you to come to me.
We must come to
some understanding
about the new arrangement.
Sincerely,
✓

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001220

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 10, London [to] Kitty England, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman 2 Archive.

19788

London

xxxxxxxx Jan. 10th. 37

Miss Kitty England
9. Guilford St. W. 1

Dear Miss England.

Thank you so much for your letter and your offer to help with typing. I called you up this afternoon ~~but~~ But you were out. I wanted to ask you whether you know stenography. You see I have friends to help with typing. But no one can take short hand and that is what I need most. I wonder whether you can take shorthand.

I am in England to represent two organisations the above and also the Catalanian Government. We are planning to organise the bureau that has so far functioned for Catalonia. In this event we will need a competent secretary. But it would have to be one who knows stenography. I do not mean to hold out definite prospects of a job. But there is a possibility. The work I need now is in connection with my mission in behalf of the above group. This in connection with the Exhibition which I am now ~~having~~ going to have with the I.L.P and other societies. And also with lecture dates.

Perhaps you will be good enough to call me up tomorrow around 11.0/0.

Yours faithfully.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 10, Plymouth [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Tom Edmond. — 2 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19776

146 Alexandra Road
Plymouth 10/1/37

Dear Comrade Emma

I expect you received a letter
card from me on Saturday. It was written hastily
after returning from the branch meeting of the
S. L. P. The decision not to arrange a joint meeting
for Fennell Brothers and yourself was not
unanimous, in fact it seemed to me who
was present that it was only the chairman
who opposed it. His point was that Fennell
visit should be utilized to strengthen the
local branch of the S. L. P. The others seemed
to favour a joint meeting, but did not want
to have a split, anyway the decision was that
if you thought us could not arrange a
meeting on Spain for Jan 3rd in Plymouth
then they would agree to a joint meeting
on the 24th. Now it is for you to decide
~~we~~ will book the hall for the Sunday

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 10, Plymouth [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Tom Edmond. — 2 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19777

Jan 31st ~~am~~ if it suits you. I am sorry
it has turned out this way, Brochure (and
yourself) would have drawn a large audience
and the Spanish workers would have been
helped. I should say here that Jenner should
be the best to say that he would be most
pleased to speak on the same platform as
yourself. As I mentioned in the letter card
Mrs Middleton prospective labour candidate
to fight Lady Astor speaks in a large
cinema on Jan 31st but I feel sure you
can get a good crowd in spite of that.
This is practically a repetition of what was
written on Friday, but I wanted you to know
that the bulk of the members of the S.L.P.
are with us on the Spanish question.
That's all now, but assured we will do our
best to make your visit to Plymouth a success.

Best wishes
yours fraternally.

Tom Edmond

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 10 [Manchester, England to] Emma Goldman, London / John W. Collier. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19788

"Woodbank",
Wardle Road,
Sale, W/c.

10. 1. 37.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Castleton Road,
London, W.14.

Dear Madam,

The above club is in the forefront of anti-fascist activities in Manchester and we are therefore interested in news of your collection of anti-fascist photographs.

Would you be good enough to send us details as to whether the collection needs collating, the number available, etc.

I think we might arrange an exhibition in Manchester to augment our own appeal for funds for Spanish Medical Aid. We are anxious to do all we can to arouse public opinion on the Spanish question.

Yours faithfully,

John W. Collier

(Chairman, W/c Left Book Club).

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 11, London [to Sam Mainwaring, Neath, Wales] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19982

London Jan. 11th 37.

Dear Comrade, Thanks for your letter. Yes, it would be fine if meetings could be arranged in Swansea, Neath and the other place you mentioned in your letter. As to help, it occurred to me that comrade Parry, John Parry of 3, Mainal Terrace Clapham Common London S.W. might help. Or his nephew. Write him please and give him my address. I haven't time to write him myself now. The trouble will be that I will not be able to spend much time in S.W. or anyone place as I will have to be in London once our Exhibition is opened Feb. 13th. It will be alright to rush out for one or two days. But not for any longer period.

Just at present I cannot give you definite dates for Neath, or any of the S.W. towns. I am waiting to hear from Plymouth whom I have given the 4th or 31st of this month. When the comrades there have decided their date I will write again to give you definite dates for S.W.

I am inclosing circulars announcing our meeting the 18th of this month. Am also sending you a poster which you may want to use as a sample for your meetings.

Alright about a few handkerchieves I will leave them for you.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 11, London [to] John W. Collier, [Manchester, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19784

~~xxxxxxxx~~ London Jan. 11th 37. --

John W. Collier Esq.
Chairman N/o Left Book Club.
"Woodhulk" Wardle Rd.
Wals, M/c.

Dear Sir.

Thank you for your letter. In reply I wish to say that the notice in the NEW SP. TRIBUNE should have gone in a week ago. At that time I was planning an exhibition of the material I brought out with me from Spain. I have since consented to co-operate with the Spanish Exhibition Committee of whom Mr Fenner Brockway is Chairman. It is to be a very large Exhibition and will take place Feb. 13th. I am therefore no longer free to lend any thing of my material to other organisations.

I understand that after the large Exhibition will close in London it will go to the provinces and will surely also reach Manchester. I am sorry that I cannot oblige your organisation.

However, I am open for lecture dates on the Spanish Revolution and the Anti-Fascist War. I am here in a double function. I represent the Information of the Catalan Government, (The Generalitat) And I am also the accredited representative of the CNT-FAI. I can of course speak in the name of either. There is no fee connected with my lectures on Spain, except ~~my~~ railway fare and hospitality.

But as I am here for the purpose of raising funds for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts I have to ask that what ever monies are contributed in response to my appeals part will have to go for the purpose for which I was sent here.

My first public appearance is the 18th inst as per inclosed circular.

Yours faithfully

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]37 Jan. 11 [London to] Thomas H. Keell, Stroud [England] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Freedom Archive.

Jan. 11. 37.

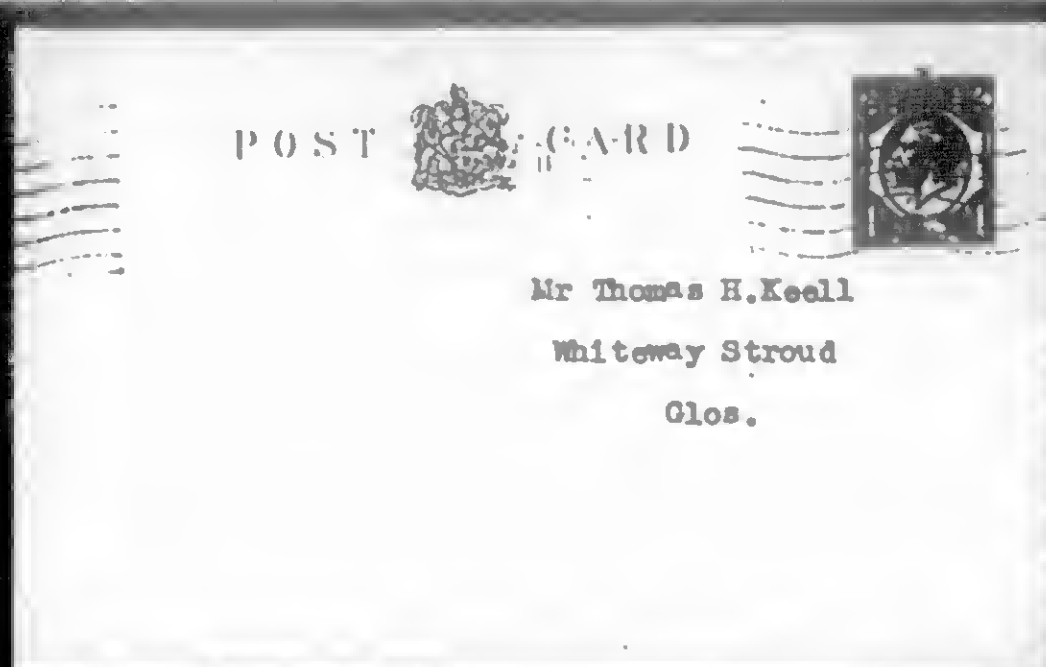
Dear Tom. I will not be able to see you Wed
It will be full with engagements. I can see you
Thursday in the morning, rather about 11 o/c
or between 230 and 3. I do not know how much
of our old literature is on hand here. So little
has been sold of it in the past it is useless to
to bind myself with it, except the pamphlet on
Spain. Barr is coming to see me to day. I will
ask him what he has. In any event I shall not want
want more than an half dozen of each.

I don't see why the New Leader should
give our meeting an editorial. Fenners speaking
at the meeting does not mean that the I.L.P. is
affiliated with it. Greetings. *EG*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]37 Jan. 11 [London to] Thomas H. Keell, Stroud [England] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005009

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 11 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19889

11-1-37

Liebste Emma,

endlich ist es so weit, wir sind fertig! Uff!!!

Soeben haben wir zwei Manuskripte Ihnen als Geschäftspapire durch Einschreiben zugeschickt, und zwar das Original und ein zweites Exemplar.

Sie wollten ja das Original für Amerika haben. Die Engländer werden sich hoffentlich mit einem Durchschlag begnügen. Die Schweizer und die Franzosen tun es auch. Im übrigen beten wir jetzt zu dem Gott der Anarchisten und hoffen auf die Fürsprache seines Apostels Emma Goldman.

Wenn wir Ihnen heute schon wieder schreiben, so hat das noch einen andern Grund. Es hat sich nämlich herausgestellt, dass der Versand so eines Manuskriptes schauerhaft viel Geld kostet. Wir können Ihnen natürlich nicht samuten, ausser Ihrer Mühs auch noch Ausgaben zu haben, und schicken Ihnen daher anbei den Betrag für das Porto in internationalen Briefmarken. Das Porto von England nach Amerika dürfte ja ebenso viel kosten wie von Frankreich nach England. Schicken Sie es also bitte auch per Einschreiben.

Für den Fall, dass es nötig sein sollte, schicken wir Ihnen anliegend zwei Autorisationen, eine für England und eine für Amerika. Da Sie meinten, die Sache müsse durch einen Agenten gehen, der dafür 10 Prozent beanspruchen könnte, fügen wir eine entsprechende Klausel an.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 11, Paris to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / Hanns-Erich Kaminski. — 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1937

Ich erteile Frau Emma Colton - Goldman die Autorisation, den Verlag meines Buches "Revolution in Katalonien" in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zu vermitteln.

Ich ermächtige sie, sich dabei in meinem Namen zur Zahlung von Kommissionsgebühren zu verpflichten, und zwar bis zur Höhe von zehn Prozent meiner Einnahmen aus dieser Ausgabe.

Paris, 11. Januar 1937



Dr. Hanns-Erich Kaminski

Ich erteile Frau Emma Colton - Goldman die Autorisation, den Verlag meines Buches "Revolution in Katalonien" in England zu vermitteln

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Paris, 11. Januar 1937



Dr. Hanns-Erich Kaminski

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005011

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 12, London [to Hanns-Erich and] Anita [Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19892

London Jan 12th 37.

Dear Mum, dearest Anita.

At last a letter from you. ^{Yes}, I received your New Years greeting. But I was anxious to hear more about you both and about your MSS. Well, its come at last. My dear Comrade author I cannot send the MSS to New York before reading it. I do not mean that I want to "censure" you. But when I write to my friend Arthur Leonard Ross who is to act as your representative in America I must be able to say what the contents is and what I think of the work. For it is this which will induce art to proceed quickly. Besides, they may really be something that I would have to take issue with you. Already I see that you have taken Santillan literally. You actually believed that after Durruti was killed his Column ran away. My dear, dear Mum Durrutis Column which he took to Madrid consisted of four thousand men. Do you think such large number of men actually ran away? I did not believe it when I heard Santillan make that statement. I saw in that a sort of defense mechanism. The excuse he gave to justify his belief in the necessity of militarising the militia. It was especially necessary to make this utterly absurd statement in my presence because Santillan only a month previous while I was living in his house assured me he would never stand for militarisation. His complete reversal had to be explained in some manner, hence his absurd statement that Durrutis Column, four thousand men if you please showed themselves cowardly. Now what actually happened as I learned from Einstein, by no means a man who makes rash statements was that a number of the Durruti Column were so broken by the death of the man they so idolised that when they came to his funeral they hated to go back to the front. That of course was no excuse. But it was understandable. I hope therefore that you did not quote Santillans statement in your MSS. Because it would substantiate the outrageous charge Louis Fischer makes in the New York Nation of Dec. 12th. He charges the Anarchist Column to have run away from a few Moors on the 16th of Nov. thereby opening "the entry to Francos gang to the University suburb". It happens that Durruti was still alive Nov 16th. He was in Madrid fighting furiously to defend the city. Can you imagine then that his men would run away to open the way for the Moors? Its on par with the rest of the lies constantly spread by the Communists against everybody who will not swear by the immaculate conception of Stalin. You can see my dear how careful one must be to ~~write~~ give the facts in our case. And no one will make me believe Santillans exaggerated statement in re the Durruti Column. I hope therefore that you did not include it in your work as given. It would do an awful lot of harm.

Another thing I hope is that you did not ~~give~~ mention Escorza by name. You remember we promised not to mention names. Escorza must have had his reasons for insisting on this. It would therefore be a breach of confidence if you did. Nor is it necessary. As I said I will and must read your MSS before I can send it to the States. Best assured I will do it at once. I have been suffering from insomnia since I arrived here. So I have the whole night to read. I will eliminate everything else and absorb myself

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 12, London [to Hanns-Erich and] Anita [Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19893

2

in your child. "Need I tell you that I will do it with interest and affection? I wish I had the time to translate your story. I should be so glad to add a bit of myself to it. But I am so swamped with work I haven't a minute for anything else. Not even the preparation of my material on the collectivised villages which I had planned. I mean not a book but a brochure. I cannot do that now either. How wonderful it would have been if my old chum ~~at~~ Alexander Berkman were alive. He was positively an artist in translation. Alas, he went when there was so much to do, so much he would have gloried in.

Of course I will try other publishers in England than ~~Antony~~ Gollancz. But I wish he would bring out your book. He is the most enterprising publisher in England. I will be better able to judge whether it is worth while to submit your MSS to him when I have read it. Meanwhile I am making inquiries of who the publishers most alive to modern ways of publicity there are in London. I am having a writer friend of mine to see me Saturday evening, Ethel Mannin. I will talk to her and I have other connections though not so many as in America. I am sure someone will be found.

Speaking of Gollancz he has just published the book on the material discovered in the German Embassy compiled by the same man who did The Brown Book. As we agreed the Communists are ahead of my poor inefficient comrades. I suppose the book they are doing is still in the making and will probably never see the light of day.

You are not entirely right when you say that our people in Catalonia are permitting themselves to be pushed more and more into the back ground. From the last Spanish Bulletin and the Soli they have awakened to the danger and to their own folly. They have begun an intensive campaign of propaganda, meetings and lectures in Barcelona and every part of Catalonia. I admit it is a bit late. But better late than never. The reports I have received is to the effect that the Communists have started an insidious campaign of poisonous propaganda against the CNT-FAI. Our people were forced to issue a warning to the effect that if the lies do not stop they will have to use drastic measures. Certainly the anarchists in Spain have practiced superhuman patience with that breed. However, the situation is frightfully grave. All the powers including England are bent in crushing revolutionary Spain, to drown it in blood. My heart is very heavy. Sometimes I feel it was cowardly to go away when my comrades are fighting for their lives and are in such grave danger.

The interest here is considerable. I think I could do much. But here again that dreadful gang the Communists are boring against the work I have begun. Yesterday I learned that they are using all their influence and it is considerable to prevent my participation in the Exhibition that is being organised by the I.L.P. I spoke to Jenner Brockway the secretary about the miserable underhand mischief the Communists are carrying on. He assured me

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005011

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 12, London [to Hanns-Erich and] Anita [Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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3

19894

that his party will not stand for dictatorship from the Communists. But you can see how difficult is my position here. Well, if the villainous misrepresentation of Beriman and myself during the last 15 years have not discouraged me it won't now. I mean to go ahead in spite of the Jesuites.

I must rush away so will ask you to be content with this long epistel. I dare say you are relieved to have given birth to your new baby. In my case the aftermath when I finished living my life was no less painful.

Yes, the money for the preliminary expense of the ill starred ~~Ex~~ Art exhibition was sent. Actually the expenses were fifty pounds. I learned this only on my arrival. Nor was it spent on a studio. It was on furnishing an Apt that I am now using as an office. What I will do with it when I leave England I don't know. The Generalidad sent 20,000 francs for the Generalidad bureau here. I do not yet know how many debts Stewart and Darling have incurred. Darling is to bring all their bills for me to see. Then we might start out anew. I fear however there will be trouble I do not mean to imply that Darling can be charged with the same as Stewart, dishonesty. But he is certainly a light weight young gentleman. I do not think he has the slightest social-political training or consciousness for the position he holds. When in Barcelona I was informed that he had been a professor in one of the Barcelona universities. Now I found out he was the owner of a travel bureau. So you can imagin his qualifications for the present job. However I will try my best to work with them. But I have my doubts that I will succeed.

Love to both of you.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001221

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 12 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Amy Riley. —
1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19701

17 Lancaster St. W. 2.

January 12[?] 1937

To Miss Emma Goldman

Dear Madam

It has just occurred to me that when I offered my help with your exhibition of Spanish photographs I may have given the impression that I expected to be paid. I am sorry if I did give that impression (I don't quite know why I mentioned money), for of course I know you will be wanting voluntary help, & of course I should be only too happy to give what help I can. So, unless you already have all the help you need, I should be very glad if you will send for me. I have, as I said, plenty of leisure.

Yours faithfully
Amy Riley

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005264

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 12, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Witcop Rucker].— 4 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Los Angeles 12/137

20314

Dear dear Emma,

Where are you, and how are you? We are longing to hear from you, surely you have plenty to write about.

From Jeanne Levie we have heard that you are in France, Fernin writes us that Stella told him that you are already in England, but we don't know who heard from you last. You realize dearest, how anxiously we are waiting for news from you.

We realize what it meant to you to leave Spain, yet if you can be of more service to our grand fighters elsewhere, if they think so, your old soldier have to go, where you are wanted. There are plenty of fronts, ^{in need of} ~~hundreds of~~ fighters like you. We have plenty of enemies, also out of Spain, who are a menace to the world in general and to Spain in particular.

Rudolf has written you ^{a very letter.} before we have started our tour. He has written you in detail

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005264

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 12, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Witcop
Rocker]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

20315

about our plans and intentions, you have
his letter long since.

The intentions to work for Spain and collect
been frustrated by Rudolf's sickness. He took back
Chicago, we managed to reach St. Louis where he
had to go to the hospital. Thanks to the excellent
care and attention which was given him with
the help of a doctor friend of our dear Ben
Copes, he recuperated within a week, and we were
able to proceed with the journey to Los Angeles,
where we are for the last two weeks.

No lectures took place of course between
Chicago and Los Angeles, on account of Rudolf's
poor health. He is a lot better now, but not
yet quite as he should be. He delivered one
lecture on Spain here and another two will
take place on the same subject. By the
time our ~~extension~~ expires the first of February
our time is up. Rudolf has written you
that we are intending to go over to Mexico
to try and get an emigrant's visa, shall
we succeed, we will return, and more lectures
will be arranged also in English, else the
whole work will stop for Rudolf of course.
Just at a time when his work is so necessary
and important.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005264

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 12, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Witcop Rucker]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

20316

We have had a long letter from Rüdiger last week. He too like ourselves is not happy about many a thing which is taking place in Spain, but he as well as ourselves is hoping that things will turn for the best as soon as the chief enemy is beaten.

The Spanish comrades whom we have met on our way and to whom we have spoken travel to solj, are in full agreement of all the doings there, and are simply hating to discuss any methods taken by our comrades in Spain. The main issue for them they claim is to fight fascism, no matter by what and with what means.

The Spanish comrades all over the country are doing wonderful work. Their solidarity is marvelous. People with families, who are earning 15 dollars a week are given 5 dollars every week for Spain. And besides that they are organizing tremendous affairs and are sending money, clothes and food.

Also the stations are doing a lot. The spirit is wonderful, whenever anything is undertaken on behalf of Spain. It is very unfortunate, that we could not collect more money on our tour.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005264

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 12, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Witcop Rucker]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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4

20317

Well dearest, I don't know if Rudolf will write to you some of these days, but he will write as soon as he possibly can. At the time being he is reading and making the final corrections of the translation of his book, he did not do it till now. Maybe that he will get a publisher, they are trying to find one in New York, so the manuscript has to be ready. Let us hope that we shall get favourable news from New York about our going over ^{to you}, then Rudolf will write you, and tell you all ~~the~~ about it. Meantime good bye.

Send love to you from us both
as ever affectionate yours

Milly

Love to you from all the friends
and comrades here.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001244

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 12, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin [Souchy]. — 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19822

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Vía ^{Durruti} ~~Leizor~~, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona, 12. Januar 1937

Liebe Emma,

Deinen Brief vom 4. Januar habe ich heute erhalten.

Inzwischen hast du sicher schon meinen Brief von gestern bekommen.

Das Mysterium des Durruti Films lässt sich dadurch erklären, dass auch seitens der Generalidad die Beerdigung Durrutis gefilmt worden ist.

Ueber den Film TUMBA DEL FASCISMO, MADRID, werde ich versuchen noch heute mit dem Film Comité zu sprechen. Sobald ich genaueres weiss werde ich Dir schreiben. Ich hoffe, dass wir eventuell 2 Filme bekommen: 19. Juli, und "Madrid, tumba del Fascismo". Ich vergesse Dich nicht, aber du weisst doch wie schwierig die Sachen zu bekommen.

Gestern habe ich mit Mc Hair gesprochen und habe mit ihm vereinbart, dass 1500 Bilderalben und 1000 Fotoalben nach England gehen. Sie werden am Donnerstag von hier abgesandt werden. Den Preis haben wir auf 5 Peseten fuer das Bilderalbum und auf 4 Peseten fuer das Fotoalbum festgesetzt. Dieser Preis wird vom Socialist bookshop an uns abgefuehrt werden. Mc Hair erklarte mir, dass die ILP Genossen/erzielen werden durch ihre eigenen Beziehungen. Er schlug mir vor, dass die Haelfte des Reinertrages der CNT, die andere Haelfte der ILP, bzw. PCUA zugeht. Ich habe mich einverstanden erklart.

Gleichzeitig mit den Alben gehen 1500 Durruti Broschueren an dieselbe Adresse. Mc Hair erklarte mir, dass der ILP bookshop 2000 verkaufen wolle. Den Preis haben wir auf 1 Pesete festgesetzt. Wir schicken ausserdem ein 2 Kilopaket an Barr, damit ihr die Broschueren schneller erhaltet.

Ich habe mit Mc Hair ausgemacht, dass das Geld fuer alle Alben etc. an Dich ~~geschickt~~ wird. Du kannst es dann an Canin weiterleiten. Ich bitte Dich, zu beachten, dass das Geld ^{für die Herstellung} ~~für die Herstellung~~ einer Kopie der Rechnung lege ich gleichzeitig bei, fuer die Drucksachen in unsere Oficina de Propaganda gehen muss zur Bestreitung der Unkosten. Das ist in einem Begleitbrief zu vermerken. Der Reinertrag kann gesondert vermerkt werden. Ich werde veranlassen, dass Rudiger Dir 250 CNT-FAI Broschueren schickt.

Herzlichen Gruss

Augustin

Chodore Price

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001218

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 13, London [to] Nancy Engholm, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 17 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19778

London Jan 13th 37.

Miss Nancy Engholm
10 Wallows Rd
Hampstead N.W.3

Dear Miss Engholm,

I am not sure whether your letter of the 10th
inst. has been answered. I myself was too frightfully busy to
do it. So I asked a friend to acknowledge your letter for me.
To make sure I am writing you to let you know that I am now
negotiating with the Independent Labor Party to have a joint
exhibition. If that should be realized I will not have one of
my own. In any event your kind offer to be of help will still
be needed. I will let you know of course.

Inclosed please find announcement of my
first public appearance.

Yours faithfully.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001222

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 13, London [to Amy] Riley, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19782

London Jan 13, 37.

Dear Miss Riley.

Thanks for your letter of yesterday. I did not receive the impression that you wanted any material recompense for the offer of help you made in your letter of the 10th inst. I did not call on you because I have been negotiating with the Independent Labor Party for a joint exhibition. But whether it is going to be with them, or my own I will be very glad indeed to accept your kind offer. I will let you know of course just as soon as the matter is settled

I have several artist friends who will attend to the mounting and arranging of the photos. But there will be a lot more to do.

Inclosed please find announcement of my first meeting in re Spain.

Faithfully

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001261

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 13 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19850

13-1-37

Liebste Emma,

es ist selbstverständlich, dass Sie das Buch erst lesen müssen, wenn Sie es empfehlen wollen. Katzen, Frauen und Bücher kauft man nicht im Sack, und Sie sollen Sie auch nicht so verkaufen. Aendern kann ich allerdings leider nichts; Sie wissen ja, wie gern ich diskutiere und besonders mit einem so intelligenten Menschen wie mit Ihnen, aber ich bin leider sehr eigensinnig und habe dadurch schon viele Vorteile mir im Leben entgehen lassen.

Ich kann Sie jedoch beruhigen: die Notizen sind, Sie werden es selbst zu geben, die genaue Wiedergabe von dem, was wir gehört und gesehen haben. Eine andre Sache ist ihre Verarbeitung. Wie können Sie mir nur zutrauen, dass ich Sachen ohne weiteres veröffentliche, die mir Santillan vertraulich und in einer bestimmten Stimmung erzählt hat? Ich bin doch kein Gegenrevolutionär!

Ebenso habe ich selbstverständlich mein Versprechen gehalten und Macorzas Namen nicht erwähnt sondern die Investigationen völlig anonym behandelt.

Sie können sich von meiner Haltung in den beiden genannten Fragen überzeugen, wenn Sie das Kapitel über die Investigation und den letzten Teil des Kapitels über die Miliz nachlesen. Ich wage zwar nicht anzunehmen, dass Sie mit

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1937

alles, was ich geschrieben habe, sinverstanden sind, aber ich bin ganz sicher, Sie werden mir zubilligen, dass auch nicht ein Wort und eine Zeile in dem Buch stehen, die seiner Sache schaden könnte, die ich auch als die meins ansehe.

Im Übrigen möchte ich Ihnen nochmals entschieden widerraten, das Manuskript Golanz vorzulagen. Wenn er soeben erst wieder ein kommunistisches Buch herausgegeben hat, wissen wir ja alles Erforderliche von ihm. Diese Leute aber wollen nur, was hundertprozentig auf ihrer Linie liegt. Und diesen Vorwurf kann man mir wahrhaftig nicht machen.

Bis die Leute das Manuskript jedoch geprüft haben, wird sicher vierzehn Tage dauern, und ich fürchte, dass diese Zeit nutzlos verlaufen sein würde. Also probieren Sie es doch bitte zuerst anderswo.

Ich habe Ihnen diesen Brief allein geschrieben, weil Ihre Vorwürfe sich ja nur gegen mich richteten, an meinen herzlichen Grüßen für Sie nimmt jedoch auch Anita teil.

Ihr

Emma

With all my love

Yours affectionately
Anita

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 14, London [to] Donald Darling, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London Jan 14th 37.

Dear Donald Darling.

I have thought very seriously about the matter of the deposit of the bureau money. And I have come to the conclusion that it should be done in both our names, and that we should both countersign every check we will give it. At first glance it may seem that it will interfere in case one of us should be out of town. But as long as I remain in England and that will have to be for a number of months you will have no difficulty in being able to reach me. And you too are not likely to be away for long. In any event you or I can always leave a few checks signed in case one of us has to leave unexpectedly and be away for a week or so. After all the bureau is not a business that has to give out checks daily. And bills as you know can be paid a few days later. On the other hand it would give our position a stable aspect, not only for our own peace of mind, but also for the propaganda bureau of the Generalidad.

I had hoped to have a letter from Darbo signed by his two colleagues to give me explicit direction as to my status in the bureau. I wanted that because I was very anxious to save you the impression that I wish to meddle. The letter has not come, but I am sure you will be given it in Barcelona. That will be my guidance and I hope also yours. In handling public funds one must be careful enough. I do hope you understand this and that you will take my suggestion in good faith.

Will you call me around 11 A.M. tomorrow as I never know when you are in. If you are bound to leave Saturday

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 14, London [to] Donald Darling, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1
1937
must settle the money matter tomorrow. I could not do it today and
I could not get down in the Saturday morning.
Cordially,
Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 14, Paris [to] Emm[a] Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].—
2 p. 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Senya Flechine Archive.

Paris Jan. 14th 1937

Dearest Emmotokha,

We received your letter of the 6th but I couldn't answer you till now for the reason that Eva, who returned from Spain Jan. 1st, took sick. She suffers from a tumor on her face -- on the upper lip. This is a dangerous thing for it goes to the brain. She was all the time at our house and you will understand what work and worry it is. A day before yesterday, I took her to the Roth. hospital where she will be more under the care of the doctor and will in general receive better treatment than I could possibly give her -- the truth is that I am in a bad state myself and I simply couldn't go on this way any longer.

I now visit her daily and she is much better.

Two days ago, I mailed you:

30 posters. One album called CNT-FAI.

One album published in Paris by the C.G.T.S.R.

4 generalitat Bulletins, 4 English Bulletins you wanted to have. The German paper S.R. and other printed matter. 3 packages in all. I hope you received everything.

You asked me to speak to Rocca about a Durruti film. I am sorry, but our dear comrade Rocca was suddenly called to Barcelona and we have no idea whether he will return to Paris or not. Why don't you address yourself to Galvet, Emma dear? You know that he is here the representative of the CNT and certainly he will do what you ask of him or any way, as much as it will be in his power he will help.

Beloved Emma, the best paper we had here, the "ANTI-FASCISTE" was stopped by our comrades in Spain! It is an account of an article by Volin where he ventured some slight criticism with regards to the doings of our Spanish organizations. I sent you the number which carries the article and marked it with blue pencil so you shouldn't fail to see it. Mind you, Emmotokha, Galvet announced at a session of the COMITE ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTE that he has sent a number of the paper which has the above mentioned article and that the reply from Barcelona was: STOP THE PAPER! And the paper was stopped! Besnard, who was the first one to write: "ATTENTION" and "LE REDRESSEMENT NÉCESSAIRE", is now a good boy and approves everything done in Spain. The only consistent comrade now in Paris who is Volin and I am happy for him. Of course there are plenty of others who are not in agreement with things, Sanya is not, and there are plenty of whom we don't know. BUT HE IS NOT AFRAID TO COME OUT AND SAY SO. He is firm in his convictions and for this, I respect him more than ever.

The first clash he had with the representative of the CNT-FAI was when he criticised the famous agreement where they have the shameful clause:

"We are in agreement for common action to l-i-q-u-i-d-a-t-e

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Senya Flechine Archive.

File

" the obstinacious actions of uncontrollable groups which, through lack of understanding or through bad faith, endanger the realization of this program This is the famous clause 15 and is in the resolution we spoke to you about when you were here. It actually means to liquidate the Anarchists who will not abide by the decisions of the Government and this is the result of their working with the GENERALITAT!

I of-ten wonder; how could it happen that you, EMMA GOLDMAN, who for forty five years has been preaching against forming a Government during a revolution, and certainly against the participation of Anarchists in it, COULD NOW BE WILLING TO REPRESENT THE GENERALITAT and accept credentials from it? For a Government it is, Emotshka, - no matter what is called.

And to our (mine and Senya's) consternation, you are now cooperating with the English MARXISTS! Meeting, exhibition. How well I remember our discussions during our visit in St. Tropez. You were against the United Front, and we approved our comrades. Now, after months of the sad experience, I deeply deplore this "Unity" and ever curse the hour when it started. You accept to work with them! In your letter to Senya you say that the Communists withdrew when they learned of your being in the Committee. Well, well.... That there is no difference between the Opposition Communists, the Socialists, the Independents and any other brand of MARXISTS, you know even better than I do. The Opposition flirts with the CNT-FAI because they are weak today. But who was the f i r s t to start the persecution of the Anarchists in Russia if it wasn't Trotsky the pre-
sent leader of the Opposition the world over??? These politicians are only awa i t i n g their next. And this is why the Anarchist Synd. Committee here, in Paris, expelled the "Union Anarchists" because the latter insisted on cooperating with the LEFT political parties. For, while there may have been a certain justification for our Sp. comrades to unite with the Marxists, or even with the devil himself, in order to combat fascisme, there is no such a justification for us in countries like France, England or America. In these countries we should go on with our propaganda i n d e p e n d e n t l y even at the risk that our meetings, publications or all other doings, will not be as widely known. In this way, we also reserve ourselves the right to point out the wrong where we see it. But what right have we to criticise the Spanish comrades if we do the same things here??

Yes, the exhibition here goes very well. In this short period there are over 3000 francs income and the visitors are getting more and more with each day. The com. wanted to prolong it but the Galerie is taken. Also the album made by Domela has a great success it is sold 10 francs a copy, yet they are selling many of them. Please tell us whether you like it. I sent you a copy because I thought you couldn't miss it on your exhibition.

The Bulletins (4) of the Generalitat, came on your name. Don't you think you ought to tell them your new address? And every body else too? It would help you a lot to get the things from there directly. I see in your letter to Martin you ask him to tell Rüdiger to put you on the mailing list. Better write him Personally, dear.

Mollie

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 14-15, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].—
3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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20091

Paris Jan. 14th 1937.

Dearest Emotchkha,

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20092

2

" the obnoxious actions of uncontrolable groups which, through lack of understanding or through bad faith, endanger the realization of this program".....
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The Bulletins (4) of the Generalitat, came on your name. Don't you think you ought to tell them your new address? And every body else too? It would help you a lot to get the things from there directly. I see in your letter to Martin you ask him to tell Rüdiger to put you on the mailing List. Better write him Personally, dear.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005115

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 14-15, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].—
3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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20093

3

The 15th

Dear Emmotcha, while I finished the 2nd page yesterday, came a telephon call from the hospital to come and take Eva out because their are urgent cases that must be immediately admitted and they haven't got enough beds..... I left everything and went there. She is lots better, but terribly weak, only a soaletin is left!

Coming home I found your letter where you asked for the albums. Immediately, I went to Grange-aux-Belles, packed the fifty copies and sent it off. Hope you will get them in good condition, for it was already late in the afternoon, I was in great haste. The boys couldn't help me because they had lots to do themselves and when I came to the post office it was almost 7 oclock so I didn't even have time to register them. Please let me know as soon as you get them.

As I told you, they are being sold here: 10 frs. a copy. You will get them at a better price, naturally. In a few days, there will be a session of the Committtee and as soon as they will decide the price for organizations, they will let you know. The porte alone was 88 frs. and 20 c. They are sent (as you asked) in 5 packages.

Darling, I will do my utmost to try and see Galvet this afternoon and ask him why you don't get the things from Barcelona. Will let you know his answer.

For the two dollars you sent, I got 41 frs. Bought 30 posters for 30 francs. One album of the CNT-FAI which costs:
6 " the porte of the packages amounted to:
35 " 30 Cen. and I subscribed you to the COMBAT for 3 months:
7 " 50 "

In all I spent: 78 F.80
Received: 41 00
37. 80

I embrace you dear. So does Senya. We both wish that you should be successful in the work in behalf of our Spanish comrades and our common cause.

Lovingly

Mollie

Best regards & love
from Eva.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 15, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Valencia?, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19581

London Jan. 15th 37.

Dear comrade Herrera.

Let me thank you for the prompt attention you have given to clear up the confusion and ~~unpleasantness~~ irresponsibility of Fubregas and Culvet in regard to the art exhibition and the ~~unnecessary~~ unnecessary expense they have caused me. Actually it was fifty and not 38 pounds as I discovered on my arrival. I am sure this ~~was~~ amount could have been used to better results in my ~~own~~ publicity campaign for the CNT-F.I in England. Unfortunately I was foolish enough to take both Fubregas and Culvet seriously in their right to decide the art exhibition which I now realise was not in their power. My main regret however is, that I am not to manage the art exhibition. It would have been the most wonderful piece of propaganda for the Catalonia and its heroic ~~struggle~~ struggle. I do not mind the loss so much for England as I do for America. It would have helped our friends there to get me a visa for six months. That in return would have enabled me to do an immense amount of propaganda for the CNT-F.I both morally and financially. Well, it cannot be helped.

I have written a long letter to the Comité General about my activities here, the need of supporting our two p u publications for Spain and also about my connections with the bureau of the Generalitat in London. I wish dear comrade you would ask the secretariat to let you read the letter, perhaps you can then suggest to them that action is quickly needed on some of the points I have stated in my letter. I wish Carbo had a part of your promptness and efficiency it would be easier to work with him. Just imagine, so far I have not one word from him in reply to my letters and the things I asked ~~of~~ him, among them a letter setting forth my status in the propaganda bureau of the Generalitat in London. It would be ~~unnecessary~~ unnecessary if I alone were responsible for the work. But with someone else working ~~for~~ in the same bureau and the same purpose I ought certainly to know what my part is to be. I cannot go into that office until I have some directions from the bureau of propaganda of the Generalitat in Barcelona. Please use your influence to get me such a letter. By the way, comrade Roca wrote me that you had informed him that five thousand francs were sent to Carling before the monthly support of 20,000 francs. Carling tells me he has not received such an amount. He has received the 20,000. Can you clear up this matter? You see since Stewart appropriated hundred and six pounds I am most uneasy about money matters in that bureau. Nor can I join it until everything is cleared up.

Dear comrade I really don't know anybody in Barcelona who acts promptly. I must therefore depend on you. One more thing. Carbo asked me to look around for a suitable person, a Socialist who might be able to represent the Socialists in the London bureau of the Generalitat. I did find a young man, member of the Independent Labor Party who may answer the purpose. I have written about him to Souchy and Carbo and have

in the London office
the Generalitat
indicated

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 15, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Valencia?, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19582

2

asked them to let me know if this man is to proceed to Barcelona. For, of course his comrades will want to know and talk with him and give him their instructions. Also it is essential that he should be able to say he had been in Spain if only for a week or two. Finally his fare will have to be paid. Will you please see Carbo, Meretvillas, and the third comrade in the Bureau to wire me instructions about the matter. ~~His~~ The name of the young man is Reginald Reynolds, he has been both organiser and secretary of what is called here THE NO MORE WAR MOVEMENT. He resigned over the disagreement over the anti fascist war in Spain. His organisation was opposed to it and Reynolds was for it. This proves his revolutionary interests. But of course he is a member of the I.L.P and though he is well known in all labor ranks and has access to them the Socialists in the Barcelona bureau may not consider him their choice. In any event I must have a speedy answer.

See cause

Salut.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522040

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 15, London [to Ahrne] Thorn, [Toronto] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

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COPY.

18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14.

15th. January 1937.

Dear Comrade Thornberg,

Thank you for your letter of December 15th.. It was forwarded to me here when I arrived December 23rd. I have been very busy reaching people for the work for Spain I have come to do. I have written a statement about the herculean efforts of our comrades of the CNT-FAI. I am sending it to all our papers and a number of comrades individually. Please let Dessser, Dorothy, and the rest of the comrades of the group read it. I also enclose a copy of a letter to Comrade Ben Capes which goes into the difficulties our comrades are having with the communists. For the present it is inadvisable to use the name of Caballero and others. You will see how unjust the charges are against our comrades. I understand the difficulties you and others are having in explaining the entry of the CNT in the government. But that is only because the inner necessity for this step cannot now be published as it would expose the whole united front much to the glee of Franco and all other Fascists. Just at present I think you have enough to answer the questions put to you. For the rest we can depend on the future to disclose the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ miserable Jesuit methods employed against our comrades.

I am sure I don't know what has become of Van Paasse. Nobody in Barcelona had seen or heard about him. I made it my business to enquire when I arrived. I did not, unfortunately, get to Madrid. I was kept terribly busy in Barcelona and travelling around Catalonia, Aragon, and the rest of the unoccupied part. When I had the time to go to Madrid it was already impossible to go there. This is one of the deepest regrets of my visit to Spain. Anyway I had no way of telling whether he had been in Madrid. I am sure he would not lie. Nobody can imagine how skillful at lying the communists are. It stands to reason that they now find nothing too contemptible to hurl against Van Paassen, for they will never forgive anyone who has the least criticism to make against the Soviet regime. One must serve them utterly or be burnt in oil. I hope when you find out ~~XXXX~~ of the whereabouts of Van Paassen you will let me know. One of the most unscrupulous servants of Stalin is that man Louis Fischer. In his article in the "New York Nation" of December 12th, he has the gall to charge the anarchist column of having fled from a small group of Moors, thereby having allowed the Rebels to enter University suburb. When Catalonia gave money, arms and men for the defence of Madrid, actually leaving itself exposed to the danger of bombardment from the sea, yet Durruti's column, the best organised, disciplined force were sent to the Madrid front. It is the most scandalous lie ever penned to say that our comrades ran away. One has only to compare the statement of Fischer with the splendid tribute paid our comrades of the CNT-FAI in the same issue by Louis Gittler to see the malicious invention of Fischer. It is the more despicable on his part because it was so uncalled for. Verily Moscow corrupts everybody with that Jesuit gang.

It was very nice of Mr. H. M. Halton to say the "Grand old Emma Goldman is working 20 hours a day." It is quite true that I worked very hard and many hours; but not quite 20. It is not true however that I am now "Old". The fact is, my visit to Spain lifted quite a number of years from my shoulders and a stifling weight from my heart.

I wonder whether Dorothy received some handkerchiefs I sent through my niece Stella, also pins and Durruti's photograph. In addition Mollie sent her posters which I left with Mollie.

I am enclosing a handbill of our first mass meeting which I hope will be followed by others. I am sending also cuttings from a Jewish paper which appears here and contains an interview with me about Spain. Also a copy of an interview with the Manchester Guardian.

Please give the Dessers my love. A lot of it to my

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840522040

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page 2.

which I hope will be followed by others. I am sending also a clipping from a Jewish paper which appears here and contains an interview with me about Spain—also a copy of the interview with the Manchester Guardian.

Please give the Dessers my love. A lot of it to my former secretary milly. I could use her more now than ever, because this time there is more response to my call for help. I wish I could offer to bring her here but though I have come in two "official" capacities I am no richer than I was before.

Remember me affectionately to Diene and Tom Meelis. Fraterhal greetings to all the comrades — to your companion and yourself.

I have not heard yet from Carl; but I am glad he is getting along. Should you see him again give him my affectionate greeting.

Fraternally.

E.G.

P.S.

In case you have not received it I enclose a copy of a call for a Congress sent out by the CNT-FAI comrades in Barcelona. I think that I had better send you several copies in French so that you can distribute them amongst comrades and have them discuss the proposition. I don't know when the congress is to take place. Very likely the comrades have Easter in mind. Anyway the matter should be discussed whether or not a delegate from Canada should attend. I hope to write all comrades soon and send them copies of the call.

I understand that Havel is now editing "MAN". Is it possible that he is attacking the comrades in Spain. I cannot really believe that of him. I know Graham is well capable of stabbing our people in the back if they do not agree with him; but whether Havel or Graham it is unjustifiable to judge them without adequate knowledge of the situation.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001234

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 15, London [to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19302

1 @ Green. He is impossible enough. Besides I dislike keenly arousing suspicions or doubts against those who are working with them, poor as the latter are. There is nothing the matter with Green except (Continued on page 2).

LONDON.

15th January 1937.

Dear Van,

I cannot tell you how delighted I am to hear from you again direct. I miss hearing from you. I had not forgotten our correspondence that filled so many gaps. I understood that the clouds over your head must be bleak or would you would not have neglected me so long. Well now that we have again picked up the old threads let us no longer tear them apart.

Yes, my dear, the misrepresentation and lies about our people in Spain are harrowing. They do not only come from the side of the common enemy. Stalin's traps are in no way better. In fact their insidious activity against our people in Catalonia has reached such a point that our comrades, patient beyond belief, were at last forced to tell their communist allies to stop villifying and interfering, or some drastic step measures will have to be used against them.

I am enclosing two things. A statement that I have prepared for our press, and for my personal friends amongst the comrades, and a copy of the letter I have written to Ben Capes. From these you will see the terrible odds our people have been up against. Naturally they have endured it all for the anti-fascist struggle. They felt and still feel that nothing should be done which will add grist to Franco's mill; but I can tell you it takes super human self control to go on surrounded by enemies from within and without. The statement will also tell you of my functions here. I know you will be glad to hear that the response is a little bit more encouraging than it used to be on former visits; but as I said in my letter to Ben, the issue in Spain should move mountains, and if it lies in my power, nothing will be left undone to rouse interest, and practical support of the gallant fight the C.N.T.-F.I.L. are making.

Amongst other things that made it so hard for me to leave Barcelona was the Bulletin which I had hoped to build up into a worth while publication issued in Spain. I knew that there was no one left in Barcelona to take my place. I have a young comrade who knows enough of English language to prevent the scribble of Green in the new Bulletin, unless corrected, but the poor child has no experience in editing. Still she is doing the best she can. The last few Bulletins we have received look poor and colourless. Well perhaps my being here will prove more important while our comrades are lying down their lives for the Revolution. I do not think we need bother any more about

The Emma Goldman Papers

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19603

2.

the pathetic craving for glory. He will never be cured of that until the end of his days. His condition I presume me as more pathetic because of the simplicity of the Spanish comrades.

I have no right to grumble for being in England instead of Barcelona.

Do you think that some young comrades could be found in New York who might be willing to go to Spain to assist the C.M.T. - P.A.I. in the Anti-Fascist struggle. I have had a call from the Committee for such assistance. Of course the fares to Paris would have to be raised in America itself. The comrades in Paris would undertake the expense from there to Barcelona. Perhaps you will see the other comrades of the Culture Relatorie and talk it over with them. They may be able to send a contingent.

*communists The comrades have for months sent over thousands of their adherents to swell the ranks of the Spanish communists for the ultimate battle with our people. Months ago I called the attention of our comrades to this danger. They seem to realize it now and they have written to me to find suitable men. They need not be absolutely avowed anarchists but it is of the utmost importance that they should not be communists and that they should sympathize with the anti-fascist struggle. Naturally, skilled workmen would be preferable. Comrades in Scotland have sent me a list of several who are Lewis Gunners, Air Mechanics, seamen, Engineer, and infantrymen and Lorry Driver. This does not mean that they must necessarily have previous war experience. The main motivation must be their interest in and sympathy with the struggle against Fascism. Let me hear about that as soon as possible.

It's alright about Baldwin. He has his own ways of doing things, so I think it will be best to leave the matter of a visa to him. I am certain he will do his best. No one can tell what the outcome will be. One thing is certain, if I cannot get back to America for at least six months, I will return to Spain just as soon as I have organized the work here. True, we have only one or two comrades in this City able and willing to do their utmost, and they will continue the work to the best of their ability. Unfortunately, they are not sufficiently known to attract attention. Still, they will do what they can. As far as myself is concerned I shall have no voice until I am back to take my place at the side of the comrades in Spain.

In case you have not received it I enclosed copy of a call for a Congress sent out by the P.A.I. I think that I had better send you several copies in French so that you can distribute them amongst the comrades and have them discussed the proposition. I don't know when the Congress is to take place. Very likely the comrades have it in mind. Anyway the matter should be discussed whether or not a delegate from America will attend.

I understand that Havel is now editing "Man". Is it possible that he is attacking the comrades in Spain. I cannot really believe that of him. I hold Graham capable to go in for a vicious attack just when the danger to our comrades is gravest; but whether Havel or Graham, it is unjustifiable to judge our Spanish comrades without adequate knowledge of the situation.

Give my love to Sadie. Take a chunk for yourself.

Fraternally,

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19896

London Jan 15th.37

Dear Friends. I am working like a house on fire day and half the night. I really haven't a moment to spare and I am so very, very tired. Still, I read the first part of your work. It reads very well indeed except for your ~~xxxx~~ interview with Monseny. Its too dragged out and too lifeless. I am sure any publisher who takes it will want it out, and it could be done much to the advantage of the book.

I am sorry you wrote about the neglected grave of Ferrer. Not that it is not sadly true. But that you in a country besieged by war and in the throes of revolution such things are of minor importance I think. But its your work not mine. So thats alright.

I must however set you right on one thing namely the question of socialisation. It is news to me that the Anarchists believe in collectivisation and not socialisation. Just the reverse is true if I know anything of Anarchism. In point of fact, I had articles in several Bulletins explaining that collectivisation is merely a means to socialisation. And I don't know of any Anarchist whether of the important teachers or the simple rank and file who does not understand the difference between collectivisation and socialisation. I haven't time to go into it deeply. I can only point out that collectivisation means a measure of the time spent on any article produced. The worker to be paid accordingly. ~~xxxx~~ That in return calls for some state machinery to decide how much each ones productive effort is worth. Socialisation means that the community and not the state decides production and that each receives according to his needs and gives according to his ability. I think you ought to correct this. There are a few minor mistakes as far as your interpretation of Libertarian ~~anarchism~~ Communism and Anarchism are concerned. I will go through both parts once more when I have read the second which will be very soon.

There is one thing however, the carbon copy you sent me is so blurred I do not think it should be sent to any publisher. Some pages are ~~xxxxxxxx~~ so faint the script is hardly readable. I suspect that you did not send me the first carbon copy, it looks the third or fourth. You know yourself how particular publishers are nowadays. They insist on a clean MS. If you still have the first carbon copy I would suggest that you let me have it. I will then return the one I have to you.

The original will go to the States next Wed. But I must have a short biographic sketch about yourself dear Ann. You realize that you are unknown in America. So we must have something that would show ~~xxxxxxxx~~ your journalist and literary status. For instance it would be very valuable to give your connection with Ossietzky in the WELTBURNE. Of what ever important ~~papers~~ publications you were connected with.

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[Letter] 1937 Jan. 15, London [to Hanns-Erich and Anita Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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19898

Please sent this to me right away. See that it reaches me Tuesday because the MSS will have to be mailed Tuesday to go on Wednesday.

Once my first meeting is over I will have a little breathing spell. I hope I will not use it in the way Lenin did the Brest Litovsk Peace. You remember he said this was to be a *peredishchik*, which means breathing spell. A nice mess came out of it. Seriously when I have more time I will write you both more fully.

Thanks dearest Anita for the stamps. Postage to America from here is cheaper than from France, thank goodness, or I should be lost.

About the percentage for the lawyer who is to represent you in A. I really do not know whether it is five or ten percent. But I am quite certain that my friend Arthur Leonard Ross will not take a sou more than he is entitled to. I know of no one outside of my niece who is so reliable in handling other people's affairs. And Ross is more so.

Forgive me please that I cannot write more.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]37 Jan. 15 [London to] Thomas H. Keell, [London] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]37 Jan. 15 [London to] Thomas H. Keell, [London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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Dear Tom. Jan 15/37
I forgot to ask you
for a list of publishers
who are up to date in
advertising & publishing
their publications. I had
at mine who have travelled
with me in Spain have
written an interesting
work very suggestive
to us. I want to place.

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1982

Dear comrade Rod,

1. **Introduction**
 2. **Background**
 3. **Methodology**
 4. **Results**
 5. **Conclusion**
 6. **References**
 7. **Appendix**
 8. **Figure 1**
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The work here will be most difficult because one is so cut off from Spain. I have even hired a radio in the hope of getting Barcelona. I got it several times but the noises were so awful I could not make out a word. And as to any information from Barcelona from anyone I have written to, it is hopeless. I believe I have also asked you dear comrade to send me some news about the struggle. Could you not do it in a long letter twice a week? After all you are in close contact with ~~with~~ Barcelona. Please do you will help me greatly in my work.

Salut,

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XX

The work here will be most difficult because one is so cut off from Spain. I have even hired a radio in the hope of getting Barcelona. I got it several times but the noises were so awful I could not make out a word. And as to any information from Barcelona from anyone I have written to, it is hopeless. I believe I have also asked you dear comrade to send me some news about the struggle. Could you not do it in a long letter twice a week? After all you are in close contact with ~~the~~ Barcelona. Please do you will help me greatly in my work.

only 2 copies of this

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 15, London [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Donald] Darling.—
2 p. ; 21 x 16 cm.

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20601



GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA

COMISSARIAT D'INFORMACIÓ A L'ESTRANGER

Spanish People's Front
London Information Bureau

3, Victoria Street (4th Floor)
LONDON S. W. 1.

15.1.37.

Dear Friend,

Herewith the forms which you must fill up. If you will return them as soon as possible there will be plenty of time to have them arranged before I go. I have paid out some of the debts as we agreed the other night. I will finish them tomorrow. Incidentally I think we have more money than we thought, because when we calculated we worked out everything on a four weeks basis and there are only two weeks left this month. However, I think we will be wise to do as planned.—Move when we know what is coming for February. I quite agree with everything you say in your letter, and I have told you, and I am putting it here in writing for that reason. I think the more "respectable" this office becomes financially the better, after what has happened recently. Now that things are

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20602

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more organised the other end(or appear to be)
we have no reason to run an office like a gipsy
camp, but a serious efficient one.

I have been in touch with the Madrid Refugee
people today, and I shall meet them in Paris, travel
down with them (they are making a non-stop trip) and
see them safely through to Barcelona - they were most
grateful for this help and the Catalan office has
created a good impression with them at once, which
is what we want. They are favourable elements all
of them, and I want also to do some propaganda for
them (and for us) en route. Hence I am seeing the
"News Chronicle" this evening about a series of
short items on the road, with photos if possible.
In this way we can make a gesture of solidarity which
will not pass unnoticed here. They are important
enough to be mentioned even in the Telegraph (thanks.
to the D. of Atholl who is helping, (bless her conserva-
tive heart!!!).

I will see you on Sunday.

Darling

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 16, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20175

London Jan 16/37

Dear Helmut. The slowness and lack of system of the comrades in ever department were hard enough to stand while I was in Barcelona. It is much more unbearable now that I am so far away from there. I went to England to do publicity work. But one must have some material to work from, some news of importance. I have written Souchy about six times since I arrived and many times to Carbo. But I might as well try to move ~~at~~ Gibraltar to get anything done by them. Carbo has not replied at all. And Souchy only the other day, five weeks since I left Barcelona. The only one who at least answers my letters is Mar Martin. But he too tells me in every letter that all sorts of material and stuff are being sent me and nothing arrives. I have therefore decided to write you in the hope that you will be more responsive and helpful.

I am inclosing copies of letters I have written to the Comité Regional. As you see they are in Spanish. I was lucky to find in London a Spanish comrade who knows English well and who is translating my letters. It gives me a chance to reach the comrades of the Comité direct and to write Carbo and Hererra in their own language. Not that the Spanish comrades have answered. I understand fully that they are too hard pressed for time to write long letters. It is only that it is important to carry out the task I have come for to this country, a publicity campaign for the CNT-FAI. You have no idea how important this is because so little is known of the splendid work of our comrades. Yet it will be impossible to achieve much without regular information from Spain. Can you imagine, I do not even receive the English Bulletin. Not that it amounts to much. A comrade here brought me a few numbers. It looks poor. But it seems I am being sabotaged with the English Bulletin. Nor did I get the German until just two days ago. That is my fault because I am afraid I did not give you my London address. ~~It~~ It is 18 Castletown Rd. London W.14. England. Please dear Helmut send it to me regularly. ~~And something~~ I have also received the new paper you are publishing. It is very good. You might send me a dozen copies. We do not have many German ~~comrades~~ comrades. But there maybe Germans at my lectures I am going to have.

You will see from the letter to the Comité that our first mass meeting is Monday. We hope to have a large attendance and raise some money for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. Feb 8th I have another large meeting. In addition I will have three lectures dealing with the relation of the Spanish Church and Fascism. The Origine and Growth of the CNT, and the FAI. And the great constructive collectivisation done by our comrades. I also have meetings in several cities in England and hope to have more. Once I have created interest in the efforts of our Spanish comrades I mean to translate your pamphlet into English and publish it.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 16, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20176

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Then I am having an exhibition. I thought to have it ~~independently~~ independently. But the Independent Labor Party has asked to have it together with them. I accepted because it will be of greater importance for the CNT-FAI. Anyhow I am doing my utmost to make our comrades and their gallant struggle known in this country. If you knew anything about the fridity of the British and the hold on the minds of the workers in the straight jacket of the Trade Union and Labor Parties you would understand what a job it is to break through. I am sure I could do more if only I had authentic material. Everybody has promises, Soucy, Berneri, Poe, if I spell his name right, and I have asked you as you remember. Yes, I know you must be frightfully busy now. We will use something out of the German paper. There is no other help.

You will be interested to learn that the material found in the German Embassy in Barcelona has already appeared. The man who compiled the Brown Book has also prepared this material. Galland of this city has published it. I am going to get it and send it to you after I have read it. It is too bad that the German group of comrades have delayed so long.

Dear Helmut please write me how you are and all the news. Send the letter through someone and have it mailed from France. Do the same with everything else.

Give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades and also to your companion. Have you any news about Einstein? Could you give me the name of the Church in Barcelona that fired on the people. Could you give me the name of the comrade who brought down some of the enemy planes and who was killed. Bullets of German make were found in his body. What was his name. Also what has become of the German women comrade who had gone to the front. Is she still alive? Any such news and information would help me much. Also if you have any photos of German or other comrades who lost their lives in the struggle.

Salut.

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1 2 3 3 8

Tengo que darte mis expresivas gracias por la pronta atención que has prestado para aclarar la confusión e irresponsabilidad de Fabregas y Calvet con respecto a la exposición de arte y los gastos innecesarios que me han ocasionado. Resultaron ser £50 y no £38, según pude descubrir a mi llegada. Esta suma pudo haber sido empleada con mejores resultados en mi campaña de publicidad en nombre de la CNT-FAI en Inglaterra. Por desgracia yo tomé en serio la autoridad de Fabregas y Calvet para decidir sobre la exposición, que ahora veo no tenían. Mi mayor pesar es que yo no maneje la exposición de arte. Hubiese sido la ~~una gran~~ pieza mayor de propaganda de Cataluña y su heroica lucha. No deploro tanto esta pérdida por Inglaterra como por América. Hubiese ayudado a nuestros amigos allí a obtener una visa para mi por seis meses, lo que a su vez me hubiese proporcionado hacer una inmensa propaganda por la CNT-FAI, tanto moral como económicamente. En fin, ya no puede ser y hay que conformarse.

He escrito una extensa carta al Comité Regional sobre mis actividades en ésta; la necesidad de ayudar a nuestras dos publicaciones sobre España y también acerca de mis relaciones con la Oficina de la Generalidad en Londres. Ruégote pidas a la Secretaría que te dejen leer mi carta y tal vez podrás hacerles presente que es preciso solucionar pronto varios de los asuntos tratados en dicha carta. Me gustaría que Carbo tuviese la actividad y prontitud que tu. Así sería más fácil trabajar con él. Imagínate que hasta la fecha no he tenido contestación de él a ninguna de mis cartas, pidiéndole varias cosas. Entre ellas una carta en la que se detallara qué es lo que yo tengo que hacer en la Oficina de la Generalidad en Londres. Tal carta sería innecesaria si yo sólo fuese la encargada del trabajo; pero con otra persona trabajando allí y por la misma causa es imperativo que yo sepa la parte que a mí me corresponde. Yo no puedo entrar en la Oficina hasta que obren en mi poder las instrucciones de la Oficina de Propaganda de la Generalidad en Barcelona. Te suplico uses tu influencia y me consigas la referida carta.

Me escribió Roca diciéndome que tu le habías dicho que 5.000 francos habían sido girados a Darling antes de la ayuda de 20.000 frs. mensuales. Darling me ha dicho que no ha recibido dicha suma. Ha recibido los Frs.20.000, pero no los 5.000. ¿Puedas tu hechar luz sobre el asunto? Desde que Stewart se marchó con las consabidas \$106 no las tengo todas conmigo en lo que asuntos de dinero atañe a la Oficina, en la que no podré colaborar hasta que todo esté completamente aclarado.

Querido camarada, no se de nadie en Barcelona que actúe con prostitución. Así que tendré que depender en ti. Carbo me encargo que buscara una persona adecuada, un socialista, que pudiera representar a los socialistas de la Generalidad en la Oficina de Londres. Encontré a un muchacho joven de la Independent Labour Party, quien pudiera ser la persona que se desea. Ya he escrito sobre él a Souchy y a Carbo, pidiéndoles me digan si este muchacho debe ir a Barcelona, ya que supongo que los camaradas desearán conocerlo y darle sus instrucciones. Asimismo me parece necesario que puedan decir que ha estado en Barcelona, aun que sólo sea por unas semanas. Además, tendrá que abonársele el pasaje a ésa. Hazme el favor de ver a Carbo, Meretvillas y al otro camarada en la Oficina y que me telegrafíen instrucciones sobre este particular. El joven de que se trata se llama Reginald Reynolds. Ha sido organizador y secretario de un movimiento llamado aquí "THE NO MORE WAR MOVEMENT" (Movimiento en contra de la Guerra). Presentó la dimisión porque no estaba conforme con la opinión de los demás miembros sobre la guerra antifascista en España. Esto prueba sus intereses revolucionarios. Pero por supuesto él es un miembro de la

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870918169

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 16, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Valencia?, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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I. L. P. y aunque es muy conocido en todos los círculos obreros y tiene acceso a ellos, los socialistas en la Oficina de Barcelona puede que no lo consideren competente. De cualquier forma, debe recibir una contestación lo más pronto posible.

SALUD.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 16, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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London Jan. 16th 37.

19817

Dear Augustine.

I wrote you several letters. I am glad you have at last answered one of them. Darling is going to Barcelona on Tuesday. So I am taking the opportunity to answer yours which you failed to date. I hope the Albums and pamphlets were really sent. You know how little reliance there is on manana. As it is they will come too late for our first big meeting. It is too bad. Fortunately I shall have many more. We are organising a series of three lectures. The subjects will be The historic origins, development and growth of the CNT and the FAI. One on the Collectivisation now going on. One on the relation of the Church and Spanish Revolution. We are also organising a mass meeting in the East End of London. The 31st of this month I go to Plymouth. ~~There~~ In Feb I go to Scotland. These are only a few of the many lectures and meetings I hope to have. So you see I will be busy.

Then there is the joint exhibition with the I.L.P and other bodies. The Spanish Medical Aid group refused to consent to my proposition of a share of the ~~gross~~ proceeds for the CNT-FAI on the ground that these are political parties. I explained that the money would go to the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts but this did not help. I then suggested a compromise. (How low the mighty have fallen. E.G. and compromise) It consists of this, all monies to go to the Sanidad in Barcelona, Madrid and for the Basque victims of fascism. This was accepted. I think the exhibition will be a very great and a most impressive affair. Do you think the archive of the CNT-FAI has photographs of some of the strikes that took place before July 19th. Perhaps of Zaragoza, or such struggles. We need them for the exhibition to show the activity of the CNT.

The Generalitat has sent Darling 20,000 for Jan. Of that something like 120 pounds have already been used to pay the debts Stewart and Darling have incurred. That has nothing to do with the 4106 Stewart helped himself to when he disappeared. Nothing has been heard from him since. Senior Meritvilles has not been very lucky in his choice. I did not yet go near the Generalitat Bureau here. I insisted on having all confusion and shady business cleared out. Darling has done it he tells me. I also had to insist on a joint account so that I can counter sign any checks Darling will issue. After much talk he has realised that this was necessary for his own protection as well as mine. He promised me to take a statement of all he has spent and take it to the Generalitat, or rather the Bureau of Propaganda there. He also

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 16, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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1937

2

promise d me a copy. On Tuesday I will begin my part in the London office. The trouble is I do not know my part. Even while I was yet in Barcelona I begged Carbo for a letter setting out the exact direction for each one who is working in the Bureau. He has not complied. Since I am here I have written him about six times. No answer. I am now asking Darling to insist on such a letter which should be signed by Meretvilles, Carbo and the third party. You know yourself how young people dislike suggestions from elders. How then can I impose myself on Darling unless I can show him the instructions given me by the Bureau, or Carbo for the CNT. But I must therefore have such a letter to avoid friction and disagreement. If you can help along in that, please do.

I hope the albums were really sent, if not give them to Darling as well as the Durruti pamphlets. The Film, is there any hope of getting it? Please strain every effort and send it along with Darling. If there is still a Durruti Film about I want it. The one now being shown in London was made by the Generalitat. It is a commentary on the methods used by the comrades. Here is the Generalitat weeks ahead of us. The same holds good about the book of German documents the German group was to prepare for publication. Of course the Communists have gone ahead and have done it. The man who prepared the Brown Book did the one on the relation of Hitler's gang with Fascism. It was published by Collanz. I only hope that the Communists will not get ahead of the CNT-FAI in the future struggle.

I have given up hopes of ever receiving some of original articles for a monthly magazine. Yet one could be published in England to very considerable advantage for our work in Spain. I do not even receive news of what is going on in Barcelona. If that continues my coming here will not do much use I fear. In desperation I hired a radio in the hope I might get Barcelona and the CNT-FAI. I did get the station but the noises and the disturbance in the waves made it impossible to understand anything. You can see how hungry I am for news from the CNT-FAI. I wish dear Augustine I could make you see how vital it is to be kept posted on events and to get material, either original or otherwise. Anything you can send along with Darling I will appreciate greatly.

Affectionately

I have written a statement for our press which I am having multigraphed and sent out. The Soli might care to publish it. In any event I will send you a copy later on. Meanwhile I am inclosing a copy of a letter written to Ben Capes, one of our most faithful comrades in A.

Give Toto my love. Tell him one of these days I will certainly write him.

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Institutional Location: Martin Gudell Archive.

Dear Martin. Read the enclosed copy of
my letter to Sandy. You will understand why
Jan 23/37

London Jan 16th 37.

Gud

Wartin, my Dear. I received your letter of the 8th inst. Also the short postscript of the 9th. I have also received the two articles, one on the Spanish Monetary System and figures on the school. I must ask you to write everything in either Russian or German. The article you sent in English is so involved I am not able to make it out. Russian and German or either will do. Be sure to let me know if you quite understand my English. Otherwise I will write you in German. In any event I thank you for the material. It is the first anybody thought of sending.

You say albums were already sent me three or four days before you wrote your letter. You must mean the small post card albums. Because Souchy writing much later than you tells me that the album he had prepared and the colored albums of posters published by the Spanish bureau of the CNT-FAI will only go out the next day. Well, whatever was sent nothing has arrived. It is too bad that they were sent by way of Perpignan, That place is already watched by the French authorities, and I am sure in England everything from there is censured. I had a post card from Bruno from Marseille. Why could he not have taken stuff along and send on here from there? It is too bad.

I inclose a copy of my letter to the Comite. I do so to keep you informed what I am writing. You will see the mess I found in the Bureau of the Generalitat in London. ~~From~~ You will see the amount of debts incurred by Stewart and Darling all of which had to be paid out of the money sent to Darling. I have insisted he should prepare a definite statement of his indebtedness and take a copy to the propaganda bureau of the Generalitat. When everything is ~~clear~~ cleared I will begin the work in the bureau. But not before.

I have been working furciously for the CNT F.A.I. Help with the big meeting for Monday, attend the Spanish Exhibition Committee to see that the CNT-F.A.I should not be slighted. And keep up a large correspondence with the provincial cities in re meetings. In addition we have decided to hold three lectures on the relation of the Spanish Church to Fascism. The Historic origine, and Growth of the CNT, and the Fai. And ~~thru~~ their present work of collectivisation. So you see I am not idle.

In one of my letters I asked you for photos of Fedrica Montseny, and other of the leading comrades. I also asked you for the name of the comrade aviator in whose body German bullets were found. Also the names known of other comrades who fell in the struggle of July 19th and since. You can give all that to Darling. Please, please do get hold of this material and send it with him. And the 1000 handkerchieves I have asked for, Darling could bring them. Everything will be

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 16 - 23, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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 Gud

2

be paid for without fail.

Please give the inclosed letter to Ilse if she is still working in the ~~Secretariat~~ foreign section. And see that the inclosed to Elisa Santillan reaches her or him. How is he getting along as Minister of Economics. Strange jobs the Revolution has created.

The papers you said would be sent from the offices, Soli, Tierra and the rest have of course not arrived. I simply cannot understand it. The only thing that arrives regularly now is the Spanish Bulletin. I suppose I am being sabotaged on the English. I have not received a single copy except the one Barr brings me. I am writing Rudiger about the German Bulletin.

I have received an announcement of the Congress planned in Barcelona. I suppose it is the same that was discussed when Faure, Bertoni and Hem DAY were in Barcelona. The FAI comrades sent me an awful lot in French and Espirante. I can not use the latter at all. And of the former I need only a few which I will send to America. Though I suppose the circular has already been sent. I have no idea who will attend the Congress, or when it is to be. If in April I certainly will as I firmly plan to go back to Spain unless a visa for America can be gotten for me. If that will prove impossible I will attend the Congress. The comrades in A. may want me to represent them. And I am sure the comrades here will do the same. I have no time to write the comrades who are organising the Congress. Please give them my fraternall greetings and tell them what I wrote here.

Do let me hear from you soon. You are really the only link I have with Spain.

If Montseny has written anything large enough for a brochure send it to me. We might get it out here.

Greetings to all the comrades.

*I also want 500 each I'll be CND trips
se letters, anything you can get
People are happy you at home.
PS. I am including the E
letter to Ilse
Santillan in
letter - E*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 16, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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198

London Jan 16th 37.

Martin, my Dear. I received your letter of the 8th inst. Also the short postscript of the 9th. I have also received the two articles, one on the Spanish Monetary System and figures on the school. I must ask you to write everything in either Russian or German. The article you sent in English is so involved I am not able to make it out. Russian and German or either will do. Be sure to let me know if you quite understand my English. Otherwise I will write you in German. In any event I thank you for the material. It is the first anybody thought of sending.

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19820

2

be paid for without fail.

Please give the inclosed letter to Ilse if she is still working in the ~~Marxist~~ foreign section. And see that the inclosed to Elisa Santillan reaches her or him. How is he getting along as Minister of Economics. Strange jobs the Revolution has created.

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Greetings to all the comrades.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918168

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 16, London [to Eusebio] Carbó, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. --
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Londres, 16 de Enero de 1937.

12337

Querido camarada Carbo,

Voy a hacer otro intento a ver si puedo imprimirte acción. Me parece que encontraría menos difícil mover la roca de Gibraltar. No siento que no hayas considerado necesario contestar a mis cartas. Gran número de personas aborrecen el tener que escribir. Esto está bien; pero que hasta la fecha no me hayas mandado la carta por la cual te he escrito tantas veces y que debía contener instrucciones sobre mi posición en la Oficina de Londres de la Generalidad, es una cosa muy desconcertante. Si yo estuviese sólo en la Oficina no importaría tanto; pero está Darling, y él tiene el perfecto derecho de negarme inferencia en cualquier asunto que él determine y sobre el cual yo no esté conforme. En cualquier caso que yo considere innecesario. Así, pues, a menos que yo reciba la mencionada carta me veré en la necesidad de devolver el mandato que tu me diste, ya que de ninguna manera podré adoptar responsabilidades con respecto al trabajo sin recibir de antemano las debidas instrucciones de tu Oficina. He escrito una larga carta al Comité Regional, explicándoles este asunto. Entre las cosas que les he dicho es que más de cien libras del dinero enviado a Darling han tenido que ser gastadas para saldar deudas incurridas por él y Stewart aún antes de yo haber llegado. Seguramente que realizaras la importancia que para mí representa el que todo esto sea clarificado antes de que yo pueda unir mi nombre a aquellos de los representantes de la Generalidad. Además hay otras muchas cosas que precisan ser aclaradas. En mi carta para el Comité Regional he dado todos los detalles. Pésate por allí y que te enseñen mi carta. Podrás apreciar lo indispensable que es poner en antecedentes a Darling (Más tarde habrá una tercera persona) de cual es mi puesto en la Oficina y hasta donde llegan mi poderes para determinar y exponer mi opinión sobre lo que allí se haga. Esto tiene que venir escrito y firmado por Meritville y tu y el segundo colega tuyo. Por de pronto he tenido que insistir en que el dinero sea depositado a nombre mío y de Darling y que los cheques que se emitan han de ser firmados por ambos. Me complace decir que Darling ha consentido a esto. Por lo que a este mes se refiere, creo que 111 libras han sido gastadas de la suma de 20.000 francos.

Darling me ha manifestado que él tiene que ir a Barcelona para asuntos personales y otras cosas, así es que tendrás la oportunidad de hablar con él. Te escribo de forma que estés en antecedentes. Procura que la tantas veces solicitada carta sea entregada a él cuando salga de Barcelona. Mándala escrita de forma que yo sepa cual es mi posición sin que Darling pueda distorsionarla.

Otro asunto es el de la persona que tu desearas encontrar para representar a los socialistas en vuestra Oficina. He escrito a ti y a Souchy acerca de la persona encontrada por mí y os he preguntado si os conviene o no, y también si pueden arreglar para que vaya a Barcelona por una o dos semanas. Esto es conveniente para que pueda decir que ha estado en ésa y además para que vosotros lo conozcáis. Mandame la contestación con Darling y fotografías o material que tengas para mí y que no hayas enviado. La exposición en Londres se hará en compañía con la Independent Labour Party y otras organizaciones. Va a resultar una gran cosa que llame mucho la atención.

SALUD.

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Londres, 16 de Enero de 1937

Secretaria,
Comité Regional,
CNT-FAY,
Barcelona.

Overdos omaradas:

Hace cosa de dos semanas os escribí dándoos cuenta de lo que había podido conseguir hacer por aquí desde mi llegada. No podrá parecer mucho, pero ya es mucho para Inglaterra donde no contaos con un movimiento y ni aún con unos cuantos compañeros competentes que nos puedan ayudar. Me parece ahora que fui demasiado optimista cuando pronostiqué que dos meses serían bastantes para probar una campaña de propaganda y sus posibilidades en este país para la CNT-FAI. Estoy segura que se puede llevar a cabo una buena propaganda, si bien tomará más tiempo. Naturalmente que yo pienso seguir batallando hasta conseguir algo que valga la pena.

Por la adjunta circular veréis que mi primer mitin tendrá lugar el 18 del actual. Otros mitines están planeados en Londres y el 31 de Enero hare una visita a Plymouth. Base muyla importante del Gobierno. El 1 de Febrero visitaré Glasgow y otras poblaciones. Como podréis ver tendré bastante que hacer. Confío que todo no vaya a resultar propaganda, sino también ayuda económica. En cada mitin solicitaré donaciones para las mujeres y niños evacuados de Madrid y otros frentes. Ahora lo que hay que aclarar es si puedo retener parte de lo que recaude para continuar la propaganda en Inglaterra, enviando el resto a vosotros a Paris, o si es que tendré que remitir todo. He de rogáros instrucciones acerca de lo que debo hacer sobre el particular.

me acerca de lo que debo hacer sobre el particular.

En mi plan para mi actuación aquí sometido a vosotros antes de mi partida expone que los gastos de una campaña sumarían unas cincuenta libras al mes. Ignoraba entonces que la exposición que tenía pensado celebrar en Londres de fotografías y carteles iba a costar tanto. Después de estudiarlo pude comprobar que una exposición independiente hubiera costado no menos de setenta y cinco libras. Esto sin pagar el trabajo que tendrían que hacer los artistas. Sin embargo, me es grato comunicaros que la exposición se llevará ahora a cabo en cooperación la de la Independent Labour Party (Partido Independiente Obrero) y otras organizaciones. Va a ser una grande e importante exposición, demostrativa del panorama completo de España antes y después del 19a de Julio. Estoy segura que despertará el sentimiento antifascista y revelacionario en el público inglés más que nada. La exposición costará £500. La I.L.P. ha contribuido ya £100 y otras organizaciones han donado cantidades más pequeñas. En nombre de la CNT-FAI yo he prometido £30, siendo esta suma menos que la mitad de lo que una exposición independiente hubiera costado. Por otra parte son £30 que hay que rebajar de las cien libras que vosotros me disteis para mis actividades aquí.

En cuanto a los resultados positivos de la exposición, una de las condiciones que puse cuando conviene celebrarla conjuntamente con la I.L.P., fué que la CNT-FAI recibiría participación en cualquier beneficio que fuere realizado por la venta de entradas y diferentes artículos, como álbums, postales, fotografías y resto. Asimismo que un lugar de igual importancia sería dado a la colección de fotografías y carteles que yo traía. El comité, compuesto por la I.L.P., la Liga Socialista y la Sociedad Española de ayuda médica, prestaron su conformidad a lo ~~que me proponía~~ segundo, pero no a la primera condición. Insistieron en que la exposición había sido organizada originalmente para ayuda de las víctimas del fascismo. Fue entonces que sugerí que cualquier remanente fue-

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se enviado a los servicios de Sanidad de Barcelona, Madrid y Bilbao, sabiendo que cualquiera ayuda financiera que fuese enviada al servicio sanitario de Barcelona sería administrado por nuestros compañeros en aquel departamento. Espero vuestra conformidad a estos arreglos, que se imponían, pues la otra alternativa era dimitir mi puesto en el Comité de la exposición, una cosa que no hubiese sido prudente hacer en estos momentos. En relación con todo esto, debo decir que el comunista que representaba a su partido en el Comité se retiró en cuanto supo que yo había sido invitada a tomar parte en él y que la CNT-FAI tendría parte prominente en la exposición. No me ha sorprendido esta decisión porque los comunistas dentro y fuera de Rusia me han tenido mucha antipatía todos estos años por mi actitud contraria al régimen Soviético. Me es grato manifestar que Fehner Brockway, Secretario General de la I.L.P., manifestó que si los comunistas no deseaban cooperar que lo sentía; pero que ni él ni su partida iban a ser dirigidos por ellos. De todas formas, ya podréis ver cómo los Comunistas siguen con sus métodos jesuíticos. Son lo mismo en todas las partes del mundo en donde la diotadura ha echado raíces. De cualquier manera, no permitiré que nadie interfiera con las oportunidades que se me presenten de poner a la CNT-FAI en su verdadero plano ante el público inglés.

Por lo que respecta a una verdadera campaña de propaganda en Inglaterra, a mí llega aquí encontré dos publicaciones, una THE FIGHTING CALL, la otra ~~THE~~ SPAIN AND THE WORLD. En ambos casos se trata de publicaciones anarquistas; pero he de decir que no estoy muy contenta con FIGHTING CALL. No es nada más que un remedo del Boletín inglés que yo solía enviar a Glasgow desde Barcelona para los compañeros de dicha población. Pero podría ser convertido en una publicación mensual que valiera la pena, con artículos de España y también de compañeros en América y Europa capacitados para escribir acerca de la importancia de la CNT-FAI. Ello costaría de 12 a 15 libras por mes y comprendéis que no me es posible contrubuir esta suma de los fondos que se me dieron para mi propaganda en Inglaterra.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD se publica dos ~~veces~~ veces al mes; por un camarada de 22 años que tiene que trabajar para vivir y que al mismo tiempo estudia para examinarse de ingeniero. Es la mejor publicación que he encontrado hasta ahora sobre España. Fue garantizada primero por varios compañeros italianos de París. No es porque de repente ha sido parada la garantía de 24 libras mensuales, durante 5 meses; pero lo ha sido, después de la tercer publicación. Consideraría una pérdida lamentable el que SPAIN AND THE WORLD dejase de seguir publicándose. Soucky debe de recibir el periódico y tal vez os lo enseñe. Su primera página es ya algo que vale la pena. Claro está que suscripciones y ventas realizan cierta cantidad. Tal vez de 5 a 6 libras cada emisión. Se me ocurre que vosotros podríais quizás contribuir otras 12 o 15 libras mensuales para seguir manteniendo al periódico hasta que se costee por sí mismo. No tengo que señalaros la importancia de tal publicación para nuestra propaganda española en Inglaterra, pues estoy segura que vosotros la re-lizaréis. Si aquí contásemos con un movimiento como en América no sería necesario hacer pesar estos gastos sobre la CNT-FAI; pero como ya he dicho no existe en estos momentos ni el menor vestigio de un movimiento anarquista organizado. Por consiguiente se hace esencial la ayuda hasta que tal movimiento se organice. Espero saber lo que vosotros pensáis con respecto a ambas publicaciones tan pronto como os sea posible, y si lo aprobáis, confío me podréis enviar los fondos necesarios para que los dos periódicos se sigan publicando por unos cuantos meses, o el tiempo que vosotros queráis exportarlos.

Tan pronto como se haya realizado el mitin del día 18 y las cuentas estén listas, os enviaré una relación de lo que se ha gastado de las 100 libras. El importe mayor serán las 30 libras para la exposición.

Ahora otro asunto algo desagradable para mí. Se trata de mi misión en la Oficina de Propaganda de la Generalidad en Londres. Tengo que manifestar que hasta el presente no he hecho ningún trabajo allí. Mis razones para ello son las

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discrepancias y desorganización encontradas a mi llegada. Stewart, a quien nunca se le debió otorgar mandato alguno, desapareció con £106 y Darling se encontró con que tenía que hacer frente a deudas por valor de £90 que tenían que ser pagadas con los Frs.20.000 recibidos la semana pasada de Tarradellas. Otra razón importante por la que no he tomado parte todavía en el trabajo de la Oficina, es que Darling ignora la posición que yo tendré aquí allí. Antes de mi partida imploré al camarada Carbo para que me diera una carta oficial indicando la pauta que yo debería seguir en mi trabajo con Darling y quien quiera que sea la otra persona de la Oficina. Hasta ahora Carbo no ha hecho nada, y desde mi llegada le he escrito dos veces sin que hasta ahora haya recibido respuesta. Sin embargo, no puedo recomendar, estando las cosas como están, a la CNT en la Oficina de Propaganda, hasta que la cosa se clarifique. Os ruego, por tanto, traten conseguir que Carbo me envíe carta con instrucciones inmediatamente. Ello es de suma importancia, ya que de otra forma Darling podrá decir que me estoy metiendo en sus asuntos, o mas bien dicho, con la manera en que él ha administrado la Oficina hasta la fecha, cosa que ignoro; pero lo que se es que antes de que yo pueda afiliarme con él en la Oficina ha de aclararse todo lo concerniente a la forma en que han sido gastados los fondos. No quiero decir esto que yo desconfío de Darling. No le conozco lo suficiente para esto, ni tampoco es hasta donde será posible colaborar con él. Sólo deseo que todo quede debidamente concretado y limpio por lo que a mi pueda concernir. Siempre he opinado con todas precauciones con pocas cuando se trata de manejar dinero para propaganda. He insistido que la cuenta en el Banco de la Oficina de la Generalidad se abra a nombre de Darling y mio y que todos los cheques que sean emitidos lleven las firmas de nosotros dos. Espero que Darling aprobará esto. Hace dos días Darling me dijo que tenía que marchar a Barcelona para varios asuntos y que él pagaría su pasaje. Convendría que Carbo lo viera y arreglase con él nuestras respectivas posiciones, indicándole claramente qué puesto va a ser el mio en la Oficina, que yo misma ignoro y no sabré hasta que se me envíen instrucciones. Sin ellas no me agradaría actuar como representante de la Generalidad, prefiriendo devolver mi mandato y concentrar mis esfuerzos enteramente en trabajar por la CNT-FAI. Os escribo todo esto a vosotros porque he llegado a convencerme de que si lo hago a Carbo no me contesta y no tengo mucho tiempo que perder.

Os suplico, queridos camaradas que me contestéis pronto.

SALUD.

Emma Goldman

P.S.

He pedido a Martin que os vea con respecto a mi orden por otros 1000 pafue-
los. También preciso 250 ejemplares del album de tarjetas postales. También hace
días escribí al camarada Souhy para que se entrevistase con vosotros a fin de
tartar de una invitación para visitar a España a nuestra camarada Rosa Pesotta,
Vice-Presidenta Nacional de la "International Ladies Garment Workers Union", una
organización que cuenta con 250.000 miembros en América. Ella me ha escrito di-
ciéndome que le gustaría mucho organizar una misión de compañeros simpatizantes
con nuestra causa para visitar España y ver la labor constructiva que realiza la
CNT-FAI. Esta visita le proporcionaría a ella la oportunidad de hacer una enorme
labor en los Estados Unidos en pro de la Revolución española y la guerra antifas-
cista. No es si el camarada Souhy ha hecho algo en este asunto; pero me de escla-
raros que urgería extender tal invitación a Rosa Pesotta, quien es nuestra mejor
y más competente trabajadora en el movimiento obrero en América. La Camarada
Pesotta desearía especialmente estudiar el desarrollo de vuestras fábricas de
textiles. Si os interesa cuanto os dejo dicho, pueden enviar la invitación a las
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señas siguientes:-

Rosa Pesette,
Vice-President of the International Ladies
Garment Workers Union,
795, St. Catherine Street,
MONTREAL, Que.,
CANADA.

En la actualidad está allí haciendo trabajo de organización. Al hacer la invitación mencionamos que ella puede traer algunas de las personas radicales del movimiento obrero que se interesan por España. Cuando me contestaron la presente dígnase si han enviado la invitación o no. Me parece que la camarada Rosa habla español, pues ella actuó activamente en la organización de las obreras en Puerto Rico. Para terminar, pero muy importante. El camarada Martin me escribió con respecto a compañeros que desean marchar a España, diciéndome que todos tenían que ser anarquistas. Le he contestado que hay tan pocos en Inglaterra que no vale la pena pensar en ello. Desde entonces he recibido una lista de Glasgow. La mayoría son antiparlamentarios, algunos son anarquistas y también hay un comunista. No sé si este será considerado. Todavía Martin no me ha escrito sobre el particular. Pasa de que haya consultado con vosotros. Se trata de facilitarles los medios para viajar a Francia, desde donde, según me ha dicho Martin, se les ayudaría para llegar a su destino. Me gustaría recibir vuestras instrucciones sobre este asunto también. Me acaba de telefonar Darling para decirme que no tiene inconveniente en que la cuenta en el Banco esté a nombre de los dos. Esto me satisface, pues así podré controlar que el dinero sea bien administrado.

cg

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Londres, 16 de Enero de 1937.

19616

Secretaría,
Comité Regional,
CNT-FAI,
Barcelona.

Queridos camaradas:

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En mi plan para mi actuación aquí sometido a vosotros antes de mi partida expuse que los gastos de una campaña sumarían unas cincuenta libras al mes. Ignoraba entonces que la exposición que tenía pensado celebrar en Londres de fotografías y carteles iba a costar tanto. Después de estudiarlo pude comprobar que una exposición independiente hubiera costado no menos de setenta y cinco libras. Esto sin pagar el trabajo que tendrían que hacer los artistas. Sin embargo, se os trato comunicaros que la exposición se llevará ahora a cabo en cooperación la de la Independent Labour Party (Partido Independiente Obrero) y otras organizaciones. Va a ser una grande e importante exposición, demostrativa del panorama completo de España antes y después del 19 de Julio. Estoy segura que despertará el sentimiento antifascista y revolucionario en el público inglés más que nada. La exposición costará £500. La I.L.P. ha contribuido ya £100 y otras organizaciones han donado cantidades más pequeñas. En nombre de la CNT-FAI yo he prometido £30, siendo esta suma menos que la mitad de lo que una exposición independiente hubiera costado. Por otra parte con £30 que hay que rebajar de las cien libras que vosotros me dais para mis actividades aquí.

En cuanto a los resultados positivos de la exposición, una de las condiciones que puse cuando convine celebrarla conjuntamente con la I.L.P., fué que la CNT-FAI recibiría participación en cualquier beneficio que fuere realizado por la venta de entradas y diferentes artículos, como albums, pañuelos, fotografías y resto. Asimismo que un lugar de igual importancia sería dado a la colección de fotografías y carteles que yo traje. El comité, compuesto por la I.L.P., la Liga Socialista y la Sociedad Española de ayuda médica, prestaron su conformidad a lo ~~propuesto~~ segundo, pero no a la primera condición. Insistieron en que la exposición había sido organizada originalmente para ayuda de las víctimas del fascismo. Fue entonces que sugerí que cualquier remanente fue-

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Por lo que respecta a una verdadera campaña de propaganda en Inglaterra, a mi llega aquí encontré dos publicaciones, una THE FIGHTING CALL, la otra THE SPAIN AND THE WORLD. En ambos casos se trata de publicaciones anarquistas; pero he de decir que no estoy muy contenta con FIGHTING CALL. No es nada más que un recado del Boletín inglés que yo solía enviar a Glasgow desde Barcelona para los compañeros de dicha población. Pero podría ser convertido en una publicación mensual que valiera la pena, con artículos de España y también de compañeros en América y Europa capacitados para escribir acerca de la importancia de la CNT-FAI. Ello costaría de 12 a 15 libras por mes y comprenderéis que no me es posible contribuir esta suma de los fondos que se me dieron para mi propaganda en Inglaterra.

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Tan pronto como se haya realizado el mitin del día 16 y las cuentas estén listas, os enviaré una relación de lo que se ha gastado de las 100 libras. El importe mayor serán las 30 libras para la exposición.

hora otro asunto algo desagradable para mí. Se trata de mi misión en la Oficina de Propaganda de la Generalidad en Londres. Ten o que manifestar que hasta el presente no he hecho ningún trabajo allí. Mis razones para ello son las

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discrepancias y desorganización encontradas a mi llegada. Stewart, a quien nunca se le debió otorgar mandato alguno, desesperación con él y Darling se encontró con que tenía que hacer frente a deudas por valor de 290 que tenía, que ser pagadas con los Frs. 20.000 recibidos la semana pasada de Tarradellas. Otra razón importante por la que no he tomado parte todavía en el trabajo de la Oficina, es que Darling ignora la posición que yo tendré aquí allí. Antes de mi partida imploré al camarada Carbo para que me diera una carta oficial indicando la pauta que yo debería seguir en el trabajo con Darling y quien quiera que sea la otra persona de la oficina. Hasta ahora Carbo no ha hecho nada, y desde mi llegada le he escrito dos veces sin que hasta ahora haya recibido respuesta. Sin embargo, no puedo representarla, estando las cosas como están, a la CNT en la Oficina de Propaganda, hasta que la cosa se clarifique. Os ruego, por tanto, traten conseguir que Carbo me envíe carta con instrucciones inmediatamente. Ello es de suma importancia, ya que de otra forma Darling podrá decir que me estoy metiendo en sus asuntos, o mas bien dicho, en la manera en que él ha administrado la oficina hasta la fecha, cosa que ignoro, pero lo que se es que antes de que yo pueda afiliarme con él en la Oficina ha de aclararse todo lo concerniente a la forma en que han sido gastados los fondos. Lo quiero decir esto que yo desconfío de Darling. No lo conozco lo suficiente para decir, ni tampoco se hasta donde será posible colaborar con él. Sólo deseo que todo quede saldadamente cancelado y limpio por lo que a mí pueda concernir. Si en la oficina con todas precauciones son pocos cuando se trata de manejar dinero en la propaganda, he insistido que la cuenta en el Banco de la Oficina de la Generalidad se abra a nombre de Darling y no y que todos los cheques que sean emitidos lleven las firmas de nosotros dos. Espero que Darling aprobará esto. Hace dos días Darling me dijo que tenía que marchar a Barcelona para varios asuntos y que él me daría su pasaje. Conveniría que Carbo lo viera y arreglase con él nuestras respectivas posiciones, indicándole claramente qué puesto va a ser el mío en la oficina, que yo misma ignoro y no sabré hasta que se me envíen instrucciones. Sin ellas no me atrevería volver como representante de la Generalidad, prefiriendo devolver mi mandato y concentrar mis esfuerzos enteramente en trabajar por la CNT-FAI. Os escribo todo esto a vosotros por, e me llego a convencerme de que si lo hago pronto no os contestaréis y no tengo mucho tiempo que perder.

Os suplico, queridos camaradas que me contestéis pronto.

EMMA.

He pedido a Martin que os vea con respecto a mi orden por otros 1000 pañuelos. También preciso 250 ejemplares del album de tarjetas postales. También hace días escribí al camarada Souhy para que se entrevistase con vosotros a fin de daros una invitación para visitar a España a nuestra camarada Rosa Pesotta, Vice-presidenta Nacional de la "International Ladies Garment Workers Union", una organización que cuenta con 250.000 miembros en América. Ella me ha escrito diciéndome que le gustaría mucho organizar una misión de compañeros simpatizantes con nuestra causa para visitar España y ver la labor constructiva que realiza la CNT-FAI. Esta visita le proporcionaría a ella la oportunidad de hacer una enorme labor en los Estados Unidos en pro de la Revolución española y la guerra antifascista. No sé si el camarada Souhy ha hecho algo en este asunto; pero he de señalaros que urge extender tal invitación a Rosa Pesotta, quien es nuestra mejor y más competente trabajadora en el movimiento obrero en América. La camarada Pesotta desearía especialmente estudiar el desarrollo de vuestras fábricas de textiles. Si os interesa cuanto os dejo dicho, pueden enviar la invitación a las

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[Letter] 1937 Jan. 16, London [to] Comité Regional, CNT-FAI, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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señas siguientes:-

Rosa Pesotta,
Nat. Vice-President of the International Ladies
Garments Workers Union,
395, St. Catherine Street,
MONTREAL, Que.,
CANADA.

En la actualidad esta allí haciendo trabajo de organización. Al hacer la invitación mencionen que ella puede traer algunas de las personas radicales del movimiento obrero que se interesan por España. Cuando me contesten la presente diganme si han enviado la invitación o no. Me parece que la camarada Rosa habla español, pues ella actuó activamente en la organización de las obreras en Puerto Rico. Para terminar, pero muy importante. El camarada Martin me escribió con respecto a compañeros que deseen marchar a España, diciéndome que todos tenían que ser anarquistas. Le he contestado que hay tan pocos en Inglaterra que no vale la pena pensar en ello. Desde entonces he recibido una lista de Glasgow. La mayoría son antiparlamentarios, algunos son anarquistas y también hay un comunista. No se si este será considerado. Todavía Martin no me ha escrito sobre el particular. Puede que haya consultado con vosotros. Se trata de facilitarles los medios para viajar a Francia, desde donde, según me ha dicho Martin, se les ayudaría para llegar a su destino. Me gustaría recibir vuestras instrucciones sobre este asunto también.

Me acaba de telefonar Darling para decirme que no tiene inconveniente en que la cuenta en el Banco este a nombre de los dos. Esto me satisface, pues así podré controlar que el dinero sea bien administrado.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001105

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 16, London [to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 17 x 20 cm.

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Londres, 16 de Enero de 1937.

Querido camarada Roca:

La presente es para presentarte a Mr. Donald Darling, quien marcha para Barcelona. Yo deseaba que él te conociese y también que te llevase esta carta.

Te incluyo copias de las cartas que envío al Comité Regional, Carbo y Herrera.

Podrás ver que todavía no he ingresado en la Oficina de la Generalidad, ni podré hacerlo hasta recibir las necesarias instrucciones de Barcelona. Siempre he mantenido mi integridad personal durante los años que llevo en el movimiento en todo cuanto al manejo de fondos se refiere, y quiero seguir así toda mi vida. Este es el motivo de mantenerme tan firme en mi demanda de instrucciones concretas. Además, sería mas justo tanto para Darling como para mí. El realizaría que no es cuestión personal o que yo trataba de imponerme. Es joven y las personas jóvenes se recientan si alguien de más edad trata de darles órdenes.

El trabajo aquí se hace muy difícil por estar uno tan aislado de España. He alquilado un aparato de Radio con objeto de coger Barcelona; pero los ruidos han sido tan fuertes que no me ha sido posible entender una palabra. Por otra parte, ninguna de las personas a quienes he escrito solicitando noticias de Barcelona me las ha dado.

Si mal no recuerdo, querido camarada, a ti también te he rogado me mandes noticias de nuestra lucha. ¿No podrías hacerlo en una larga carta dos veces por semana? Después de todo tu estás en continuo y estrecho contacto con Barcelona. Si tu hicieras esto me prestarías una gran ayuda en mi trabajo.

SALUD.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 16 London to Facundo Roca, Paris (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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Londres, 16 de Enero de 1937.

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Querido camarada Herrera:

Tengo que darte mis expresivas gracias por la pronta atención que has prestado para aclarar la confusión e irresponsabilidad de Fabregas y Calvet con respecto a la exposición de arte y los gastos innecesarios que me han ocasionado. Resultaron ser £50 y no £38, según pude descubrir a mi llegada. Esta suma pudo haber sido empleada con mejores resultados en mi campaña de publicidad en nombre de la CNT-FAI en Inglaterra. Por desgracia yo tomé en serio la autoridad de Fabregas y Calvet para decidir sobre la exposición, que ahora veo no tenían. Mi mayor pesar es que yo no manejare la exposición de arte. Hubiese sido la ~~una~~ ~~pieza~~ ~~mayor~~ ~~de~~ ~~propaganda~~ ~~de~~ ~~Cataluña~~ ~~y~~ ~~su~~ ~~heroica~~ ~~lucha~~. No deploro tanto esta pérdida por Inglaterra como por América. Hubiese ayudado a nuestros amigos allí a obtener una visa para mí por seis meses, lo que a su vez me hubiese proporcionado hacer una inmensa propaganda por la CNT-FAI, tanto moral como económicamente. En fin, ya no puede ser y hay que conformarse.

He escrito una extensa carta al Comité Regional sobre mis actividades en ésta; la necesidad de ayudar a nuestras dos publicaciones sobre España y también acerca de mis relaciones con la Oficina de la Generalidad en Londres. Ruégote pidas a la Secretaría que te dejen leer mi carta y tal vez podrás hacerles presente que es preciso solucionar pronto varios de los asuntos tratados en dicha carta. Me gustaría que Carbo tuviese la actividad y prontitud que tu. Así sería más fácil trabajar con él. Imagínate que hasta la fecha no he tenido contestación de él a ninguna de mis cartas, pidiéndole varias cosas. Entre ellas una carta en la que se detallara qué es lo que yo tengo que hacer en la Oficina de la Generalidad en Londres. Tal carta sería innecesaria si yo sólo fuese la encargada del trabajo; pero con otra persona trabajando allí y por la misma causa es imperativo que yo sepa la parte que a mí me corresponde. Yo no puedo entrar en la Oficina hasta que obren en mi poder las instrucciones de la Oficina de Propaganda de la Generalidad en Barcelona. Te suplico uses tu influencia y me consigas la referida carta.

Le escribió Roca diciéndome que tu le habías dicho que 5.000 francos habían sido girados a Darling antes de la ayuda de 20.000 frs. mensuales. Darling me ha dicho que no ha recibido dicha suma. Ha recibido los Frs. 20.000, pero no los 5.000. ¿Puedes tu hacer luz sobre el asunto? Desde que Stewart se marchó con las consabidas £106 no las tengo todas conmigo en lo que asuntos de dinero atañe a la Oficina, en la que no podré colaborar hasta que todo esté completamente aclarado.

Querido camarada, no se de nadie en Barcelona que actúe con prontitud. Así que tendré que depender en ti. Carbo me encargó que buscara una persona adecuada, un socialista, que pudiera representar a los socialistas de la Generalidad en la Oficina de Londres. Encontré a un muchacho joven de la Independent Labour Party, quien pudiera ser la persona que se desea. Ya he escrito sobre él a Souchy y a Carbo, pidiéndoles me digan si este muchacho debe ir a Barcelona, ya que supongo que los camaradas desearán conocerlo y darle sus instrucciones. Asimismo me parece necesario que puedan decir que ha estado en Barcelona, aun que sólo sea por unas semanas. Además, tendrá que abonársele el pasaje a ésa. Hazme el favor de ver a Carbo, Meretvillas y al otro camarada en la Oficina y que me telegrafíen instrucciones sobre este particular. El joven de que se trata se llama Reginald Reynolds. Ha sido organizador y secretario de un movimiento llamado aquí "THE NO MORE WAR MOVEMENT" (Movimiento en contra de la Guerra). Presentó la dimisión porque no estaba conforme con la opinión de los demás miembros sobre la guerra antifascista en España. Esto prueba sus intereses revolucionarios. Pero por supuesto él es un miembro de la

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001096

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 16 London to Facundo Roca, Paris (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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I. L. P. y aunque es muy conocido en todos los círculos obreros y tiene acceso a ellos, los socialistas en la Oficina de Barcelona puede que no lo consideren competente. De cualquier forma, debe recibir una contestación lo más pronto posible.

SALUD.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005076

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 16 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 33 cm.
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Sehr gerne ist Ihnen nur noch zu sagen, daß
ich Ihnen von fiktiver fiktiver Preis für
eine Arbeit über den Frieden bekommen habe.

So sehen, meine Biographie ist noch
frisch. Ob Sie wollen Sie noch erwähnen,
daß ich als Journalist bereits in allen
Ländern Europas gewesen bin und darüber ge-
schrieben habe?

Sollte Sie denken, daß Druck in England
nicht anbringen zu können, schicken Sie es
mir ruhig zurück; ich werde dann selbst
mein Bestes versuchen.

Mit allen besten Wünschen
Ihre H. G.

16. 1. 37.
An Emma Goldman
Liebste Emma,

Ich möchte Ihnen mit der Hand, dass Sie
die neue den jungen Tag an der Hand mit
hört in französischer Sprache die Druck, die mir
übrigens bereits zum besten Verstande.

Es war mir von vornherein klar, daß Sie
mit vielen nicht unverständlichen den wissen; jeder
nicht ohne großes Ding unter, mit ich bin oben-
Tage Ihre Anarchie. Daß Sie die Hand
helfen anbringen wollen, ist sehr freundlich
von Ihnen. Die Frage, ob Sie Augen
5 oder 10 Prozent zu zahlen sind, stehen

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 16 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 33 cm.

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20014

ich Ihnen mit,

Sie haben die letzten vier Exemplare
bekommen, auch das letzte in der
Ihre und Sie empfinden das nicht so
angenehm, indem auf das Aufheben?
Verbreiten und propagieren sind Ihre Dinge
absolut notwendig.

Nun soll ich Ihnen eine Biographie
von mir schreiben in französischer. Aber: Ich
habe Nationalökonomie und Literaturgeschichte
studiert und bin in der Selbigen zum Doktor
in Philosophie geworden. In Rom,

Paris und London bin ich lange als Korrespondent
gewesen. Außerdem war ich in der letzten alle großen
Verbreiten der Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, sowie in
einigen anderen Ländern. In der letzten Zeit
ich regelmäßig seit 1919 oder 1920, als Mitglied
im Gefängnis war, war ich, abwechselnd mit H.
von der Zeit, der Zeit. Im Jahr 1923
habe ich eine Buch über die internationalen
Feminismus veröffentlicht und die letzten Zeit-
schrift Katholikis auf French übersetzt.
Das Buch hat sogar eine Rolle in dem
Prozess gegen die Katholikis gespielt.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001099

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 17, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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19555

Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.

Secretary—Frank Leech,
287 Netherton Road,
GLASGOW, W.3.

Treasurer—J. B. Andrew,
207 Waddell Street, S.S.

January, 17th. 1937.

Emma Goldman,
Information Service,
C.N.T.-F.A.I.
18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London.W.14.

Dear Comrade,

Received both your telegram and letter and regret delay in not writing earlier.

We have booked the hall for 2-30 p.m. on the 21st. February, and are now awaiting the Magistrate's permit (we cannot get the hall without this). We have an intensive advertising campaign in preparation and should fill the hall, which holds 1,800. We understood, of course, that the proceeds ~~are~~ to go to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and I presume you will make a special appeal from the platform for pounds etc., and we should get a good response.

£61 were collected at a demonstration here last Sunday, run by a local Spanish Relief Committee, on which we have a delegate. We suggested they give contributions to the C.N.T.-F.A.I., but because of the various political opinions represented the above amount was sent to the Scottish Medical Unit. Comrade McDougall was our speaker at this demonstration and he stressed the magnificence of the work of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Galloway I.R. was there. He was made uneasy by Miss Jacobson of the Scottish Medical Unit referring to the P.C.U.I. and not to the P.S.U.

My wife and I have arranged for you to have one of our rooms whilst you are here, if this will suit you. Re airling train fare, shall we send this on to you before

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[Letter] 1937 Jan. 17, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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19556

hand or do you have as much to pay your fare up and we can refund it when you arrive.

Our Paisley group have made a request that you speak in Paisley for a short period the same evening. Could you manage this, and whilst here would you like to address our comrades personally with regard to the International Association. There is a likelihood of our organisation affiliating to the I.W.M.A.

With reference to your query about the Communist on my list, he is not a party member, he left it some years ago, but is not an Anti-parliamentarian or Anarchist.

Confidentially, what do you think of Captain White, is he well able to put the case for the C.H.F.? He was in Glasgow for some time round about 1920-21, and is well-known in the Irish Republican Movement. If he understands anarchist principles thoroughly and would be willing to take a campaign here, we could organise this campaign, especially amongst the Irish people, in Glasgow, it would do a lot to counter the lies of the R.C. Church and the Irish Fascists under O'Duffy.

Let me know as soon as you can how many days you can allow in Glasgow so that we may arrange other meetings. We will inform you of any further developments and supply you with drafts of leaflets etc. as soon as they are ready.

By the way, if you have any grand home records available of any of the Spanish Revolutionary songs, we would be very pleased if you could forward on one or two, charging the cost to us.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Frank Leech

Secretary.

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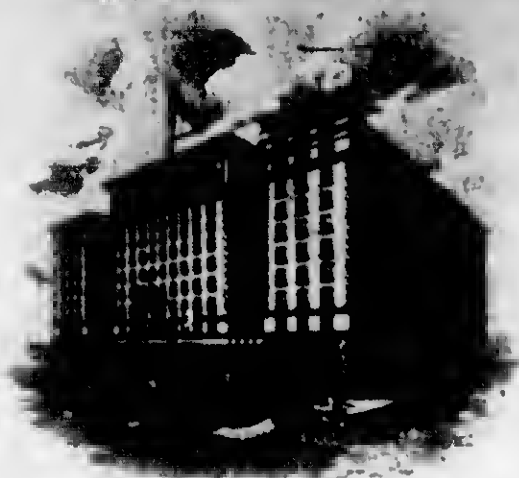
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871001237

[Letter] 193[7] Jan. 18, Montreal [to Emma Goldman, London] / Rose Pesotta. — 2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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CABLE ADDRESS: "MOUNTROYAL"



1000 ROOMS - 1000 BATHS

VERNON G. CARDY

"Dear Comrades:



198.09

MOUNT ROYAL HOTEL

MONTREAL
CANADA

January 18, 1936

Although we did not write to each other for some time, I am in touch with Stella and she keeps me posted of your whereabouts.

Last week I was in Washington where I met Gardner Jackson, he presided at your meeting he said, and I spoke to him about your contemplated visit. He did not know exactly what he could do, so I gave Stella his address and hope that they will be in touch about the matter.

Was in Flint and Detroit where the auto workers are staging a sit-down or stay-in strike, and company in this case the powerful General Motors can not even drive them out with the classic water-hose, because they are sitting tight inside the plants and anything done to them will of course cause damage to their machinery. The spirit of the strikers is most excellent. They are now well equipped with young and militant leadership, their own rank & file being educated for the past several years in Workers Education classes, have now some knowledge of elementary economics, which knowledge was sadly neglected for many years. Honestly I was inspired by their enthusiasm and determination "to stick it out" rather than go on relief while working. Today they are supposed to evacuate the plants, tomorrow the conferences will begin. Whatever they will gain now will be a stepping stone for something better in the near future. I learned that their ranks are infested with Pinkerton spies, thugs and stooges who were able through their sleek ways to gain high positions but never the confidence of the workers. Powers Hapgood and myself are among the "leaders" who enjoy the confidence of the workers. Powers remained there while I had to return here.

In Montreal I am spending this winter working up a sentiment for a union in the dress industry. Ten thousands girls are employed under starvation wages. The workers are French-Canadians-the employers Jews. These Jews are now contriving to establish a Catholic syndicate together with the Catholic church-to give us, the International Union a fight. We took up the challenge and will begin right now. Whoever comes out victorious we know that the girls will learn something.

Before I started this fight here I was very anxious to come and help you. Hapgood too wanted to go to Spain, but I could not simply pick up and go. Hence the Spanish comrades in Detroit suggested that we find out whether they need any help at all. If yes to write either to me directly or to Dubinsky, so that I could depart legally. If however our comrades can not understand that--let us forget about it. Some time when I shall be free from this organizing work I

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[Letter] 193[7] Jan. 18, Montreal [to Emma Goldman, London] / Rose Pesotta. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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shall take a trip myself. For the time being things are moving fast here and I shall be busy anyway for the next three or four months.

Stella sent me the "Manchester Guardian" interview. I copied it and am sending it out to some of our friends, who read in the communist press that you don't do anything since you left Russia. By the way the communists are very busy here sending their emissaries to Spain who return shortly and make cross-country tours telling the world what the U.S.S.R. is doing for Spain. Some of the P.O.U.M. faction is also having its lecturers I've met several in several cities here and across the border. It is very bad.

Dubinsky collected money but some of it remained laying in a bank because he did not know where to send it or what to send. Last week Gardner Jackson met him, he is touch with some committee which is touch with the official circles (these panhandling committees have sprung up like mushrooms these last several months—part of the monies collected never reach their destination, I am sure) and he received a direct cable-gram asking for lard, meat etc. etc. So this will be forwarded in the near future.

Our own comrades are doing their bit, collecting clothing and other necessities which are sent regularly.

In Montreal we can not even mention a word about Spain--there is a ban on everything. We had a radio broadcast and Walter Schevenells, the Sec'y General of the International Federation of Trade Unions spoke about Spain--since then we can not obtain a radio. So while I am here I can do nothing.

Let us know where you go next from London, if there is no chance to get a visa to the U.S.A.

With love,

Rose

Regards from the comrades

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871001213

[Letter 1937 Jan. 18, Montreal to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / Rose [Pesotta].— 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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1000 ROOMS - 1000 BATHS

VERNON G. CAROY
MANAGING DIRECTOR



MOUNT ROYAL HOTEL

MONTREAL
CANADA

19771

January 18, 1936

Dear Stella:

Enclosed is the clipping, you will not mind, but I copied it to send out to some "communist" friends who have given Emma the title of "former agitator".

I am really sorry that my proposition has made Emma uncomfortable. I did not mean that the CNF invite me as an organizer. I simply meant that if they need any help at all in some organizers whether on field of labor unions, or Education I might be able to help them, only I can not leave my post unless they is some special need of my services. When the Rubber Workers or the Automobile Workers wanted me to come they wrote to us formally so that the President could not refuse to give me a leave. However be that as it may we shall not even try to make another attempt, the Spanish comrades in Stelton suggested that to me first. Knowing the Spanish comrades as good as Emma (we worked for several years together in one center in N.Y so I have some idea of their mental make-up) we shall leave this in obedience. I am, however worried very much with their overenthusiasm over their new government. They probably do not realize it, but the U.S.S.R. is cashing in on everything done there now, and before long will give them a taste of "communist stuff".

When writing to Emma please explain this to her. I do not want to be invited as an organizer. I simply meant if there is any need of such like myself to tell us--that is all. My plan was to come and help them with publicity, organization, hospital or school work or trade union work. It is my field and I can see from press reports (our own press reports) that in these fields they need help. Many of the communist fractions have been sending in their agents who upon their return make country-wide lecture tours, I have heard several already, and it do not like their praising the "soviet union" for everything good done either in Catalonia or elsewhere. I shall write a letter to Emma myself.

Dubinsky has been now in touch with Gardiner Jackson and will contribute the monies collected towards the fund to dispatch food and clothing to Madrid. You should be in constant touch with Gardner he is on the scene and will help I am sure. As soon as the post held by Colonel Mc Cormack is filled, please let me know.

I expect to be in N.Y. the first week in April

Hope you feel better soon Rose

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 18, Holt [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Philip A. Smithells. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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19830

GRESHAM'S SCHOOL,
HOLT, SUFFOLK.

18.1.37

Dear Miss Goldman,

Dr S. Vere Pearson told me yesterday that it might be possible to persuade you to come and talk on Spain at this school.

I nominally run an L.N.U. branch, but many of our meetings are on general international or national problems.

I asked the Headmaster today about inviting you down & he suggested that you should address the whole senior school (about 220). I think you would find an alert & thinking audience, very eager for information. I expect there are many demands upon you at present, but I hope it may be possible for you to visit us.

If you do think it possible, would you please suggest a date — or two

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Our calendar is fairly free at present.
We could of course pay your expenses
+ might manage a small fee from our
L.N.U. funds.

Yours faithfully

Philip A. Smithells

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 19, London [to Hanns-Erich and] Anita [Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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London Jan 19th 37.

Dear Ann, dear Anita.

I received your letter of the 16th inst. What have I done to thee dear Ann to send me the data of your life in handwriting. I call this cruelty to animals. Anyhow, I have to have two copies, one for London and America and it has to be typewritten. It will be done tomorrow and it will go to America with your MSS. and my letter to my friend, Arthur Leonard Ross. My dear author you are zu voreilig. You did not even wait until I read the second part and would write you my impressions. As it happens I liked it even better than the first. It is more vivid, more alive. In point of truth I like both. I do think your interview with Montseny is too drawn out and rather uninteresting lacking in color. I feel this for the sake of the success of your book. I know that Anglo-Saxon readers get bored by such a long yarn unless it is made interesting. But that I did not mean to say that you would have to change it. Or change anything in your MSS.

I admit I do not think you have presented the economic angle of anarchism. True, Bakunin advanced collectivism as the economic basis of a future society. But Kropotkin, Malatesta and Reclus to mention only three of the most distinguished theoreticians of modern Anarchism repudiated Collectivism as untenable in an Anarchist society. They stood out for Anarchist Communism with socialisation as the foundation of such a society. But it is your right to interpret the Spanish experiment in your way. I certainly would never dream of refusing to carry out my promise to place your book of this difference between us. Anyhow, the MSS goes tomorrow without fail.

The reason I have not yet placed here is I was trying to have my literary friends suggest the most likely publishers. I already have one in mind whom I will get in touch with tomorrow, and you can rest assured I will place it here as well. The MSS looks bad. But we will take a chance.

Now about last night's meeting. It would have done you both good to be present. It was a packed hall, about 800 people and about five hundred turned away. The response was most enthusiastic. Unfortunately our collectors were rotten. They bungled our chances of a large collection. But as it is we received over 57 pounds. I am appealing for funds, for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. The most encouraging response was made by an Italian who offered to finance another large meeting. We are going to have it next month, and I will speak on the relation of the Spanish Church with Spanish Reaction and Fascism. So you see my dears I have had a beginning. I could do a great deal if I had the right help. But much as I hate to admit it we have only few comrades in England and they are not worth very much. It is particularly sad because our greatest men and women lived and worked in England.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005014

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 19, London [to Hanns-Erich and] Anita [Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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and they created a movement which the war and the Myth of
Bolshevism have killed.

With love to both of you.

The Emma Goldman papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 19, London [to] Mollie Steimer, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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20094

2x London Jan. 19th 37.

Mollitchka, my Dearest. Your letter came Saturday, and what a letter. It was like a thunder clap from a clear sky. Darling why do you not first find out from those concerned in the charge you make for the reasons they might have before you condemn them? Surely life should have taught you that there are two sides to every question, especially as regards people in public life. I do not deny that if the comrades of the CNT-FAI stopped the ESPAGNE ANTI FASCIST because of Volin's stand in the paper it would be a terrible outrage. But may there not be something else back of some intrigue from Paris who are perhaps against the paper which Volin edited? I am suggesting this because it seems incredible for the same group in Barcelona who permit the paper in Lerida to indulge in constant criticisms of the CNT, and yet to censure ESPAGNE ANTI FASCIST. I have forgotten the name of the Lerida Anarchist paper, I have it somewhere and I also some of the criticism and I have not the time to search for it now. But you may believe me that the Lerida comrades came out with very strong criticism against the entry in the Ministry of our people, against militarization, in fact it is critical all the time. And when I was in Lerida and talked to the comrades who publish the paper they were not only critical they were condemnatory. It therefore strikes me as strange that our Barcelona comrades should give Lerida full freedom of expression, and deny the same outside of Spain. I feel the matter with ESPAGNE ANTI FASCIST should be examined and gone into thoroughly before we our comrades of the CNT-FAI are concerned.

Now, I don't care to arouse suspicion to any body. But I want to tell you frankly that I am rather dubious about Besnard. He was in Spain quite recently and for some time in fact he came before I left. I wonder if it might not have been he who put a flea in the ears of the CNT-FAI? I may all be mistaken. But as I said I think there is more back of the order to stop the paper than merely Volin's article. And I hope we can find out what it is first before we condemn or protest.

About the steps taken by the Spanish comrades with which I no more agree than you, or Senia. It is strange however that our positions should have changed. You and Senia resented my saying that our comrades should not have allied themselves with the Communists, or the government as far as that is concerned. You were even afraid of my going to Spain because I was critical of the CNT-FAI. Well, I still hold that the comrades made the blunder of their lives to go into the united front. But here is the difference between now. You are now sitting in judgment on our people who are daily facing danger, and who are surrounded by enemies on every side while I having been on the spot have come to realize that once they went into the so-called united front they could do nothing else but go further. In other words the one mistake, the one wrong step inevitably led to others as it always does. I am more than ever firmly convinced that if the comrades had remained firm on their own grounds they would have remained stronger than they are now. But I repeat, once they have

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have made common cause for the period of the anti fascist war they were driven by the logic of events to go further. Actually the comrades entered the Ministry only after every other method they suggested for a Defense Council of the war had been refused by Caballero. They were up before the alternative to ~~withdrawing the government~~ to put Caballero to the wall and with him his Cabinet or go into the government if they were to have any voice in the direction of the war. Surely you and Senia and the others will not suggest that the anti fascist war is now not of the greatest and first importance, will you? Well, our comrades had no choice whatever. They could not afford to drive Caballero and his gang of politicians out of the government by force. For that would not only have strengthened the hand of Franco but the whole International proletariat including some of our Anarchists would have turned against the CNT-FAI. ~~That~~ Our comrades really did not choose, circumstances chose for them. If they had not submitted to the inevitable Franco would now be in possession of Spain and there would have been no Anarchists left in Spain for the anarchists of the rest of the world to find fault with them or condemn them. This is the situation my darling. Take it or leave it. But before you decide go to Spain and see everything for yourself.

Surely you do not think I have changed by Anarchism by closing my eyes to the harm the participation of the CNT-FAI in the government. I would despair utterly if I had not learned to understand the psychology of our Spanish comrades. They are a different breed. They have shown that by their bulldogged organizational work since 1911 in spite of all they suffered. And they have proven it by the fact that Anarchism to them was never a cold and grey theory for a lot of misfits who come to us in every country. And because Anarchism is such a living force to them I am not so uneasy about their entry in the Ministry as I would with comrades of any other country. I am certain that if they will win the war the government will mean a mere scrap of paper to them and they will tear it to bits. I am therefore more patient with the Spanish comrades than I would be with any others. Besides, let's not deceive ourselves we have no movement worthy of the name in any other country. Even in Sweden the Syndicalists are more that than Anarchists. As to France you know what I have and do think of our French comrades. Spain alone has built up a magnificent movement, Spain alone has brought about the Social Revolution. Spain alone is making a magnificent constructive effort. I do not care what other comrades think of the wrong steps the CNT-FAI have made. For myself I can say deplorable as they are they are yet insignificant with the scope and grandeur of the work they are doing and of the example they are setting the whole world.

Just as you are hasty to give your verdict of the action of the CNT-FAI in re ESPAGNE ANTIFASCISTE So too are you hasty in your judgment of me. Now I am not representing the Generalitat. I am representing the CNT in

The Emma Goldman papers

871005116

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 19, London [to] Molli[e Steimer, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 25 x 19 cm.

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in the Generalidad. And I am representing it in one thing only the anti fascist war. To raise funds for it and to put it in its true light before the British public. I have nothing whatever to do with the political side, with singing a song of praise to Mr Comanys, or any other party in the Generalidad. Now why this should be so heinous I can not understand. True, ~~it is~~ I have always and still ~~condemned~~ condemned governments. But so too I have always condemned war. Yet the extraordinary ~~circumstances~~ events force me to work for this war. Perhaps I do not consider the Generalidad quite so vicious as the Caballero government. Actually it is not. It has damned little to say in Catalunya. And it is very much more liberal than the rotten Communists. However, as I do not represent the Generalidad except as I say in safe guarding the interests of the CNT, you and Senia need not fear that I am disavowing you.

As to ~~the~~ my cooperation with the "English Marxists". My dear it is to laugh. Do you mean to say that having a member of the Independent Labor Party speak at our meeting ~~means~~ means "cooperating with the English Marxists". As long as I have been in our movement, not forty five but forty eight years did I object to Socialists speaking with me on the same platform. Especially when it ~~concerned~~ concerned an world issue, and even more so when I knew that the Socialist were sympathetic to our people. Now, no anarchist could have spoken more beautifully of the CNT-FAI as Fenner Brockway did last night. I'll grant you that his motive in seeking a rapprochement with the CNT-FAI may not be quite disinterested. But the fact remains he did pay beautiful tribute to the CNT-FAI. And that is all that matters. I did not make a pact with the I.L.P. I did not pledge myself or the CNT-FAI, in other words "the cooperation" was for the meeting, or any other meeting organized by ourselves. Perhaps if we had a movement, or at least a dozen efficient and able comrades it might not have been necessary to accept the offer of Fenner Brockway for his party. But I have told you hundreds of times we have no one here. Not one intelligent and efficient comrade. Now as I could not very well, distribute hand bills, play the chairman, make the collection and speak besides I was damned glad to accept Fenner's offer. If that makes me in consistent in your and Senia's eyes and in those of other comrades I am sorry. But I must remain free to use my own judgment. I am certain both the Sasha and Rudolf would have acted the same way. They would have agreed that there is no compromise in this whatsoever.

As to the exhibition, I never heard of anybody suggesting an inconsistency in a joint exhibition with other people so long as the conditions one makes are accepted. My reasons for my joining the Committee which by the way does not consist only of the I.L.P. but of all sorts of societies interested in Spain who are raising money here because I had neither the money nor the people to organize it ~~myself~~ independently. It would have cost from sixty to seventy pounds and there was

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20097

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no one outside of Hanes and another artist to help. And then even it would have been doubtful whether a place could be found that would not have demanded eight pounds for the month rent alone. Galleries are frightfully expensive here. It meant there for no exhibition at all or join up the other project and have a very large exhibition that will call tremendous attention. You evidently forget that it was fairly easy to be independent in Paris with Senia and Domela to help and an organisation to furnish the fund. Yet with all that you raised three thousand francs. I consider that an insignificant amount for the splendid labors rendered. However that was not my consideration in accepting the invitation to join the large Committee. It was the certainty that our exhibition could never hope for the same publicity propaganda and attendance than the large one will offer. And as the CNT-FAI material is to be given equal place of importance as the rest and a share of the proceeds if there will be any I do not see my inconsistency. Nor does it mean I have tied myself to the Marxists. But its all right my dears. You are very hasty Mollitchka but I love you just the same.

Our meeting last night was wonderful. About eight hundred people jammed in the Hall and many hundreds sent away. The enthusiasm was very great. The response to my appeal would I am sure have brought in a hundred pounds if our comrades had not muddled up the collection. I simply can never have them again if I have to hire help. But as it is it was \$ 57. The first large amount I ever drew from an audience in England. The most encouraging result was however the eagerness of the audience to have another meeting in a larger hall. One man who gave fifteen pounds last night offered to pay the entire expense for another meeting. I am seeing him tomorrow. I am going to propose a meeting in Queens Hall which is of the caliber of Carnegie Hall. If he can assure expenses by heavens the CNT-FAI will be heard by three thousand people. So you see darling I have made a beginning and I have not compromised our ideas.

The Albums arrived only to day. That would not matter. What matters is the frightful postage. Darling I did write you should send them by post but not by papier des affaires. They could have been sent by book post or parcel post. Now they come to about 2 shillings a piece without the actual price of the Album which you have not written me. I don't see how I will be able to sell them. You write you sell them for 10 francs. Do you pay as much for them. Or what do you pay? Write me by return mail please. In any event I will not realise a sou on these albums owing to the large postage.

I wish you'd find out whether the man you call Calvet writes his name as you spell it. Because if he does he is the charlatan who led me on for two months with the art exhibition. It may be Calvez. In that case he is another man. Please do that for me will you. I am sorry Rosa went to Spain. He was a joy. So dependable and prompt. Love to both of you.
~~Edison and the other two are not to be taken into account~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005013

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 19, London [to Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation?], Glasgow [Scotland] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19897

London Jan. 19th 37

Dear Comrades,

Thanks for your letter. I was so busy with our meeting for last night I could not find a moment to write you. I know you will be delighted to learn that our meeting in Conway Hall was a great success. The Hall was packed and hundreds of people were turned away. The response to my appeal could have been at least twenty or twenty five pounds more if our collectors had not proven so utterly inefficient. But as it was we did receive £57. And a man in the audience offered to finance another meeting which I had suggested to the audience. There is a possibility that we may be able to organize a meeting in Queens Hall the interest is so great. However, I will not know until tomorrow whether this is possible. In any event we will have another meeting in Feb. most likely in the Friends House. As you see it is a very satisfactory beginning.

Now about your meeting. I am glad you have a definite date as I am being asked for dates from various parts of the country. If Puseley does not involve a long trip I am willing to speak there Sunday evening. But it should be a large public meeting. My time just now is too valuable to spend on small gatherings. So if our comrades or friends ~~cannot~~ Puseley can undertake a large meeting I should not care to go there for the present. At another time if you will want he back in Glasgow, or if something in Edinburgh can be arranged I will be glad to take in Puseley.

Do you have a Sunday paper in Glasgow. I ask because I would come Saturday in time for an interview with the Glasgow papers. It would help your meeting. Let me know. You might call up all the papers or have someone do it and ask if they would be interested in ~~xxxx~~ in an interview. If they are I will try to come in the early afternoon. If they do not I will come towards evening. I am not yet certain whether I can remain over for Monday. But we might have the private gathering about the suggested ~~xxxx~~ committees in the provinces.

Thanks for your offer of hospitality. Yes, I will be pleased to have you and comrades ~~xxxx~~ act as my Hostes.

About White. He is able and very willing to work with us. But he is only now beginning to read up on Anarchism. I do not think he should be asked to present our ideas to the public until he really know our ideology. But he is fine in representing the

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19898

ONT-MI. His talk yesterday but for being drawn out a bit too long was splendid. You might have him to speak ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ along the same lines as he did last night.

I am seeing Barr to night. I will ask him to send you one record which has two songs; The MI song "SONS OF THE PEOPLE" AND THE BARFACADE. But this is not Spanish music. It is an old Russian song.

To come back to Palsley. On rereading your letter I see the comrades are concerned in my wellbeing. They ask for me to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to give them a short talk. Well, if I go there I might ~~xxxx~~ as well talk at length and make the appeal as well. As I said if it is not far from Glasgow I am quite willing to go to Paisley for a regular lecture, either the same as in Glasgow which I take it is to be THE PART OF THE ONT MI IN THE ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~, or I might talk on the constructive work, the collectivist factories and land.

I will bring along a lot of things, such as Albums, the Durruti pamphlet, and possibly more records, also handkerchiefs and other things.

Salud to all the comrades.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 20, London [to Julie Gibson and] Chris [Lewis], Bristol [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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19600

London ~~Jan~~, 20th ~~37~~

Dear Auntie, dear Chris.

I heard from Tommy that you would write me. But as you have not done so until now I feel I ought to write you. In fact I should have done so before But I have been swamped with work for our first public meeting for Spain~~xxx~~ and many other ventures for the same cause. You will both be glad to learn that our meeting in Conway Hall Monday was a great success. ~~even~~ hundred people packed the place and many were turned away. The enthusiasm was marvelous. The response to my appeal for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other front gave £57. Another £25 at least was lost because of the inefficiency of our collectors. The most encouraging was the pledge of a man who had contributed £15 who also pledge the expenses of another meeting. We are at work on that now. We may even have it in Queens Hall though that is not certain. But it is certain that it will be either in Kingsway or the FRIENDS HOUSE. Reginald Reynolds is negotiating for these halls. The meeting is to take place sometime in Feb.

Next is the exhibition organised by the I.L.P in which I am taking part at the request of Fenner Brockway. I had planned an independent exhibition. But I was willing to have it jointly my conditions being that the CNT-N.I be given a place of equal importance with the others and that a share of the proceeds if there will be any should go to the Barcelona Health Dept which is carrying the whole brunt of the care of refugees and evacuated women and children from all the fronts. The exhibition will open Feb. 14th.

I go to Plymouth Jan 31st, and to Glasgow Feb 21th. In between we will have the second large meeting and one in the Eastend. Now what I wanted you to let me know is whether you care to undertake the organization of a large meeting in Bristol either on the subject as per inclosed handbill. Or on the relation of the Spanish Church to the Military Putsch in July of last year. I might as well tell you that I am here in two ~~capacities~~ capacities. I represent the CNT-N.I to ~~raise~~ raise as much as possible for the evacuated women and children from the various fronts. And I also represent the CNT N.I in the Catalonian government, or Generalitat as it is called to raise funds for the continuation of the anti-Fascist struggle. A meeting arranged for me to speak on Spain would necessarily have to ~~raise~~ raise money for one or the other of the two purposes. I think that can easily be done by means of my appeals. As you see this has brought £57 here. I want nothing for myself

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871001126

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 20, London [to Julie Gibson and] Chris [Lewis], Bristol [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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RODER

19609

except the fare. I want every penny to go to the marvelous work of our heroic comrades of the CNT-FAI.

Please dear Chris let me know as soon as possible what you think of the possibilities in Bristol for Spain. Reynolds told me you would just be the man to undertake a meeting. I know that from previous times of course. But I do not know whether you ~~can~~ feel inclined to undertake it. Perhaps you can get help from the I.L.P. Some of the members here are very helpful.

How are you dear Auntie. It would be nice to see you again as gay and frisky as you used to be. ~~Excuse me~~ I have not forgotten the nice time we had together and your hearty laughs at my hot American jokes. Love to you my dear.

Please Chris, old chap write me soon. I want to come to Bristol to tell you all the wonderful work our comrades are doing in Catalonia. I feel like born anew to see the ideas I had worked for so many years beginning to sprout.

Give my love to Mary. I owe him a letter but have had no time to write him. I will soon. Remember me to Richard and any one else who remembers me.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 20, Mundesley [England to] Emma Goldman, London / [Sidney] V[ere] Pearson.— 1 p.; 22 × 17 cm.

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17546

Billbank,
Mundesley,
Norfolk.

20th January 1937.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Casselton Road,
London.W.14.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I hear you are about to be invited to
to address the boys and masters at Gresham's School, Holt,
16 miles from here. If you find it possible to pay a
visit to this house during your stay in this neighbourhood
my wife and I would be very pleased to put you up.
Alternatively, perhaps you could be brought over here (or
we could send a car to bring you here) to mid-day dinner
on Sunday, and perhaps one or two of the masters ^{with you}. You could
return to Town from here, or rather from N. Walsham.

You will remember our making an effort
to meet some years ago when you were giving a lecture in
Norwich. The late W.C.Owen was a mutual friend, also I
think you know J.W.Graham Peace and I know you know
Dr.Stella Churchill.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

S. V. Pearson

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005088

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 20, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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20032

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Vía Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona ~~10~~ enero 1937

My dear Emma,

I received your letter of January 9th, only today. I am glad you receive my letters and all. I will answer all your questions immediately. I spoke to all the people you asked me to, and will tell you the results of these conversations. The only one whom I could not speak to, was Carbo. I could not get hold of him, but then very few people ever do.

About the Durruti pamphlets in French and English: As far as I know 1500 pamphlets have been sent the day before yesterday (the greater part in English). If they took so long in getting the pamphlets done, it was not the fault of the Revolution, nor of the Spaniards, but of money. As soon as they were paid, the pamphlets were delivered.

And about the film... I can come to no understanding with these people. I have been told that your film has been sent to London. If it has got lost in Perpignan or in Paris, I could not tell. Moreover, the people who have the direct responsibility, must attend to this matter.

Handkerchiefs I shall send off to night to the address of Barr, 200 or 250 pieces.

I learn from your letter + received today, that you have had luck with your collaborators. I used to think that Darling was a serious man, but now I see that this is not so. Should one day I be able to talk to Carbo, I shall certainly talk this over with him also. And I shall remind him of the letter he promised to write to you. I shall also speak to Ferrera on the first occasion.

Souchy has gone to Paris. He is always touring about. May be he will also go to London, but this is not at all certain.

The day before yesterday the Durruti pamphlets have been sent off, also 1000 copies of the album ESTAMPAS DE LA REVOLUCION and 500 albums 19 DE JULIO (Ilse tells me that she sent ~~xx~~ some 30 copies of the pamphlet to the address of Barr before). The cases with the pamphlets and albums have been sent to the address of the SOCIALIST BOOKSHOP, as required.

About photos: the CNT liquidated the photo section some time ago. Now it takes about 3 weeks to get anything done. They are

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871005088

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 20, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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20033

now busy reestablishing this section, but like everything in Spain, it will at least take a month until it is ready and functioning. Don't expect wonders. Perhaps you can get some from the Generalidad-Photo-Archiv. I shall try to get some from them and also some of the International Brigade, but I will not promise anything. If I meet Montseny and Puig, I shall ask them to send you photos, or better give them to me and I shall send them on to you.

The wave length of our Radio is:

E.C.N.1 Radio CNT-FAI, Barcelona

ultrashort waves 42,88 m (frequency 6995,1 Kcs.)
normal wave 222,55 m (frequency 1348 Kcs.)

We are broadcasting in English at 20.30 every night.

I must tell you that at the moment I am not doing very much in the way of propaganda. That interests me most just now, is the youth and their movement. I asked you for some names for this purpose. Of all the addresses on the list which was sent, hardly any can be used. What we are interested in are Anti-bolsheviks. If there are no such comrades in England, we would rather have nobody from England come here. I don't know who THOMAS SAUNDERS is. If he is a good fellow, send him here. The others are all married and have children, and I feel uncomfortable letting these people come here and leave their families. It is much better they don't come at all! And certainly not Robert Ball.

That is all, for today.

fraternally yours

Martin Gudell

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[Letter] 1937 Jan. 21? New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mark [Mratchny]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme

JEWISH WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

21-22 января, 1937г.

Дорогой друг Эмма :-

Правда, верно, что Вас
поздравляют с юбилеем рождения
в Америке.

Как видите, Вам сейчас
уже 75 лет. Празднуете в этот
день. Англо-американская масса со
славою удачи.

Поздравляю, конечно, Гейд.
Но все же время идет за нас
работалось.

Ваше письмо мы напеча-
тали в FR. A.B.B. Stimme. Там
еще не-успели и "Sp. Rev."

Правда пока не удалось
поздравить. Надеюсь, что не
застынет в воздухе и у Custom House.

Ваше письмо
было получено. Это приятно.
Но все же время
идет за нас
работалось.
Ваше письмо
мы напеча-
тали в FR. A.B.B. Stimme.
Там еще не-успели
и "Sp. Rev."

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Jan. 21, London [to Martin Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. —
5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Dear Salie, if it will love it

 Gud

London, January 21st, 1937

Dear Comrades,

You probably know already that I am out of Spain. I can assure you it is much to my regret. I wanted so much to remain with our comrades; but they decided otherwise. In their eagerness to have their case put before the Anglo-Saxon workers in the right light they credited me with more than I deserve. They did not realise that my name in Spain having opened all doors continues to effect capitalist countries like a red cloth does a bull. They thought I could and would rouse the people in England to the understanding and appreciation of the marvellous struggle the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is making. And so I had to leave Spain. It was very painful indeed to leave our brave comrades in danger knowing that I would be in safety in "His Majesty's" country. But since I had put myself and whatever I can still give to the struggle in Spain at the disposal of our comrades, I could not very well refuse their request to go to England for an intensive publicity campaign.

Well, here I am in the country where I have always felt completely lost and where I have never succeeded in reaching people. This time it seems I may really have better luck. But then, the power of attraction is Spain. It is anarchism so maligned and misrepresented as criminal and impractical that has at last been proven a living force. With such a factor to attract English people it will not be so bitter hard as it had been in the past. I will now be able to bask in the glorious sun of the Spanish revolution—of the great courage and fortitude of our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. In point of fact my main quest here is to make the C.N.T.-F.A.I. known in England. So far its importance has been grasped only by the few. On my arrival I found that while much was being done in England for the Anti-Fascist struggle and the various parties allied with the C.N.T.-F.A.I. very little was done for the latter. This partly out of ignorance, and mainly out of deliberateness. This could not have happened had we an anarchist movement in England. Unfortunately we do not! There are a few comrades in London and in a few provincial towns willing enough; but either too old to do much, willing as they are, or not able to make themselves heard. They have done what they could in making the work of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. known. Alas, it was but a drop in the sea. More reason for my being here and straining every nerve to put the C.N.T.-F.A.I. "on the British map" as we used to say in America.

I arrived the 23rd December, rather an unfortunate time to begin a publicity campaign. If anything the English

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 21, London [to Martin Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. —
5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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2

 Gud

make more fuss about Christmas than people do in the States. It is a great holiday here, and this year it was more so, because it gave the Britishers an extra day. Many went away on a holiday. Anyway, I did not think I would succeed in getting even our comrades together; but I did, in fact more came than I had ever seen at a private gathering. I mean in England of course. And greatest of wonders they responded enthusiastically and practically. A mass meeting was agreed upon for which 16 pounds was contributed. It was most encouraging. Never before on my visits to this country have I succeeded in raising 16 pounds in five months.

However, the material response of our comrades and those who are interested in the Spanish struggle, while most necessary, it not so important as the new interest in our ideas in ranks that had always repudiated them in the past. Imagine, I actually found willingness on the part of members of the Independent Labour Party to co-operate with me on behalf of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Thus Fenner Brockway, General Secretary of the I.L.P., has consented to speak at our mass meeting January 18th. And he and other members have shown eagerness for a joint Exhibition of the material I brought from Spain. This is indeed an event. Ten years ago when I tried desperately to make the plight of the political prisoners in Russia known here, not a single person in British Labour ranks would help. Not even Fenner Brockway who is among the most revolutionary in the I.L.P. This time he and others are willing to be of help. But then, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are not to be sneezed at. They are a great force, in fact the most dominant force in Catalonia. One cannot afford to ignore them, especially one's comrades— who are the POUM in Catalonia— have had a change of heart towards the anarchists.

Next to our first mass meeting will come our Exhibition. I have brought handkerchiefs and other things. I had planned an independent Exhibition but I have since decided to throw my stuff in with that of the I.L.P. I have, however, made the condition that C.N.T.-F.A.I. material should have a prominent place and a share of the proceeds after expenses will be covered. I am certain the people I am working with on the Exhibition will keep the agreement.

I said before that the part of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the Spanish struggle is hardly understood by the outside world. I fear even some of our comrades are still looking in understanding of the colossal share our Spanish comrades had and have in events there. I am led to this conclusion by the reports of the condemnation coming from our own ranks. In Holland for instance, some of the pacifist-anarchists are carry-

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Gud

ing on a systematic attack on the C.N.T.-F.A.I., heaping the same insults and calumny on their heads as the fascists do. And from private correspondence I gather that our comrades in Spain have been charged with nothing short of treachery. That is very deplorable. To say the least it proves lack of understanding of the situation in Spain, and the conditions under which the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are labouring. Perhaps I can put them right even if all the actual facts of the inner work of the so called United Front cannot be given to the world. The truth has its own way of coming to the fore. Just at present we cannot oblige Franco and his backers. Once Fascism will be defeated, as it must be, if the revolution is to go on with its marvelous constructive work, all our comrades, as well as the rest of the world will learn the truth. The truth of the gigantic share the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have played from their inception until this day.

I hope I am still the old anarchist and that I still believe in the necessity of criticism of steps taken that apparently look inconsistent with our ideas. I have never justified the notion that wrong acts committed by one's own comrades should be ignored more than when committed by our opponents. And if I know anything of the comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I can say with certainty that they themselves would be the last to expect complete acceptance of anything they have done with which we cannot agree in full. They do, however, expect our comrades outside of Spain to acquaint themselves with the real situation and the steps imposed on them by the factors working in their own country. These factors left our comrades only one of two alternatives: either dictatorship or direct participation in the government. Never before was a revolution and its leading organisation so scandalously sabotaged as in Spain. In point of truth, the sabotage was systematic and flagrant enough to jeopardise the rescue of Madrid from the fascist hordes. I was only the decision of the C.N.T. to take a responsible share in the Madrid government that the City was made ready at the eleventh hour for the defence since known to the whole world as one of the most heroic battles in history. For it was only when the Madrid Caballero cabinet betook itself to Valencia that the real drive against the fascist gang, equipped with every sort of German and Italian arms, could be undertaken. As on the 19th July, so in Madrid, the people themselves, the dumb inarticulate masses undertook the defence of Madrid and with it the defeat of Franco and his hirelings.

Let it be understood by all comrades that the C.N.T. is not at all unaware that the anarchists in Ministries are an anomaly. In the first place, government and ministers do not mean the same thing to the Spanish anarchists as they do to

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Europeans and Americans. They are mere makeshifts to them, to be dispensed with in due time. In the second place it meant the safety of Madrid, in fact the safety of Spain. On the future will tell whether the C.N.T.-F.A.I. acted wisely or not. For the present it should suffice our comrades outside of Spain to know that the next step to ~~xxx~~ entering the Ministry was armed revolt against the sabotage that had been going on for months on the part of ~~xxx~~ some of the parties that had joined the United Front.

I have already stated that our comrades had only one of two things to choose: dictatorship or the widest possible freedom for all their so-called friends in the Anti-Fascist struggle. I am glad to say that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. chose the latter. It may seem an exaggeration when I say that Catalonia today is the freest place politically in the world-outside of the fascists every party enjoys unlimited freedom of speech, press and assembly. In fact some of them are interpreting liberty to mean license. They have requisitioned the most conspicuous buildings, they hold forth until all hours of the night in loud speakers and meetings. They have daily parades in military formation and music. They do pretty much as they damn please including intense preparation for the happy hour when they might be strong enough to put our comrades to the wall. True, they will have as much luck in that as Franco had so far. Our comrades are not blind to the danger, they are prepared for it. But so deep-rooted is their faith in freedom that they would rather endure the daily annoyances that would try the patience of saints than to forcibly prevent those who must rely on other methods to win adherents. Our people feel that anarchism and libertarian communism are so ingrained in the Catalonian workers and peasants they need no public shows to arouse their enthusiasm and devotion.

This will have to do for the present as proof that far from having betrayed our ~~ideas~~, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are today the only gallant fighters and defenders of them. Actually they are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to struggle and die for it. I feel therefore that whatever our regrets may be of our Spanish comrades having entered Ministries, or having made other mistakes, we have no right judge until fascism has been crushed. At present there is only one menace, that is fascism, by whatever name it goes. Everything else must wait. Our duty outside of Spain is to help our comrades, to help the anti-fascist battle with material and moral support. To help the women and children evacuated from the various fronts.

Dear comrades, bear in mind Catalonia is carrying the whole weight. Thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for anti-fascist Spain. But not a cent went to Catalonia. Yet Catalonia is feeding Madrid, and it is feeding 30,000 women and children from other parts of Spain. Last but not

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5

 Gud

least, Catalonia is the banner bearer of the revolution, the one part of Spain that is doing constructive work amidst the horrors of war, cold and hunger. In all this the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is playing the leading and dominating part.

All strength to the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Later I hope to send you something on the collectivised industries and farms. For today I have said enough. I am here for three or the most, four months. Then I will return to Spain. I want nothing grander than for my last years to be at the side of our comrades, to share with them in their struggle. To help them if only in a small measure to victory, or if needs be to lay down my life if this should be their lot. But it never can, will or must be. And all our comrades in every country must see to it that the battle of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. should be victorious. You can, if you will, be less fault-finding and more active with your moral and financial support.

Salud, as we say in Spain.

Emma Goldman

18, Castleton Road,
London, W.14

P.S. The meeting on the 18th has a huge success. 55 pounds were collected for the evacuated women and children.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 21, London [to] S[idney] V[ere] Pearson, Mundesley [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19811

London Jan. 21st 37.

Mr S.V Pearson
Rillbank
Mundesley
Norfolk.

Dear Mr Pearson.

Thank you so much for your letter and your kind invitation to be your and Mrs Pearson guest should I go to Holt to speak for the students of Gresham's School. Actually I received their letter in the same mail as yours. I have just written Mr Smithells copy of which I inclose. You will see that I am most anxious to combine Norwich with Holt if possible. Should Norwich have a meeting it will not be possible for me to accept your invitation because I would have to go to Norwich either for the afternoon or evening. Should Norwich prove out of the question I might come to you. But at this writing I am really not certain when I might have a free Sunday for Gresham's School. I can therefore not make any promises about your gracious hospitality. I will see later on.

It is so many years, I am sure, when I spoke in Norwich. So many things have happened in my life I do not remember the incident you refer to. But that does not make me less appreciative of your kind letter and your invitation. Yes, in my late comrade W.C. Owen our ranks lost a brilliant exponent and devoted comrade. Dr Church his a friend of mine and I think I know Mr Peace. But I am not quite certain.

Please return the inclosed copy of my letter to Mr Smithells. I am only inclosing it to save myself repetition of the same matter. I am swamped with mail and so far have no secret.

Yours sincerely

Kindly greet Mrs Pearson for me.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001245

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 21, London [to Vernon Richards, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Recchiari

1902

London Jan. 21st 37.

Dear Comrade. I am so swamped with work I do not get a free evening to have you up for a talk about a number of things or to write anything for ~~you~~ Spain and the World. But you can rest assured that I have the paper very much at heart and that I want to help it to the best of my ability. I inclose two things which you will want for your next issue. The appeal is particularly stirring. Our Spanish comrade whom you met at my place has translated it for me. I want it back just as soon as it is set up as I wish to make copies of it and send it out broad cast.

I have asked Capt White to prepare his talk in typewritten form and that I would submit it to you for the paper. He spoke to long but his ideas of anarchism and his description of the C.I.T.-E. was I think very good, especially coming from one outside of our ranks. I wish I had the time to prepare my notes for you. It is impossible now. I am at work on a new and very large venture, the next ~~international~~ mass meeting I have announced. It is to be on a very large scale, possibly even in Queens Hall. Or Kingsway. You realize what an amount of work this will require. Then I am busy on the exhibition. and I am being besieged for lecture dates from groups of students and others. Still I do want to help you. I will want you to send hundred copies of your next issue to Plymouth. I speak there the 31st. They are to go to Tom Edmunds 146 Alexandria Rd Plymouth. I will be responsible for them. Of course I will see you before that. Perhaps you will call me up tomorrow Friday evening. I will be at home.

I have written the Comite Regional about the importance of Spain and the World and I have suggested to the comrades to back you with at least \$12 a month. I hope the other 12 can be raised from sales and subscriptions. Let me know if your friend has quick possibilities of sending on mail to Barcelona with a reliable comrade. I would then send my letters for Spain to her. Com. Roca who was in Paris and used to attend to this for me has gone to Barcelona. I do not want to send my letters by poste to Spain. It is not safe. But it will be alright to send it to Paris and from there to Barcelona. If your friend could be my go between send me her address. Meanwhile give her my greetings and her mother.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 22, London [to unknown recipient, Barcelona?] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Londres, 22 de Enero de 1937.

Querido camarada:

La adjunta carta iba a ser llevada a Barcelona y entregada a ti por Donald Darling, que trabaja en la Oficina de la Generalidad aquí, pero debido a la información que el compañero Santillana pensaba venir a Londres, Darling retrasó su viaje. Ahora te envío la carta para ti y la carta para el camarada Herrera, Carbo, Martín y Souchy. Ruégote las entregas a dichos camaradas. Te gustará saber que nuestro mitin el lunes pasado fue un completo éxito. Acudieron a él 700 personas y otras tantas tuvieron que marcharse por no tener sitio. Mi petición por donaciones para las mujeres y los niños evacuados del frente de Madrid y otras partes resultó en una colecta de £57.15.0. Espero tus instrucciones acerca de mi idea de contrubuir para que siga publicándose el periódico SPAIN AND THE WORLD y también el FIGHTING CALL. Entonces enviaré la recaudada a París para uso de vosotros en la forma en que fué obtenido. Desearía que los compañeros a cuyo cargo quede el dinero en París que me envíen un recibo que y que te notifiquen a ti. Espero que tu también me enviarás en recibo del Comité Regional. Tengo que tener dichos recibos para evitar cualquier comentario acerca de cómo el dinero ha sido gastado y usado.

Has de saber que en el mitin hubo gran entusiasmo y que una persona ha prometido pagar los gastos que ocasione otro mitin, que esperamos organizar muy pronto. Creo que podré desarrollar una buena campaña aquí si sólo se me facilitan el material necesaria sobre vuestra lucha. Yo recibo el Boletín español e inglés y también nuestra nueva publicación alemana. Pero e

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Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 22, London [to unknown recipient, Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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Londres, 22 de Enero de 1937.

Querido Compañero,

La adjunta carta iba a ser llevada a Barcelona y entregada a ti por Donal Darling, que trabaja en la Oficina de la Generalidad aquí, pero debido a la información que el compañero Santillana pensaba venir a Londres, Darling retrasó su viaje. Ahora te envío la carta para ti y la carta para el Compañero Herrera, Carbo, Martín y Souchy. Pliegote las entregas a dichos Compañeros. Te gustará saber que nuestro mitin el lunes pasado fue un completo éxito. Acudieron a él 700 personas y otras tantas tuvieron que marcharse por no tener sitio. La petición por donaciones para las mujeres y los niños evacuados del frente de Madrid o otras partes resultó en una colecta de £57.15.0. Espero tus instrucciones acerca mi idea de contribuir para que siga publicándose el periódico SPAIN AND THE WORLD y también el FIGHTING CALL. Entonces enviare la recaudado a París para uso de vosotros en la forma en que fuera obtenido. Desearia que los Compañeros a cuyo cargo quede el dinero en París que me envíen un recibo y que te notifiquen a ti. Espero que tú también me envíes un recibo del Comité Regional. Temo no tener muchos recibos para evitar cualquier comentario acerca de como el dinero ha sido gastado y usado.

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- 2 -

buo

esto no es suficiente para ~~contr~~ contrarrestar las malas interpretaciones que se dicen en los periodicos de Inglaterra.

No que decir tiene que tambien estoy todavia uy interesada en saber como vuestra lucha marcha y como marcha vuestro trabajo de reconstruccion.

Dejame saber de ti pronto.

SALUD.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001246

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 22, London [to] Arthur L[eonard] Ross, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19824

a L Ross

London Jan 22nd 37.

Dear Arthur. I know, I know I am no good to keep a friend as kind and devoted as you are without a line for so long, or even a holiday greeting. I console myself with the hope that you may have seen Stella and that she had told you how busy I was in while in Spain. It is not only that I had no time for personal correspondence. But it was also the life was so tense one could not concentrate on the remote when the obvious was so close at hand. But it goes without saying that I have not forgotten you and the family for very long.

As you see I am in hateful London again. This time not for myself, I am glad to say but for the anti-fascist struggle. I am actually representing two organisations, the CNT (National Confederation of Labor) and FAI, (The Anarchist Federation of Iberia). Besides these I also represent the Generalidad, don't disown me my dear. I have not joined the Catalan government. I am only representing my own people, that is the CNT in the Government and only for the purpose of raising money for the anti-fascist struggle and the care of fascist victims. I inclose copies of two letters, to John Haynes Holmes and John Cowper Powys. They will tell you of my guests here.

You will be glad to learn that I have already had some encouraging response. The first meeting last Monday was a great success both in the large attendance and the contribution for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. I actually raised 57 pounds. In view of the fact that there are so many organisations working for Spain this was a handsome sum. More encouraging was the promise of a man here to back another meeting although he had contributed \$15 on Monday. So I am now at work to organise a more auspicious affair perhaps with Bertrand Russell, Rebecca West and myself as speakers to raise more money for the destitute and starving women and children. In addition to the exhibition which will take place next month I am planning a Benefit Theatre performance for the same purpose. So you see I am busy.

Now to another and important matter. I am sending you under separate cover a German MRS of a well known German journalist and author Dr H.E. Kaminski. He had his wife travelled with me all through Catalonia, Aragon and the Levante. And we both gathered material and impression. Unfortunately I cannot now sit down to write a book. But the Dr. did for which I am very thankful. It is a most interesting and objective account of his

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 22, London [to] Arthur L[eonard] Ross, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19826

ative. Not of course, out of love but with the idea of a percent
age for your efforts to place the IKS. I suggest that you first
take it to Simon and Shuster. But you will have to tell them that
the IKS must be read quickly as no time must be lost in placing it
the issue being before the world now in such intense form. Should
~~Shuster~~ S. & S. decline take it to the Viking Press and see Huebsch. He
knows German and he would be able to judge without delay. Naturally
if the IKS is accepted it will be necessary of trying for an ad
vance on royalties. The Kaminski are German Jewish refugees and
very much in need of funds. I hope you can induce whatever pub
lisher you will interest in the work to give an advance, and make
other favorable arrangements. In a way I feel it should go to
the Viking first except that the two S. S. are progressive in ad
vertising. So go to them but please insist the answer must be
given quickly. Of course, if neither the Sand S. and the Viking will
take it try Knopf and as a last resort the VANGUARD if it has
money. The trouble is the V. is Communist and Dr. Kaminski though not
antagonistic is yet critical of the Spanish Communists. Anyhow
do your best.

As I travelled with the Kaminski I can vouch for the
absolute accuracy of his material and the absolute fairness. I
myself would have wished his interpretation of anarchism to be
clearer. But his general observations are so good and his writ
ing so interesting I do not care for whatever theoretic differences
it contains. I am most anxious to have the book appear in A. as
soon as possible. By the way I have all the authorizations neces
sary to negotiate with publishers, and I know no one better than you
to help me in the States. I am taking a copy to Jonathan Cape of
this city. Dr. Kaminski would like to reserve the rights for Great
Britain and give America ~~contributions~~ the rights which would
also include Canada. Please my dear take charge of the matter. You
will render the great cause of Spanish freedom a great service.

Perhaps you know that Roger B. is again trying
for a visa for me. Just like my rotten luck He Cornuck died, and
the new man maybe difficult. But you might see Roger if you can
help in any way. Let me know please.

Love to Muttie and the rest of the family. With lo
lots of it for you.

Do you ever hear of the Starks. Funny especially. Give her my love
in case you write her. I see Nelly H. is again in Nice. I wonder
how she manages it to go back and forth. She is coming to London
when I will see her.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840306078

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 22, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York (fragment)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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E.G. Colton
18, Castletown Rd.
London W.14.
England.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Case C.N. I. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA I.

Barcelona London Jan. 22nd 37.

Dear Arthur! I know, I know I am no good to keep a friend as kind and devoted as you are without a line for so long, or even a holiday greeting. I console myself with the hope that you may have seen Stella and that she had told you how busy I was while in Spain. It is not only that I had no time for personal correspondence. But it was also the life was so tense, one could not concentrate on the remote when the obvious was so close at hand. But it goes without saying that I have not forgotten you and the family for very long.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 22, London [to] Stell[a Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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London Jan. 22nd 37.

My dear Stell.

I was very worried not hearing from you for over two weeks. I thought there must be something the matter with Joe and here it was you poor dear laid up with Flu. I am happy to know you are over the beastly thing and on the way of complete recovery. Yes, I know how any cold plays havoc with you. I can imagine how seedy the flu must have left you. It has been raging in London. I am glad to say I have been spared this fancy disease so far. I have my annual winter's cough which has always been worse in England than anywhere else. But I have not been ill. Knock wood. It would be awful to be laid up with all the work I have to do.

Well, dearest you will be happy to learn that my first meeting was a great success, about seven hundred people in the Conway Hall and many hundreds sent away. The first meeting in all the years of a responsive character. My appeal for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts brought 57 pounds. It would have brought much more had our collectors been more efficient. Of course I take no credit for the success though I have worked like a dog for it. It is Spain which was the drawing card. The most encouraging part of the meeting was the contribution of fifteen pounds of one man who gave it for the work "against Mussolini" and the offer of the same man to finance another meeting where I am to speak of the part of the Spanish Church to Fascism. I maybe tired but I am ambitious enough to try a meeting in Queens Hall. Such a venture would eat up a mint about £140 to 150 pounds. But if I can get the people whose name I want I would do it. I have already written Bertrand Russell and I will see Rebecca when she comes back from N. the 3rd of next month. I also have Ethel Lannin the writer and there are others. and I have been promised all the help in advertising, circularization as well as the sale of tickets by the I.L.P. Next to the Queens Hall is another important place much cheaper than the first. I will know tomorrow or Monday in re the backing I might get financially. I will decide then. But it is certain we will have another large meeting.

Then there is the exhibition, it had to be postponed for a week, the 20th of Feb instead of the 13th. But when it will be ready it will be a very impressive affair. I never could have had it independently. It would have cost from sixty to £100 pounds which I could never raise here. and it would not have gotten the same publicity. But it is damned trying to work with some of the god damned women on our committee. The gang that works for the Spanish medical aid, mostly Communist. They are furious that I have been asked to join. In fact I was on the verge several times to withdraw my material and myself from the committee. I have lost three weeks. and if I would now go in for an independent exhibition I would be torn to bits and the exhibition

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519552

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 22, London [to] Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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boycotted. I cannot injure the chances of the exhibition. So I am staying on. But it is trying to the breaking point. The only decent man on the committee is Fenner Brockway the general secretary of the I.L.P. He told me the other day that if I withdrew I would let him down and his party would have to withdraw. Anyhow I am going ahead.

Next to this I have a scheme of a benefit theatre performance for Spain. It will not be as easy as in the States. But I will try to see some of my dramatic friends and theatre managers. I ~~will~~ will let you know about this and other ventures for Spain. How I wish you could be here with me. My god I need a secretary desperately. No one here seems to know stenography. Nor have I been able to get free help. Its hell. But aside of that it would be such a joy to have you. But being as poor as we are. There is no hope.

Marling Rose P. like the rest seems to be passing up the buck. I know Gardner Jackson. He is a nice man worked hard on the Sacco Vanzetti case. But if he lobbys for Spain I don't see how he can also handle my case. If Rose would really want to undertake the job she could have influence on Dubinsky and a lot of other of the Labor politicians. But she too is passing the buck. The only one who is in earnest and really means to help is Roger. It is too bad about McCromack going. Roger was very close with him and he could have ~~approached~~ approached him as it will be difficult to do when the new man has been chosen by Roosevelt. Perkins convinetly shoves all Imm cases to her colleges. Especially in my case she will do nothing direct. I wish we knew someone who can reach the Roosevelts. Well, I have to leave it to Roger. If he does not succeed I will go back to Spain. One can do nothing here after April anyhow. The mummery of the Coronation will ~~be~~ absorbe all other interests. Perhaps Roger will succeed. Then there will be the drawback of summer. Nothing to be done in the East then. I might go straight to Calif first. But sufficient on to the day.

I have heard from your friend. He wrote me a nice letter and asked me to dine with him. In Mitten Derinnen my work for Spain. But I have given him next Monday when he will take me to dine and then to see Bergner in David. That will be a great treat I have not had in a long, long time.

I inclose Emmys last letter. I dread to think of her going back to Paris or the South. She has made herself impossible with everybody in Venice, her friend in Nice and Michael Cohn. He is furious with me because I suggested he might take her to the States as the governess of Syds child. How could I do it knowing her for many years he wrote me. Such an unfortunate creature that Emmy. If only she were well I would not care. But she is an invalide. However I can do nothing about none for her. I haven't any of my own except a few dollars I must hang on to go back to Spain and feed myself thero. I hate to take any kind of a salary for my own living from the CNT-FA or the Generalidad. and living is not cheap in London. I have to

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810519552

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 22, London [to] Stell[a Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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to answer her letter. It just makes me sick not to be able to help her if only a little. Perhaps the stamps will bring some thing. I pray the duty will not be excessive. I could have gotte somebody here to help with the sale. But I know nothing about it and I was afraid of being cheated. I know Ian will do his best and will surely get all that is possible,

Darling I wish the comrades in A. would sustain me in my work. I had a letter from C.V. Cook Los Angeles saying " I feel we should support you otright in the work for Sapin". But of course nothing is being done. Well, I cannot ask them nor do I want you to. Jeanne Levey has gone to Mexico for a month. She was to raise \$1000 for me from my pamphlet. So far she has not disposed of enough to pay her expences of the printing. and so it goes. Of course I know you would help. No need to assure me my dearest.

I am sorry to hear Jaxe and Dorothy are not well. I suppose Jaxe works like a galley slave. Give him and all the family my love.

I embrace you dearest.

Devoted love.

Emma

Striking head of Ian. I do hope Teddy will be able to cast both heads and exhibit them. He ought to receive fine xxx tribute for his splendid work. Give him a hugging for me and Davy, just pet Ian since he would not stand for huggings. I can hardly believe it that he will be 22 the 15th of this year

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Jan. 22 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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19766

509 W. 110th Street, Jan. 22nd.

Dearest:

Your card came yesterday. Ian received notice a week ago that the stamps arrived. He immediately went down to Varick Street, spent two hours there and they said they would be immediately sent out to him by mail, after he answered many questions. Nearly a week passed, (he is the the midst of exams) nothing happened, so he called about six departments, then this morning he got a summons to go down to Customs on the Battery. He got there at nine o'clock, and he called me at noon to say he had been kept there three hours and now the definitely promise the stamps will be delivered to him on Tuesday. Of course, he has not been allowed to see them, (you would think he was trying to smuggle diamonds in this country) and until he sees them he can give you no idea of their value. He said I will write you Tuesday if he gets them then

I got the enclosed from Rose, which speaks for itself. You can write her direct if you wish. Perhaps Cecil got terribly involved as soon as he got there. I haven't his address in London, but I certainly want you to have the stockings and slippers. He was just recovering from an operation when he left and was still very ill.

I sent your letters to Fitz. I hope to see her soon. I have gone out very little. Now goes before a board of examiners on Monday to determine his status. The two and a half months he has been at the Joint Diseases hasn't helped a bit, I'm afraid. Babsie called me yesterday from Northport. Saxe has been ill with some intestinal trouble and Dorothy is flat on her back again with a sprained back. Saxe is in constant pain and is on a strict diet. He may have an ulcer. Of course, he keeps right on working. I saw him Sunday. He looks very bad.

I am slowly getting over this rotten flu attack, still going to Dr. Shostac, I am to see her today.

Last Monday I went to see Stein. He gave me \$25 and I immediately bought a postal order and sent it to Emmy with a long and cordial letter. As I wrote you and her, he can make no promises, he is involved over his neck, but he will help whenever he can.

Dear Angelica went out to Lakewood last Saturday to stay with the Margolis. She heard I had been ill and what do you think, she invited me to go with her as her guest. I was touched.

Your copies of Spain and the World came and I sent copies of to Bolton Hall, Ami Hicks and others. Sara Gruber's address is 20 East 60th. When the stockings come, send her a line on a card, it would please her so much.

I wrote Gardner Jackson about two weeks ago but he hasn't replied. I wonder if it would be more effective if you wrote to him direct. I am sure Roger will do all he can.

I do hope the work is going well in London. I see you will have meetings in Plymouth and Glasgow. Let me know when you speak in Glasgow. Teddy's sister Betty lives near there and is more radical.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Jan. 22 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. —
2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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19767
than anyone else in the family and an intelligent person. I would like
to tell her about it, also to have her meet you, if you care to. MTTT

Thank heaven that Davy, Ian and Teddy have kept well this
winter. I wish the family news were more cheerful.

Am reading Mabel Dodge's book, which I got from the library,
it is full of errors and the way she speaks of Sasha made my blood
boil. She was always superficial, colossally selfish and essentially
mean. And what a tragic fools she unwittingly makes of Bayard and
Sterne and what a clown Hutch appears. I read it with a sickening
sensation at my stomach. It would be a waste of time to read it and
it costs \$5, but if someone wants to waste that money, I will have
them send it to you.

She is a poisonous woman.

Give my warm greetings to Auntie. I'd like to have a peak at
your little menage. I am so happy you are with her in your own place,
and not stuck away off with the K8s.

The boys and Teddy send love.

Devoted love always

Stella

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 23, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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London Jan 23rd 37.

Dear Augstine. Darling did not leave for Barcelona after all. The reason for it is that he learned in a round about way that Santilan is coming here. So I lost a week with my letters and must now send it via Paris. I am sending letters to the ~~Comite~~ Comite Regional, to you and Martin to Berneris wife asking her to make sure they are taken by a reliable person. It is always such a madning delay. But I hate to send my letters through the P.O.

Well, since I wrpte you Jan.18th we have had our meet ing. It was a packed house and Hundreds were sent away. My appeal for funds resulted in £57. We could easily have collected another £25 if we had efficient collectors. Otherwise the spirit was very fine, the enthousiasm great. If I will tell you that the Anarch ist here did not have such a meeting ~~inx~~ since the war you will appreciate what it meant to organise our affair of the 18inst. So great was the enthusiasm that when I announced a second meet ing a man from tho audience offered to finance it. So now I am planning a larger Hall. Perhaps with Bertrand Russell and other well-known English men and women as speakers. I will not know until Monday just what Hall we will have. But we are going to have another large meeting.

About the £57. It was raised for the relief of the women and children evacuated from Madrid and the other fronts. Please see the Comite and ask them whether I am to send ~~all~~ the whole amount to Paris, or keep some of it for the work here. I think I told you that the Comite gave me £100 which I told them I would use for two months expences for the work to be done here from tho burau. Of course I did not have in mind ~~the~~ then the large expense of an exhibition. I found on reaching here that I could not organize one for less than sixty pounds minimum. That is why I joined up with the I.L.P. But even with them I will have to contribute thirty pounds out of the hundred. ~~Sum~~ The rent for an officentelephone, eloctric lights, heat, postage and the rest will cost at least fifteen pounds a month. So far I have not engaged a secretary. But the work is growing over my head and I certainly will have to have a competent stenographer. Also Barr is giving all his time to the organisational part of meet ings ect. So far I have given him only his expenses, £7. But he should get a regular wage since he can do nothing else to earn his living. Nor do I know what to do about ny own living. One cannot do without at least three pounds a week. Am I to take that from the burau of the Generalidad, or from the CNT-FAI which is quite sepearte? It should really come from there because the amount for its work decided upon by the Generalidad is three times as much as the fifty per month I told tho comrades of the Comite and the burau does not do as much propaganda as our own. I wish you would have a talk with the comrades of the CNT-FAI. And write me their dicion. Do it soon please.

But whatever they decide they must let me know about the £57 pounds and whatever money I will still collect.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 23, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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 Gud

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Understand ~~nothing~~ dear Augustino, this money was collected for a specific purpose and will have to be credited as such, perhaps in the Soli and also I will have to get a receipt for the amount. It will be impossible to make appeals for defensive methods of the anti Fascist struggle. The Britishers are afraid of that. On the other hand they are sentimental and the need of children appeal to them. I shall therefore have to go on appealing for that. And whatever I raise will have to be credited to the fund being raised for relief of the evacuated victims. I am repeating that because I want you to impress on the Comite that if I am to use any part of this money for the propaganda here the Comite will nevertheless have to ~~make it~~ state that all of the money was received by them, or by the comrades in Paris to whom the amount is to be sent. The actual expense of our meeting of the 18th was £24 pounds. But the comrades had contributed thirty pounds to the cost of the meeting. I will therefore only have to make good the small deficit of £4 from the CNT-FAI bureau I have established here. Anyway, I must hear from the Comite ~~themselves~~ what they want me to do. I have asked them instructions in my letter to them copy of which I inclose. But it will be necessary for you to talk over with him the details. And let me know.

As you will see by my letter to the Comite I have suggested the need of supporting SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is the best paper we have in the English speaking countries. It is ~~ex~~ already attracting attention. Thus the New Statement has listed it among the publications on Spain. And it is having ~~a~~ considerable sale. In view of the fact that the comrade who is publishing ~~Spain and the World~~ SPAIN AND THE WORLD is only about twenty two, works for his living, is preparing for examination and still finds time to edit the paper is proof for the urgent necessity to support him. We have so few young people in our ranks, especially here we should ~~xxxx~~ encourage such efforts. I hope therefore the Comite will decide to support SPAIN AND THE WORLD, for some time anyhow with at least ten or fifteen pounds a month. Now that he is getting out four thousand copies it costs £16 and not only £12 per issue. I think the second half might be raised through sales and subscriptions. But in any event the Comite should be made to realize the importance of maintaining the paper. Think of the amount Moscow is spending in its world propaganda. Naturally, I do not want the Comite to do the same, nor has it the means. Still some support should be given the propaganda carried on in England. Especially as we have no actual movement, and the few comrades there are cannot support anything, they are too poor. I have also mentioned the Fighting Call which though not in the same class as ~~the~~ SPAIN AND THE WORLD, is still doing good propaganda and should also be helped. I hope the comrades will agree.

You will be glad to know that for the first time in three weeks I actually got Barcelona on the radio. And tho the English talk which sounded like the voice of Ethel Mc Donald. ~~was~~ It was very Scotch indeed but clearer than I could get it before. Congratulate her for me, or if it is not Ethel the other Scotch

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 23, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Gud

comrade. As I said it was the first time in weeks I could get Barcelona clearly and the CNT-FAI wave. I have a machine with a short wave. How anybody could have heard Green is a mystery to me. For unless you have a short wave one can never get Barcelona. Or if one does the noises are so terrific one cannot make out anything. Well, I am delighted our two Scotch girls are being trained in. I wish they would also learn to do the Bulletin. It is full of mistakes in its present form.

Fenner B. told me yesterday he had received a bill from you. So far the box with Albums and Durruti brochure has not yet arrived. Dear Augustine don't you think it rather strange that the information about Santillans coming was not sent to either of our bureaus here but to the SPANISH NEWS published by the Trade Unions? Just of what good are our bureaus if we are not kept informed about what is being undertaken. For, in the last analysis we will have to help Santillan when he comes here with the language and everything else. Frankly I can not understand why bureaus are to be maintained in England unless they serve some constructive purpose. As it is we are kept in ignorance and people outside of our ranks are ~~in a position~~ considered more important. I quite agree with Darling when he said we are being made ridiculous before the British public. And what is more we cannot expect to have quite the influence we might if we were in a position to give the press and the public direct information. I don't say the Comité is to blame. But I certainly think Carbo is. For it is his duty, ~~isn't it?~~ to keep in touch with us. Or if not his, the duty of the Generalidad. My dear you may think me ~~an old complaining~~ complaining nuisance. But you should know how much I have the interest of the struggle of our comrades at heart. By the way, Barr received one copy of Durruti pamphlet. Of course not even one was sent to me, nor do I get the Bulletin direct. It is funny.

Seeing how little work that ~~is being done~~ has to be done in the Generalidad Bureau I don't see why a third person is needed. It only means a greater expense. Still I would like to have some information about Reynolds, the I.L.P. chap I mentioned in my letter of the 16th.

Affectionately

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 23, London [to] Emmy Eckstein, [Brno, Czechoslovakia] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19774
London Jan. 23rd 37.

11 *Eckstein*
Dear, dear Emmy. I am so sorry to keep you waiting so long. But I simply am not able to manage personal letters. I am swamped with work for Spain. No sooner is one meeting over than I have to get busy for another. Then the correspondence with the provinces in re dates for lectures. Then the work on the exhibition, people to see and I thousand details to attend to. In addition I again suffer from insomnia, cannot fall asleep until 4.5 and often six o'clock and having so much to do I cannot allow myself the luxury to sleep late even if I had a chance. But the telephone begins early and ends late, and so it goes. If at least I could engage a sect. But so far I hated to spend money which belongs to the people in Spain. It seems blood money to me. So I am doing all my letters myself, anyhow there is no time left or very little for personal mail. I hope you do understand.

I am delighted to hear that you are improving. I wish it were possible to stay on until spring. You might recover altogether. For you know well enough that even if you should get work in France you will not be able to get on long unless you are very much better than you have been until recently. I am not worried about getting you a card to give you the right to work. I am sure Volin will do that in due time. The question is, how will you live, what on? A letter from Stella tells me she had seen Modest. He told her he is very hard up now. He owes \$1400 which he must pay out, and his income seems to be less. He promised Stella to let her have \$25 for you soon. But he could not pledge himself to send you as much every month. Joanne Loevy has gone to Mexico and will not be back for two months. So nothing can be done with her. What then can you hope for now except the \$10 sent by the Freie Arb. Stimme? Surely you cannot live on that in Paris or any place in France? It makes me shiver to think that you are going to be stranded and not be well enough to work. I know the sturdiness of small city life, especially middle class life. But my dear you will have to hold out. You simply must. No none of us can run away easily from disagreeable situations. Imagine Sasha holding out prison for 14 years and other brave souls looked away for many years, or in grave want, and you will take heart to hold out a few months more with your people. Anyhow I don't see what else you can do being penniless and I no more laden with riches.

Stella writes I am received the packages of stamps. There was duty on it she did not say how much. I am certain I can will realize something from the stamps. I hope it is a great deal. But it would be foolish to depend on very much. One thing is certain you will get every penny he can raise. But it will take time. This fact also means that you must hang on to your people for a time. It simply cannot be helped.

There is a very distant possibility that my friends in A. will get me a visa for another short visit. If that will come through which I do not hope too much I will try to raise some money for you through private subscription. But as I said

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001216

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 23, London [to] Emmy Eckstein, [Brno, Czechoslovakia] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19776

the visa is far off. I have only told you this you should not imagine I have forgotten you or no longer care about your living. I do. But I was never poorer in my life. In fact I will have to ask a few person & friends to help me for my own expenses. I feel I have no right to take anything from my Spanish comrades.

You will be glad to know my first meeting was a great success. I appealed for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. The response was £57. For England this is a great deal. I am now busy arranging a much larger affair and I am working on a large and important exhibition we are going to have. All this besides going out of town to speak and seeing a lot of people. I am glad I can keep so busy. I do not have to brood about things that are unchangeable and can never be brought to life.

Dear child why do you work yourself up and make yourself sick about what Michael Cohn has done. People are as they are one cannot change them. I hope and pray that if you go back to France you will never go back to either Nice or Vence. I do not have to tell you how rare is real genuine friendship. It does not exist among the people we know in either Vence or Nice. Avoid it my dear it will save you heart ache. Besides, its all so contemptibly small, the world of those people.

I am sending you a copy of a paper on Spain published here by a young comrade. He works for his living is preparing for an examination and still has time to edit and publish a wonderful paper. Am also sending you a German copy of a very able brochure on the CNT-F.I. No, I do not want the Communist papers from Prague.

affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 23 [Paris to] Emm[a Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].—
1 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20101

Jan. 23rd 1937.

Dearest Emmotshka,

I at last saw Galvet. He told me that he received your letter and that he transmitted your requests to Barcelona. He too is surprised why they don't write you.

I suppose you know that he telephones with ~~DMF~~ the office every morning to give the daily news. Should you want to say something to him, ~~you~~ could do so then through the tel., it may be easier for you than to write.

Have been asking at the different offices here whether they got a package or packages for comrade Emma Goldman. No one got anything, so they say. But I found out that 1000 albums of the CNT-FAI, the photo album, were given to Odeon (the comrade who goes every week to Barcelona from the Committee Espagne Libre) by SOUCHY. He gave him a letter with instructions to send 1000 to London, and the address he gave him is THE SOCIALISTS BOOK STORE.

They promised faithfully ^{that} they were going to ship soon. Whether they did, I don't know. Ask at the Socialist book store whether they got it. Very likely that a part of these (if not more) are meant for you. Here is the address of the Com. Es. Libre: 26, Rue de Crussol, Paris XI. Address the letter (in case you wish to write there) to Leonin because Odeon is most ^{than} on the road.

Yes, Penrose was here, and I asked him to take along for you: 50 pamphlets, 25 papers and 200 cards. The papers are 50 centimes a copy, but if they cannot be sold, they should be distributed rather than be wasted. The post cards are 1 franc a piece, and the pamphlet is one franc a piece. Do you see Leah Feldman? I suppose she could do something with these things at meetings. For the pamphlets & cards I am responsible to the German Group (Asy-Verlag).

Galvet is going next week to Barcelona. May be you ought to write him exactly what you want to have, and ask him to take it along for you. Also, ask Souchy, to give the material for you to Galvet BUT HAVE HIM MARK VERY DISTINCTLY THAT IT IS FOR EMMA GOLDMAN.

Personally I told Galvet that you must have:

- The Durruti film
- The small albums
- The big album of the CNT-FAI (the latest)
- The album in colors (it is very good!)
- Pictures about the bombardement of Madrid.
- and The english pamphlet about Durruti.

However, it is much better if you do this yourself: note exactly what you must have, and send it to Galvet and another copy to Souchy --by air-mail.

Well, so long, dear. It is a week now you didn't write. I suppose you have a lot to do. Keep well and strong.

I love you.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001232

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 24, Jerusalem [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mary Feivel. —
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Jerusalem

24th Jan 1937

19799

Miss Emma Goldman,
18 Glaston Rd;
London W.14.

Dear Miss Goldman, I am enclosing Postal Orders for
Seven Pounds, in response to your letter appearing in the
New Statesman, Nation of Jan. 9th, as this is the only form
of help I can offer you at the moment.

This money comes from my family
who have always been deeply interested in your work.
I myself will arrive in London about three weeks from now.
If I can then help you in any way, I shall be very
glad to do so. My address will be 4, Kensington,
12 St. James Mansions, West End Lane, N.W. 6.

Yours sincerely
Mary Feivel

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 25, London [to Max Nettlau, Amsterdam] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

London Jan. 25th 37.

Dear Friend.

The only excuse I have for my neglect of you is my utter absorption in Spain. While there, I worked day and night with very little rest in between visiting collectivised factories, in extensive travel over the country as far as it was free from the Franco pest going from village to village to see the collective there. And in between edit the English Bulletin and see many English and A. correspondents. But over and above all this was my being caught in the flood of events at the exclusion of my usual large correspondence.

Since I came to England, four weeks ago, I have again been working all kinds of hours to rouse people to the heroic struggle of our comrades. I admit it is not so heart breakingly difficult as when I was here before. But it is still difficult to get people interested. The British, even the best of them are so smug and self satisfied. Still I have made some headway. But it meant grind and much time. And so again I have not found a moment to write you. But do not think you have been forgotten.

I inclose two things, a letter to our comrade Ben Capes, and a statement for some of our papers. You will see my reaction to the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. My reaction both for them and also my critical attitude. That however does not inter with my devotion and admiration for some of their great efforts. Some other time I may be able to write at greater detail of what I think is the danger confronting our people from their unscrupulous allies. I cannot do it now.

My first meeting here was very successful. A pac Conway Hall was packed. And my appeal for funds brought £57. We are having another meeting Feb. 19th in THE FRIENDS HALL. And I have many other irons in the fire.

But now I must ask you to help me with some data on the part of the Church in Spain with reaction at all periods, and the relation with the military clique and Fascism since 31. The subject of our meeting the 19th will be THE RELATION OF THE SPANISH CHURCH WITH FASCISM. I would like to go into it deeply and from whom can I hope to get historic material if not from you. So please send me as much as you can conveniently do so. I need it rather soon.

I hope you are keeping well.

Affectionately.

EG

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 25, London to Max Nettlau, Amsterdam (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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London, January 21st, 1937.

Dear Comrades,

You probably know already that I am out of Spain. I can assure you it is much to my regret. I wanted so much to remain with our comrades; but they decided otherwise. In their eagerness to have their case put before the Anglo-Saxon workers in the right light they credited me with more than I deserve. They did not realise that my name in Spain having opened all doors continues to affect capitalist countries like a red cloth does a bull. They thought I could and would rouse the people in England to the understanding and appreciation of the marvellous struggle the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is making. And so I had to leave Spain. It was very painful indeed to leave our brave comrades in danger knowing that I would be in safety in "His Majesty's" country. But since I had put myself and whatever I can still give to the struggle in Spain at the disposal of our comrades, I could not very well refuse their request to go to England for an intensive publicity campaign.

Well, here I am in the country where I have always felt completely lost and where I have never succeeded in reaching people. This time it seems I ~~may~~ really have better luck. But then, the power of attraction is Spain. It is anarchism so maligned and misrepresented as criminal and impractical that has at last been proven a living force. With such a factor to attract English people it will not be so bitter hard as it had been in the past. I will now be able to bask in the glorious sun of the Spanish revolution - of the great courage and fortitude of our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. In point of fact my main quest here is to make the C.N.T.-F.A.I. known in England. So far its importance has been grasped only by the few. On my arrival I found that while much was being done in England for the Anti-Fascist struggle and the various parties allied with the C.N.T.-F.A.I. very little was done for the latter. This partly out of ignorance, and mainly out of deliberateness. This could not have happened had we an anarchist movement in England. Unfortunately we do not. There are a few comrades in London and a few provincial towns willing enough; but either too old to do much, willing as they are, or not able to make themselves heard. They have done what they could in making the work of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. known. Alas, it was but a drop in the sea. More reason for my being here and straining every nerve to put the C.N.T.-F.A.I. "on the British map" as we used to say in America.

I arrived the 23rd December, rather an unfortunate time to begin a publicity campaign. If anything the English

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make more fuss about Christmas than people do in the States. It is a great holiday here, and this year it was more so, because it gave the Britishers an extra day. Many went away on a holiday. Anyway, I did not think I would succeed in getting even our comrades together; but I did, in fact more came than I had ever seen at a private gathering. I mean in England of course. And greatest of wonders they responded enthusiastically and practically. A mass meeting was agreed upon for which 16 pounds was contributed. It was most encouraging. Never before on my visits to this country have I succeeded in raising 16 pounds in five months.

However, the material response of our comrades and those who are interested in the Spanish struggle, while most necessary, it not so important as the new interest in our ideas in ranks that had always repudiated them in the past. Imagine, I actually found willingness on the part of members of the Independent Labour Party to co-operate with me on behalf of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Thus Fenner Brockway, General Secretary of the I.L.P., has consented to speak at our mass meeting January 18th. And he and other members have shown eagerness for a joint Exhibition of the material I brought from Spain. This is indeed an event. Ten years ago when I tried desperately to make the plight of the political prisoners in Russia known here, not a single person in British Labour ranks would help. Not even Fenner Brockway who is among the most revolutionary in the I.L.P. This time he and others are willing to be of help. But then, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are not to be sneezed at. They are a great force, in fact the most dominant force in Catalonia. One cannot afford to ignore them, especially one's comrades— who are the POUM in Catalonia— have had a change of heart towards the anarchists.

Next to our first mass meeting will come our Exhibition. I have brought handkerchiefs and other things. I had planned an independent Exhibition but I have since decided to throw my stuff in with that of the I.L.P. I have, however, made the condition that C.N.T.-F.A.I. material should have a prominent place and a share of the proceeds after expenses will be covered. I am certain the people I am working with on the Exhibition will keep the agreement.

I said before that the part of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the Spanish struggle is hardly understood by the outside world. I fear even some of our comrades are still sticking in understanding of the colossal share our Spanish comrades had and have in events there. I am led to this conclusion by the reports of the condemnation coming from our own ranks. In Holland for instance, some of the pacifist-anarchists are carry-

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3

36 N.

ing on a systematic attack on the C.N.T.-F.A.I., heaping the same insults and calumny on their heads as the fascists do. And from private correspondence I gather that our comrades in Spain have been charged with nothing short of treachery. That is very deplorable. To say the least it proves lack of understanding of the situation in Spain, and the conditions under which the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are labouring. Perhaps I can put them right even if all the actual facts of the inner work of the so called United Front cannot be given to the world. The truth has its own way of coming to the fore. Just at present we cannot oblige Franco and his backers. Once Fascism will be defeated, as it must be, if the revolution is to go on with its marvelous constructive work, all our comrades, as well as the rest of the world will learn the truth. The truth of the gigantic share the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have played from their inception until this day.

I hope I am still the old anarchist and that I still believe in the necessity of criticism of steps taken that apparently look inconsistent with our ideas. I have never justified the notion that wrong acts committed by one's own comrades should be ignored more than when committed by our opponents. And if I know anything of the comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I can say with certainty that they themselves would be the last to expect complete acceptance of anything they have done with which we cannot agree in full. They do, however, expect our comrades outside of Spain to acquaint themselves with the real situation and the steps imposed on them by the factors working in their own country. These factors left our comrades only one of two alternatives: either dictatorship or direct participation in the government. Never before was a revolution and its leading organisation so scandalously sabotaged as in Spain. In point of truth, the sabotage was systematic and flagrant enough to jeopardise the rescue of Madrid from the fascist hordes. It was only the decision of the C.N.T. to take a responsible share in the Madrid government that the City was made ready at the eleventh hour for the defence since known to the whole world as one of the most heroic battles in history. For it was only when the ~~Madrid~~ Caballero Cabinet betook itself to Valencia that the real drive against the fascist gang, equipped with every sort of German and Italian arms, could be undertaken. As on the 19th July, so in Madrid, the people themselves, the dumb inarticulate masses undertook the defence of Madrid and with it the defeat of Franco and his hirelings.

Let it be understood by all comrades that the C.N.T. is not at all unaware that the anarchists in Ministries are an anomaly. In the first place, government and ministers do not mean the same thing to the Spanish anarchists as they do to

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Europeans and Americans. They are mere makeshifts to them, to be dispensed with in due time. In the second place it meant the safety of Madrid, in fact the safety of Spain. Only the future will tell whether the C.N.T.-F.A.I. acted wisely or not. For the present it should suffice our comrades outside of Spain to know that the next step to entering the Ministry was armed revolt against the sabotage that had been going on for months on the part of some of the parties that had joined the united front.

I have already stated that our comrades had only one of two things to choose: dictatorship or the widest possible freedom for all their so called friends in the Anti-Fascist struggle. I am glad to say that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. chose the latter. It may seem an exaggeration when I say that Catalonia today is the freest place politically in the world - outside of the fascists every party enjoys unlimited freedom of speech, press and assembly. In fact some of them are interpreting liberty to mean license. They have requisitioned the most conspicuous buildings, they hold forth until all hours of the night in loud speakers and meetings. They have daily parades in military formation and music. They do pretty much as they damn please including intense preparation for the happy hour when they might be strong enough to put our comrades to the wall. True, they will have as much luck in that as Franco had so far. Our comrades are not blind to the danger, they are prepared for it. But so deep-rooted is their faith in freedom that they would rather endure the daily annoyances that would try the patience of saints than to forcibly prevent those who must rely on other methods to win adherents. Our people feel that anarchism and libertarian communism are so ingrained in the Catalonian workers and peasants they need no public shows to arouse their enthusiasm and devotion.

This will have to do for the present as proof that far from having betrayed our ideas, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are today the only gallant fighters and defenders of them. Actually they are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to struggle and die for it. I feel therefore that whatever our regrets may be of our Spanish comrades having entered Ministries, or having made other mistakes, we have no right to judge them until fascism has been crushed. At present there is only one menace, that is fascism, by whatever name it goes. Everything else must wait. Our duty outside of Spain is to help our comrades, to help the anti-fascist battle with material and moral support. To help the women and children evacuated from the various fronts.

Dear comrades, bear in mind Catalonia is carrying the whole weight. Thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for anti-fascist Spain. But not a cent went to Catalonia. Yet Catalonia is feeding Madrid, and it is feeding 30,000 women and children from other parts of Spain. Last but not

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least, Catalonia is the banner bearer of the revolution, the one part of Spain that is doing constructive work amidst the horrors of war, cold and hunger. In all this the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is playing the leading and dominating part.

All strength to the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Later I hope to send you something on the collectivized industries and farms. For today I have said enough. I am here for three or the most, four months. Then I will return to Spain. I want nothing grander for my last years than to be at the side of our comrades, to share with them in their struggle. To help them if only in a small measure to victory, or if needs be to lay down my life if this should be their lot. But it never can, will, or must be. And all our comrades in every country must see to it that the battle of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. should be victorious. You can, if you will, be less fault-finding and more active with your moral and financial support.

Salud, as we say in Spain.

18, Castleton Road,
London, W.14

P.S. The meeting on the 18th was a huge success. 55 pounds were collected for the evacuated women and children.

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LONDON ADDRESS.

18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14

5th January 1937

My dear Ben, [Capes]

I was very glad indeed to get your letter which I found in Paris on my arrival. I understood that you must be intensely occupied to wait so long to write to me. I myself was completely engrossed in my work in Barcelona to be able to continue my American correspondence. The fact as I neglected everybody. I am hoping that the rest of my friends will be understanding as you are.

Actually ones own personal interests appear meaningless when one is face to face with the heroic struggle of a whole people desperately trying to save their freedom. One feels very unimportant indeed. As to the struggle of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. and as to what it has already achieved in the face of danger and death, I can only say that whatever price I have paid in the 47 years of my anarchist activities it was all worth while, to see our ideas come to life. To see them play such an important part in the re-making of Spain. It was the most wonderful thing that has happened to me - to be called to the colors. - My deep regret was that I was not younger, or I would have certainly gone to the front. As it is I had to content myself with educational work that came my way. I have never known the feeling before in my life to be accepted by comrades without question, and to have their complete and absolute confidence. I know that my name acted as a pass word, and that it was accepted and honoured. It gave me a feeling I cannot possibly describe. Our Spanish comrades are childlike in their naivety. They actually did not believe when I told them that my name in capitalist countries acted as red cloth to the bull. It was impossible - they thought. How could it be when it was a magic word in Spain? Can you wonder therefore that I found it so bitter hard to leave the comrades, to leave them in danger, while I was going to a country of comparative safety. I struggled for weeks against it, but the comrades were anxious for some sort of publicity in England. I admit it is sadly wanted. On the one hand is the scurrilous attack on the C.N.T. - F.A.I. in the capitalist papers, on the other the conscious sabotage against the C.N.T. - F.A.I. are the part they are playing in the struggle. True, the few comrades we have in England, have done their utmost to bring the C.N.T. - F.A.I. before the workers, but they are too few and too poor to be able to do their work on a large scale. That is not their fault of course. Anyway I feel there is much to do here, and I mean to do it. If I can raise interest in the C.N.T. - F.A.I. I will be amply rewarded for my leaving Spain. I am however determined to bet back to Spain when the work here will be finished for the day.

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2. N.

I am enclosing copy of the letter to John Haynes Holmes. It will give you an idea how very hard pressed our comrades in Spain are. Not only are the fascists at their throats, but their so called friends are doing everything in their power to sabotage our people. I do not think that comrades of any other country would under similar circumstances show such extraordinary tolerance and unending patience; but at present they realise that any friction would bring grist to Franco's mill. In addition the Spanish comrades love freedom, to the extent of injuring themselves. I mean by this that all those who are with them in the united front should have political freedom. Unfortunately both the Communists and the Socialists are interpreting freedom to mean all for themselves and little for the C.N.T. - F.A.I. Time on end I called the attention of the comrades ~~that~~ that while Communists are being augmented by the thousand, sent by Stalin and well armed - while they are spreading themselves out in daily demonstrations with music and flags - while they have expropriated some of the best places for their propaganda, our comrades make no protest. They feel that nothing should or can be done at present. They feel themselves strong enough to meet the situation when the time will come. I hope fervently they may not find it too late. I am convinced that it is the deliberate intention of Moscow to establish a Dictatorship in Spain if and when Franco is defeated. I should feel more apprehension than I do but for the fact that anarchism has its roots deeply in the masses themselves, in the worker and in the peasants. So perhaps Stalin will find it as difficult as Franco - to eradicate our ideas from the masses. Of course it means playing with fire. May it not happen again as it did so many times in the past, with our comrades rescuing the destruction from the fire and burning their own hands.

For the present the sabotage of our friends - the enemy, has forced our comrades to take a step which they themselves know to be at variance with our ideas. They consented to enter four Ministries which have been forced upon them. Forced by the criminal sabotage of Caballero and his comrades. Our people were before the alternative of imposing a Dictatorship or taking Caballero by the throat and forcing him to his knees. As it was they decided to take a deliberate part in the Government. Caballero sabotaged the defence of Madrid until it was almost too late. His hatred for the C.N.T. - F.A.I. is perhaps deeper than the hatred of Franco, therefore he did everything possible to undermine the influences of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. All this will come out in due time. Only then will the workers see once more the sinister effects of the Socialists in power. Unfortunately this cannot be made public at present. Franco and his gangsters must be defeated everything else must take a second place, except the gigantic constructional work our comrades are doing. Not for a second have they relaxed in that, regardless of the task of meeting the terrific burdens of the Anti-Fascist War. I am writing you all this in order that you may be able to meet the criticisms and objections of our own people and others with regard to our Spanish comrades entry into four Ministries. I do not have to tell you that I was opposed to this and that I have and still consider it inconsistent. Moreover I do not think it is having the result our people expected. Actually our comrades ~~and~~ themselves know that this step is inconsistent. Nor are they

by means of the sabotage of the workers

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deceived about the importance of their ministries. To them the so called Government decisions are mere scraps of paper. They lay absolutely no weight upon it. When the time comes they will fling the whole pack overboard. But for the present they feel they can meet the internal sabotage only by having a decisive voice in the Government.

It is sad, yet understandable that some of our comrades far removed from the Spanish people, are so ready with their condemnation of our comrades. Actually there are comrades in Toronto who have had the temerity to say that the C.N.T. - F.A.I. had betrayed anarchism. In Holland some of the anarchists have carried on a campaign of slander quite on a par with that of the enemy. I consider the attitude of these people not only stupid but also cruel. I am sure if they were in Spain, close to the comrades, to see their sterling integrity, to see their complete consecration, not to speak of their tireless work, they would realise their mistake. That does not mean that I want comrades outside of Spain to accept every false step of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. may make. I hope I still believe in the right and freedom of people to criticise, but after all one must be informed before one can criticise. That has been the trouble everywhere outside Spain. There was not enough correct information.

I am hoping that our work here may have the effect in every English-speaking country, and through them in Europe, to show our comrades how hasty and unwarranted they are in their judgment of the C.N.T. - F.A.I.

Yes my dear Ben my visit to Spain was indeed a fitting experience to the rest of my life. It will be more fitting when I return there, and give whatever years left to me to the comrades in their great effort to make anarchism a living factor. I have no other aim or wish in life. All countries, with the exception of perhaps America, have lost their meaning to me. I do not say that I would not love to return to the States for a time, but then it would only be to articulate the Spanish Revolution. By the way - Roger Baldwin is on the job to get me another Visa, perhaps for six months. That must be kept quiet for a time. How I long to get back and speak in every city as loudly and passionately as I can on behalf of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. but outside of that Spain has become my spiritual home, and I want to get back.

Give my love to Florence. She looks lovely with her baby, and what a proud grandfather you are, though you look as much of a youngster as when I saw you last.

Greet Burnett for me. Loving greetings to Ida and Nardy. Greet all the comrades. With my old love to you dear Ben.

P.S. Thanks for the contribution you sent. I used it to purchase books for the children of our comrades in Barcelona. They probably haven't had any for a long time.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 19]37 Jan. 28, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

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Dr Max Nettlau
Lazarethgasse 32/III/22.

Vienna X
Austria.



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E.G. Colton
18, Castletown "d.
London W.14.
England.



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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 25, London [to] Harold [J.] Laski, London / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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20300

London Jan 25th. 47

Dear Harold Laski.

Our acquaintance eleven years ago in this city had rather an abrupt end. That was at a time when you and others still believed Russia too sacred to be touched, I dare say it no longer needs me to expose its true character. If nothing else Stalins ruthlessness in exterminating the old Bolshevik party speaks powerfully for itself.

However, I am here not in behalf of Russia, but Spain. I come as the accredited representative of the CNT-FAI, and the CNT, in the Generalitat of Catalonia. I was there for months working side by side with my comrades in the CNT-FAI. And they sent me ~~xxxx~~ to England to present their aim and their great constructive experiment. I would like to speak to you about this and also about a meeting I am arranging in the FRIENDS HOUSE, Feb. 19th.

We are almost neighbors. So I could easily come to you if you will let me see you. My telephone is Fulham 68 29. Any late afternoon, or Thursday and Friday evening will be alright for me.

Let me hear from you very soon, please.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 25, London [to] Donald Darling, London / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
1 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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20021

London Jan 25th 37.

Dear Donald Darling.

Here is a very rough draft of the letter I have in mind. You can change it as you will and read it back to me over the phone tomorrow. I did not know how to address it, to what organisations or secretaries. I am sure you will know whom to approach. Please get the letter ready and mailed this week. With your signature of course and the seal of the Generalitat.

The Queens Hall and Gingsway projects are off. The guarantee I received is not enough to risk a large expence. The meeting will take place in The FRIENDS HOUSE Feb. 19th. Will you be able to sell some tickets? I mean to have some seats, actually reserved and numbered at 2/6, about five hundred at a shilling and ~~some~~ some at 6d. The gallery is to be free for unemployed. But we will have to concentrate on the sale of the 2/6 and 1/ ones. Let me know how many you will undertake to dispose of if any.

I am not yet sure whom we will have as speakers. Fenner offered to preside. I have written Bertrand Russell. I am writing Harold ~~Laski~~ Laski. Rebecca West does not get back from America until Feb. 3rd. I hope to see her shortly after. Fenner thinks Mc Govern will be back from Palastine early in Feb. We might have him in a pinch. Dr Stella Cartchill is willing to speak. The trouble is one loses time in getting them or at them. Fortunately we have an extra week.

I will be in all day tomorrow.

Signed
EG

copy for file
meas.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 25, London [to] Spain and the World, London / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 50 x 14 cm.
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

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2

SPAIN AND THE WORLD, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY

SPAIN and the WORLD

Anti-Fascist Fortnightly

TEMPORARY OFFICES:
207, GOSWELL ROAD,
LONDON, E.C.1,
ENGLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES ON
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PRICE 2d.; FOR U.S.A., 5 CENTS.

Mussolini Admits Defeat

In accepting the proposals for banning all volunteers in Spain, Mussolini added that all anti-fascist propagandists and agitators should also be forbidden to work in Spain. By so doing, Mussolini has admitted defeat. With his Fascist propaganda organisations, as well as Hitler's Nazi organisations, he has been unable to convince the Spanish people of his superior civilization. He has only succeeded in parts of the country in taking control, but then only by means of bombing planes, heavy artillery, submarines and thousands of paid soldiers. He has not succeeded in convincing the Spanish people any more than he succeeded in convincing the unfortunate Abyssinian people.

These anti-fascist propagandists and agitators have gone to Spain to help the Spanish people to bring about a Social Revolution; not a Society based on military discipline, or the renunciation of individuality; not a Society whose greatness must needs be based on trains running to time, new roads (for the benefit of tourists), wireless stations, by which the people are fed with nationalism and hatred, nor by "spontaneous" manifestations which inebriate the simple minded. All these "achievements" can be brought about in any society, however retrograde. But, the well-being of all, the education of the mind, and the Liberty of the individual, is based on an ideal. It is not achieved at the expense of others, as are Mussolini's aspirations, but by the co-operation of all for the common cause. That Society is being built up in Catalonia, the Levante and in those parts of the country where Franco and his hordes have not trodden.

And Mussolini knows this, as does Hitler, as his remarks in the Reichstag indicate, and they will continue to do their utmost to counteract all progress in Spain and elsewhere.

Call to Action

We can protest; pseudo-Socialist M.P.s can raise their voices and shake their fists; political organisations can join hands and wave the same flag

EMMA GOLDMAN APPEALS

For Understanding And Support
Of The C.N.T.--F.A.I.

CATALONIA -- THE BANNER BEARER

Playing The Dominating Part

Dear Comrades,

Here I am in the country where I have always felt completely lost and where I have never succeeded in reaching people. This time it seems I may really have better luck. But then, the power of attraction is Spain. It is anarchism so maligned and misrepresented as criminal and impractical that has at last been proven a living force. With such a factor to attract English people it will not be so bitterly hard as it has been in the past. I will now be able to hark in the glorious sun of the Spanish revolution—of the great courage and fortitude of our comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I.

In point of fact my main quest here is to make the C.N.T.—F.A.I. known in England. So far its importance has been grasped only by the few. On my arrival I found that while much was being done in England for the Anti-Fascist struggle and the various parties allied with the C.N.T.—F.A.I., very little was done for the latter. This partly out of ignorance, and mainly out of deliberateness.

This could not have happened had we an anarchist movement in England. Unfortunately we have not. There are a few comrades in London and in a few provincial towns willing enough, but either too old to do much, willing as they are, or not able to make themselves heard. They have done what they could in making the work of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. known. Alas, it was but a drop in the sea. More reason for my being here and straining every nerve to put the C.N.T.—F.A.I. "on the British map" as we used to say in America.

I said before that the part of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. in the Spanish struggle is hardly understood by the outside world. I fear even some of our comrades are still lacking in understanding of the colossal share our Spanish comrades had and have in events there. I am led to this conclusion by the reports of the condemnation coming from our own ranks. In Holland for instance, some of the pacifist-anarchists are carrying on a systematic attack on the C.N.T.—F.A.I., heaping the same insults and calumny on their heads as the fascists do. And from private correspondence I gather that our comrades in Spain have been charged with nothing short of treachery. That is very deplorable. To say the least it proves lack of understanding of the situation in Spain, and the conditions under which the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are labouring.

Perhaps I can put them right even if all the actual facts of the inner work of the so called United Front cannot be given to the world. The truth has its way of coming to the fore. Just at present we cannot oblige Franco and his backers. Once Fascism will be defeated, as it must be, if the revolution is to go on with its marvellous constructive work, all our comrades, as well as the rest of the world will learn the truth. The truth of the gigantic share the C.N.T.—F.A.I. have played from their inception until this day.

I hope I am still the old anarchist and that I still believe in the necessity of criticism of steps taken that apparently look inconsistent with our ideas. I have never justified the notion that wrong acts committed by one's own comrades should be ignored more than when committed by our opponents. And if I know anything of the comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. I can say with certainty that they themselves would be the last to expect complete acceptance of anything they have done with which we cannot agree in full. They do, however, expect our comrades outside of Spain to acquaint themselves with the real situation and the steps imposed on them by the factors working in their own country. These factors left our comrades only one of two alternatives: either dictatorship, or

and miniatures do not mean the same thing to the Spanish anarchists as they do to Europeans and Americans. They are mere makeshifts to them, to be dispensed with in due time. In the second place it meant the safety of Madrid, in fact the safety of Spain. Only the future will tell whether the C.N.T.—F.A.I. acted wisely or not. For the present it should suffice our comrades outside of Spain to know that the next step to entering the Ministry was armed revolt against the sabotage that had been going on for months on the part of some of the parties that had joined the United Front.

REAL LIBERTY IN CATALONIA

I have already stated that our comrades had only one of two things to choose: dictatorship or the widest possible freedom for all their so-called friends in the Anti-Fascist struggle. I am glad to say that the C.N.T.—F.A.I. chose the latter. It may seem an exaggeration when I say that Catalonia today is the free-est place politically in the world—outside of the fascists every party enjoys unlimited freedom of speech, press and assembly. In fact, some of them are interpreting liberty to mean licence. They have requisitioned the most conspicuous buildings, they hold forth until all hours of the night in loud speakers and meetings. They have daily parades in military formation and music. They do pretty much as they damn please including intense preparation for the happy hour when they might be strong enough to put our comrades to the wall. True, they will have as much luck in that as Franco has had so far. Our comrades are not blind to the danger, they are prepared for it. But so deep-rooted is their faith in freedom that they would rather endure the daily annoyances that would try the patience of saints than forcibly prevent those who must rely on other methods to win adherents. Our people feel that anarchism and libertarian communism are so ingrained in the Catalonian workers and peasants that they need no public shows to arouse their enthusiasm and devotion.

This will have to do for the present as proof that far from having betrayed our ideas, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are to-day the only gallant fighters and defenders of them. Actually they are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to struggle and die for it.

I feel, therefore, that whatever our regrets may be of our Spanish comrades having entered Ministries, or having made other mistakes, we have no right to judge until fascism has been crushed. At present there is only one menace, that is fascism, by whatever name it goes. Everything else must wait. Our duty outside of Spain is to help our comrades, to help the anti-fascist battle with material and moral support. To help the women and children evacuated from the various fronts.

Dear comrades, hear in mind Catalonia is carrying the whole weight. Thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for anti-fascist Spain. But not a cent went to Catalonia. Yet Catalonia is feeding Madrid, and it is feeding 30,000 women and children from other parts of Spain. Last, but not least, Catalonia is the banner bearer of the revolution, the one part of Spain that is doing constructive work amidst the horrors of war, cold and hunger. In all this, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. is playing the leading and dominating part.

All strength to the C.N.T.—F.A.I.
Later I hope to send you something on the collectivised industries and farms. For to-day I have said enough. I am here for three, or at the most four, months. Then I will return to Spain. I want nothing grander than for my last

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 25, London [to] Spain and the World, London / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 50 x 14 cm.
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

... part of the country where Franco and his hordes have not trodden.

And Mussolini knows this, as does Hitler, as his remarks in the Reichstag indicate, and they will continue to do their utmost to counteract all progress in Spain and elsewhere.

Call to Action

We can protest; pseudo-Socialist M.P.s can raise their voices and shake their fists; political organisations can join hands and wave the same flag; pacifists can pass resolutions or discuss details; protestant clergy can exploit the corruption of the Catholic Church (and vice versa); intellectuals can write letters to the Press. . . . BUT if this sympathy is not accompanied by action, why continue? Why fill the Spanish people with false hopes? Why talk of Liberty whilst every day the people of England are losing those few liberties they possessed; without a murmur? Why talk of economic freedom and at the same time applaud the "philanthropist" who can dispose of millions of pounds for charities, without seeking the explanation for the discrepancy between the twenty odd million people who have each 8/- a week to spend on food, and the two million pounds a single individual can dispose of without turning a hair.

These injustices have existed for years in Spain. But the people have not sought the counsel of their local M.P. nor the parson, but have acted by their own initiative. The example given by the Spanish workers during the last hundred years is one of self-sacrifice for an ideal.

(continued in next column)

... have played from their inception until this day.

I hope I am still the old anarchist and that I still believe in the necessity of criticism of steps taken that apparently look inconsistent with our ideas. I have never justified the notion that wrong acts committed by one's own comrades should be ignored more than when committed by our opponents. And if I know anything of the comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. I can say with certainty that they themselves would be the last to expect complete acceptance of anything they have done with which we cannot agree in full. They do, however, expect our comrades outside of Spain to acquaint themselves with the real situation and the steps imposed on them by the factors working in their own country. These factors left our comrades only one of two alternatives: either dictatorship or direct participation in the government.

SYSTEMATIC SABOTAGE

Never before was a revolution and its leading organisation so scandalously sabotaged as in Spain. In point of truth, the sabotage was systematic and flagrant enough to jeopardise the rescue of Madrid from the fascist hordes. It was only by the decision of the C.N.T. to take a responsible share in the Madrid government that the City was made ready at the eleventh hour for the defence since known to the whole world as one of the most heroic battles in history. For it was only when the Madrid Caballero cabinet betook itself to Valencia that the real drive against the fascist gang, equipped with every sort of German and Italian arms, could be undertaken. As on the 19th July, so in Madrid, the people themselves, the dumb inarticulate masses, undertook the defence of Madrid and with it the defeat of Franco and his hirelings.

Let it be understood by all comrades that the C.N.T. is not at all unaware that the anarchists in Ministries are an anomaly. In the first place, government

(continued from previous column)

To-day their sacrifice would have been rewarded had no interference come from Mussolini and Hitler. And the "democracies" of England and France just murmur their disapproval at this interference and shrug their shoulders.

Was Bernard Shaw right when he said that the English people did not know the meaning of the word LIBERTY?

Dear comrades, bear in mind Catalonia is carrying the whole weight. Thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for anti-fascist Spain. But not a cent went to Catalonia. Yet Catalonia is feeding Madrid, and it is feeding 30,000 women and children from other parts of Spain. Last, but not least, Catalonia is the banner bearer of the revolution, the one part of Spain that is doing constructive work amidst the horrors of war, cold and hunger. In all this, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. is playing the leading and dominating part.

All strength to the C.N.T.—F.A.I. Later I hope to send you something on the collectivised industries and farms. For to-day I have said enough. I am here for three, or at the most four, months. Then I will return to Spain. I want nothing grander than for my last years to be at the side of our comrades, to share with them in their struggle. To help them, if only in a small measure, to victory, or if needs be to lay down my life if defeat should be their lot. But it never can, will or must be. And all our comrades in every country must see to it that the battle of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. should be victorious. You can, if you will, be less fault-finding and more active with your moral and financial support.

Salud,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

18, Castleton Road,
London, W.14.
25/1/37.

In our next issue articles on:

Francisco Ferrer.

The Significance of Federica.

Montsemer's Speech at

Valencia.

COMRADE!

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EYES

Poverty—Before And After July 19th

We are publishing further extracts from *Revista Natura*, which is written and edited by children of tender years. Editorial offices: "Escuela Natura," Avenida de Francisco Ascaso.

"Poverty is a detestable thing. But I think riches is even more detestable.

"On July 19th, sacred day of history, all riches disappeared, and poverty will soon disappear. We are working and shall continue to work like we did before. But to-day we are working with more joy, because we know that we no longer work for the bourgeois, but for the Revolution, that has cost us and still costs so many lives of the defenders of liberty and equality in the world.

"Before the Revolution one used to hear every day, a man has died of cold or hunger. The bourgeois did not mind. Now one never hears this, but one learns that comrades died when they took part in the battle for a village. These men do not die of hunger or cold. They die for the freedom of all. We little comrades shall fight at their side until fascism is smashed and poverty is destroyed, just like riches has been destroyed. Forward, Comrades!

LIBERTO POU (11 years)."

"Since July 19th the difference between the poor and the rich has ceased to exist. The rich people formed a fascist column and came to Barcelona, but the C.N.T. was quicker and cleverer and the workers went to the front with rifles and various other things.

"On July 19th our great comrade Ascaso died. Then our great comrade Durruti formed many large columns and went to the Zaragoza front. Later the workers of Russia

(Continued at foot of next column)

AUSTRALIANS DEMAND REMOVAL

The Ministry of the Defence Junta has received a communication from the Australian movement against war and fascism expressing their solidarity with the Spanish antifascist movement.

The letter reads:

"This Council sends fraternal greetings to your heroic soldiers in these grave times. We are organising monster mass meetings protesting against the Madrid bombardments, and asking the Australian and British Governments to raise the arms embargo in order to enable the constitutional Spanish Government to buy the necessary arms.

"We want you to know that all the workers and friends of democracy of the south and of Australia are with you to the man in the defence of democracy. We foresee a complete triumph for you, which will mean the victory of world democracy and the beginning of fascist defeat in order that equality and justice may triumph throughout the world. We are unconditionally on your side in the cause of unity, peace, freedom and democracy."

(Continued from previous column)

sent us food and arms, with which we made more columns. These are now bombarding the fascists in Madrid and Zaragoza.

"The fascists are now using poisonous gas. The people of Barcelona are very quiet. If all those who walk about the Rambla with rifles would go out to the Huesca front, etc., our comrades who are already there need not suffer so much, because together they could kill more fascists.

"Our comrades are very cold up in the mountains and in the trenches. All Spanish women must knit for the militias, just as we children of the Escuela Natura do.

Little comrades! Follow the example of the girls of the Escuela Natura. Forward, comrades!

ARMONIA POU (9 years)."

The Emma Goldman Papers

891127104

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 25 [London to] The Evening Standard, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

COPY

25th January, 1937.



The Editor,
"The Evening Standard"
43, Shoe Lane, E. C. 4.

Sir,

In your issue of January 14th, 1937, I found a letter making the astounding charge that Mr. Anthony-Ovseensko, the Consul General of the Soviet Government, is in control of the Generalidad in Barcelona. Certainly your informer cannot possibly have been in Cataluna or Barcelona. Had he been there he could not have made such an absurd statement, for even enemies of the Anti-Fascist force should not pervert facts deliberately.

Permit me to inform you that I lived in Barcelona for months, in the very thickest of activities of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T), and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I). I have travelled all through Cataluna, Aragon and the Levante. Everywhere I came in contact with leading men and women. Nowhere did I find any connection of the Soviet Consul with the Anti-Fascist forces, or the most dominant party in Cataluna, which is the C.N.T-F.A.I.

I have already stated that if your Correspondent had been in Cataluna he would not have indulged in the charge he made in his letter, because he could not have escaped the ideological divergence which exists between Mr. Antonov-Ovseensko and his Government, and the CNT-FAI, or even the Generalidad. True, they are as one in their determination to drive Fascism out of Spain. Outside of their common interest in this issue, they are as far apart as the Poles. It is therefore absurd to claim that any representative of the Soviet Government,--in this case the Consul General in Barcelona - would be given authority over the events in Cataluna. If the enemies of Liberty and Justice in Spain have no better proofs than the writer of the letter in your paper, their case is pitiable indeed!

Yours sincerely,

Representative of the C.N.T-F.A.I.

The Emma Goldman Papers

890128025

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 25 [London to] The Daily Telegraph, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Martin Gudell Archive.

Did not appear

 Gud

COPY

25th January 1937.

The Editor
"The Daily Telegraph"
135, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

Sir,

In your issue of Friday, January 19th, I found an article by your "Own Correspondent" in Perpignan, regarding RIOIS of the peasantry against the Government at Valencia. The writer states that he had learned "from reliable informants that had just come out from Barcelona, that a serious rising against the Valencia Governments had broken out among the farmers in the surrounding country". To write about the world-stirring events in Spain from the vantage point of a French border town is superficial enough. But to base one's knowledge on mere hearsay seems to me to be the height of injustice even to those whose Cause one deprecates.

It happens that I have been in the very parts near Valencia your Correspondent refers to; that I have also travelled the length and breadth of Cataluna, Aragon and the Levante. I have visited dozens of villages and, being out of Spain but recently, I can emphatically state that there is no truth in the report of the information your Correspondent transmitted second-hand. Far from any "uprisings", I found singular goodwill and sympathy on the part of those peasants who have not yet joined the Collectives. As to the peasants who are working the land collectively, they are heart and soul with the Revolutionary forces now engaged in an heroic battle against Fascism.

No doubt there is a shortage of food but that is entirely due to the so-called 'democratic' Governments who by their stand of neutrality have deliberately worked into the hands of Franco and his worthy supporters, Hitler and Mussolini. They have thereby sabotaged the rights of the Spanish people to defend their lives and their liberty. Had they not been interfered with, they would have been able to continue the normal supplies of food-stuffs. But with tens of thousands of fascist victims to care for now, it is no surprising that there should be some shortage.

However, at no time was this sufficient to impel the farmers to rise in revolt against the Anti-Fascist forces, with whom they are so absolutely in accord. No impartial observer who has visited Anti-Fascist Spain will deny that whether the average farmer agrees with the various ideologies represented in the United Front or not, he loathes Fascism as much as the most "Left" Revolutionaries. It is this loathing of the Spanish people in every station of life, for Franco and his hirelings, that precludes any rising or revolt so long as a single fascist will continue to disgrace the fair name of Spain.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890128025

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 25 [London to] The Daily Telegraph, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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-2-

 Gud

May I inform you that it is this opposition and hatred of Fascism which explains the failure of Franco to crush the Libertarian struggle. Franco has all the arms he wants, and now also a great many men so generously supplied him by the two ultra Humanitarian rulers, Hitler and Mussolini. The other side has in addition to large numbers and considerable arms, also a sublime ideal and courage. These have been known to move mountains, and they will help to remove Fascism from Spain.

Whether you agree or disagree with the Anti-Fascist Cause, it would be well for your readers to obtain your information from a Correspondent stationed in Spain, rather than from one comfortably and safely watching the heroic Spanish social panorama from afar.

Sincerely,

Representative of the CNT-FAI.,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 26, London [to Frank] Leech, [Glasgow, Scotland] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20309

London Jan 26th 37.

Dear comrade Leech.

Just received your wire. You have taken a load off my shoulders in changing the meeting date for the 14th of next month. I really do not know how I would have managed to be in Glasgow the 21st without terrific strain. You see we have our own second meeting here Feb. 19th in THE FRIENDS HOUSE. The 20th the exhibition opens and the 21st will really be the important first day of the exhibition because the workers will be able to attend. Of course if it had to be I would have strained the point for I certainly would not have disappointed you. But since you have been able to change the date I am very, very grateful. I hope though the meeting will not suffer because it will now be held the 14th.

I have now set aside Saturday for you. I mean I will come early to meet the press if the papers want an interview. Then you could have a social gathering of the comrades and friends for Saturday evening. Should this not be convenient I will stay over for Monday and leave Tuesday ~~even~~ morning. I do have an awful lot to do in connection with our new meeting and the exhibition. But I want to reciprocate for your thoughtfulness in ~~chick~~ having me come for the 14th instead of the week after. However, if the comrades can meet me Saturday the 13th I should prefer it. It would bring me back here sooner.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 26, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C. N. I.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. I. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona London Jan 26th 37.

Dear Roger.

That is indeed sad news about Mac Cormack. He was still young wasn't he? It would not be like E.G., would it? To have anything for her go smoothly. But I know you will not give up trying for the visa. Is there no way of reaching Roosevelt direct? Lady Perkins will probably never be given the Nobel Prize for great valor. I have followed her doings since she became minister and never did I come across any indication of an independent thought or act. Of course the new man for McCormacks position maybe liberal. But if not have you access to Roosevelt, and would you care to approach him?

There are Hillman and Dubinsky. They did a lot for R. They could do a lot. I have no hopes of Hillman. But Dubinsky might help you. At a banquet in Montreal given him by the I.L.G.W.U. which I attended he could not say enough about the inspiration E.G. had been to him in his "young" days. Most politicians hate to remember their youthful follies. But perhaps D. still remembers and he may help you. If you think well of this suggestion have a talk with him.

I am here for the CNT-Fai as their representative. ~~AND~~ also I am representing the CNT in the Generalitat. The response for Spain so far has been somewhat encouraging. We had a big crowd at my first meeting ~~xxx~~ a week ago yesterday. And we are having another in THE FRIENDS HOUSE Feb. 19th when I will speak about the relation of the Spanish Church with the fascist conspiracy. I am trying to get Bertrand Russell and Laski to speak at this meeting and possibly Rebecca West when she gets back from America. Jenner Brockway will preside. He spoke at our last meeting. And he has been generally helpful. What he will do now when his party has united with the Communists is another question. So far every one in every country where any union with the Stalin outfit, or rather the Third International had taken place nothing but disruption resulted. In Spain the CNT-Fai have already realized the mistake of having the Communists as their allies. The sabotage of this gang is unbelievable. It is only because of the gravity of the situation that my comrades are showing such patience and tolerance. But actually they were forced to read the Communists the riot act. To demand that they stop their outrageous sabotage and violence against our people or the break would be inevitable. I am sure the I.L.P. will wake up soon.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 26, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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However the exhibition which I have consented to have jointly with the I.L.P. is coming off next month in spite of the insidious activities against it by the Stalin outfit. What a frightful spectacle this new heresy hunting. There seems to be no end to it. And worse still the crudity goes on.

Dear Roger I know you will leave no stone unturned to get a visa for me. It will mean more to me this time even more than ~~last~~ 3 years ago. Just three years the first of Feb. You see this time I would be coming for Spain. I am so wrapped up in the heroic struggle there I would do anything to serve it. I know in the States I could do a tremendous lot. Naturally I do want to see my people and my friends again. But mainly it is Spain I want to help. And where can I hope for a better response than A.?

My plan is to keep up the campaign for Spain until the end of April. Then if you are successful go back to Spain for a month to get fresh impressions and then go to the States. If you fail I will remain in Spain. I really could not stand this smug country for longer than four five months. I hope it will be America instead, for six months at least.

Affectionately

EG



PS. Perhaps the chance
of a visa would be better when
Congress is not sitting. Say I am
very to you. EG

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 26, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

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London Jan. 26th 37.

Dearest, I have at last met Covelly. Last night he took me to see Bergner in D.V.I.D. a more boring play I have not seen in many years. Poor Bergner why does she waste her wonderful talent in such stupid and meaningless stuff. Whatever could be saved in the play she did it of course. But it was so little it was a crime to see her genius thrown away. We had dinner before the theatre and after went to the Cafe Royal. I cannot tell you how much these hours with your friend brought back America to me. In fact it was like being there. Covelly surprised me when he said he was a grande father. He looks no more than 35, or the highest forty. He raves about Teddy and you. He said "it would be grand if we had Stella and Teddy with us to night". Grund was not the word to express my yearning for you both. But your ears must have burned we talked so much of you. As if my Covelly is crazy about the kid. He admires Ian immensely, tells me how fine he is and how serious. It was the first outing in several years. Not only is there no one here or in Paris to go out for an evening with. But those who are never brought back so poignantly all that connects me with my past. It was an enjoyable evening. Covelly is going to take me to see Parnell next week. and I will have him to dinner at our place.

The most valuable side of my meeting C. was that he promised to help me with a scheme I have of raising money for the Spanish struggle. It is what we have so often undertaken in a benefit theatre performance. C. thought it should consist of one act plays and may some good music. I wish Paul were here. But I understand he is still in Russia. Maybe he will be back in March. It could not take place before I fear. C. is to let me know when he can get. I have an artist friend here who made a drawing of Bergner. He knows her well. He may help me to get to her. I have a feeling she would be willing to participate. As you see I leave nothing undone for Spain.

My dream of a meeting in Queens Hall, like so many of my dreams has not materialized. The party who had offered to stand the expense of another meeting in Conway Hall, £25 could not find anyone who would help him raise a guarantee of £130 which the Queens Hall meeting would have cost though we figured out that it would pay for itself. Nevertheless I could not risk it since I have but little money belonging to the CNT-M.I. I decided therefore to take THE FRIENDS HOUSE, a very well known meeting place in London. This with extensive advertising will cost forty pounds. I hope to raise ~~that from~~ £15 from the comrades who are nearly all poverty stricken. The meeting is to be Feb 19th and I am trying to get Bertrand Russell to ask to speak and possibly Rebecca when she returns from A. Feb. 3rd. Of course I will also speak.

The exhibition is not yet. and many a tear of blood will I have to shed before it will be ready. There is so much rotten undercurrent of antagonism against me and the CNT-M.I. I have to hold on to myself with iron will not to tell the *scribble*

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2

Turn has evidently had a wide influence in the Puget Sound as later they all rode to one of the ponds.

The inclosed copy of my letter to Becker will tell you how I feel about the visa. I had to smile at those passing up the buck to Gardner Jackson. If he is lobbying, rotten occupation anyway, for again how can he bring me into the picture? It is ridiculous for those the xxx Vice-President of the organization that helped to send Roosevelt back to the Whitehouse to suggest you write to Gardner Jackson. Why Dubinsky is most powerful with the Administration. Why could he not go after him. But its the old story with our so called friends. They always say let George do it. Well, unless Roger goes ahead which he surely will there will be no visa. Even if he were to succeed for the summer it would hardly be worth while because of the impossibility to have indoor meetings or reach anybody in the summer. However, we will cross the bridge when we get there. Once the visa will be granted I could sail in August and spend a month with you, if you will have me. ~~Antixixxxxxxthaxxxxtime~~
~~thaxxxx~~. It would give the comrades all along the way to the Coast time to prepare meetings for the early fall. ~~ixixxx~~ I have written Roger I would have to go back to Spain for a while, to get new impressions and see how far the constructive work has gone. I could leave here in May for two month in Spain, perhaps a few weeks in Paris and then sail for .. from a French port. But all that is mere speculation since we do not know whether the visa will be granted. It has greater chances in the summer because Congress will not be sitting. Well, we will see. Meanwhile I must struggle on here.

about the stockings and the slippers. Goveilly tells me as he was carrying a lot of stuff he did not wish to declare he gave your parcel to a young friend of his to bring passed the customs officials. She had to go to a hospital on her arrival. But he heard from her yesterday he said that she would soon be out and deliver the parcel. I suppose she will.

The address of Karin Mitchell is c/o Murders at
Whitrus, Remington Place New Rochelle N.Y. She gives no street
number. The woman is her sister. You might write Karin there
though it already several months since she sailed. Should you ~~cannot~~
connect with her give her my love and tell her I will write soon.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 26, London [to Nemesio] Galve [and Manuel] Mascarrell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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18906

London Jan. 26th 37

Galve or Mascarrell
Dear Comrades.

I wrote you bith because I want to be sure that one of you who is less busy than the other will attend to my requests without delay. Last week I wrote you a letter informing you that I will an preparing and important letter for comrade Vazquez which I will mail to you that it maybe transmitted to the C.N. by a reliable comrade who goes to Barcelona. I have sent you that letter a day before yesterday and also a package containing a book of trade union addresses comrade Vazquez asked for as well as some other matters that is sure to be held up by the censor in Spain. I hope dear comrades you have attended to both matters as they are both important and urgent. You must have been amused at my few lines in Franch which I sent along with the letter intended for the C.N.

I also wrote you about another important matter, namely the poster of the SIA which represents the SEMANA del NINO. Herrera sent me only one. As we are preparing an exhibition of childrens drawings in Barceloan schools we need the poster to help ius with our publicity. I asked you to impress this on Herreras mind or whom ever else you talk to over the telephone to tell them to send me these posters right away. Or if you have them to send them to me. It is so difficult and such a delay to get anything direct from Spain that I must ask you dear comrades to help me. I am sure you have photo graphs of all sorts of events in Spain collectives, sdhools the work of the SIA. Please send me some of them. When you send cuts or matss you must state its value and hotify the customs, else they will do as they did with the last ones you sent, they will confiscate them.

We are working hard for our exhibition which is going to be in behalf of the SIA and we are also planning a large meeting perhaps in connection with a concert for the same purpose. I have quite a number of sponsirs of men and women famous in the world of le letters, science and music. Anyhow we are working frightfully hard.

Please notice our new offices. We are having special station for the SIA so as not to mix it up with the burau of the CNT-FAI

Fraternal greetings to comrade Roca. I never hear from him any more. Affectionate greeting to Emillienne

Fraternally

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 26, London [to] Emma Goldman, London / Harold J. Laski.—
1 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

20306

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

HOUGHTON STREET,
ALDWYCH,
LONDON, W.C.2.

26th January, 1937.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Just for the present I am afraid
it is impossible for me to find time
for a talk as I am overwhelmingly busy
but one day soon I will suggest a time
and I shall be glad to see you again
though I fear we should not agree even
now about Soviet Russia but whatever you
do to ensure the victory of the Spanish
Government arouses my gratitude.

Yours sincerely,

p.p. HAROLD J. LASKI.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 27, Barcelona [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / El Congreso Internacional Anarquista. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR

COMISIÓN ORGANIZADORA DEL CONGRESO
INTERNACIONAL ANARQUISTA
.....

19520

Barcelona, January, 27th, 1937

E. J. Colton
18, Castletown Rd.
London, 14.

Dear comrade:

The organization commission of the International Anarchist Council, and the organizer committee of the International Juvenile Anarchist Council, send you a package of circular letters of both Councils, and beg you to distribute same between all the anarchist groups and individualities.

At the same time, and for our record, we were much obliged to you, if you would send us the names and addresses of the groups and individualities to whom you had sent circulars.

Remains yours and from the anarchy.

The Commission

The Secretary

The Committee



Director general de la Federación:

JEAN EMILE AY

42 Avenue de la République

PERPIGNAN - P. O.

FRANCIA

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005083

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 27, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], St. Tropez / Commissariat de Propaganda, Foyer du Français Antifasciste. — 1 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

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20023

COMMISSARIAT DE PROPAGANDA

FOYER DU FRANÇAIS ANTIFASCISTE

Av. Tolosa, 36
BARCELONA

Barcelone le 27 Janvier 1937

Camarade F.O. Colton

Villa Bon Esprit
Chemin S. Antoine
SAN TROPEZ (Var)

Il existe à Barcelone, créé sur l'initiative de Camarades dévoués et sous le Patronage du Commissariat de Propagande, le FOYER DU FRANÇAIS ANTIFASCISTE, dont le Comité d'action est contrôlé par les différentes organisations politiques.

Il a pour but d'apporter aux Français l'aide morale et effective dont ils ont besoin. Il met aussi à leur disposition des salles de lecture, de jeux, de musique et de réunion qui leur permettent d'occuper leur temps de loisir d'une manière agréable et culturelle.

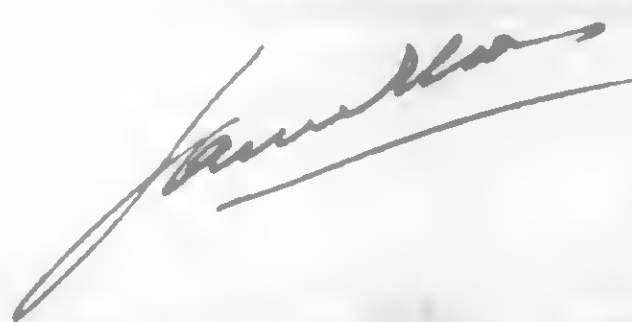
Il est également un trait d'union entre tous les Français qui combattent sur les différents fronts quelque soit la nuance politique des idées qu'ils professent.

Nous faisons appel à toutes les organisations antifascistes pour qu'elles nous viennent en aide pécuniairement et donnent la plus grande publicité à notre labeur en pensant que l'importance antifasciste de notre oeuvre ne leur échappera pas.

En tenant compte des idées que vous représentez et des besoins de la cause commune, nous nous adressons à vous pour vous demander votre appui en faveur de cette oeuvre essentiellement humaine que nous réalisons.

Nous serons sincèrement heureux de toutes les suggestions que vous voudrez bien nous apporter, et avec l'espoir que vous entendrez notre appel et que notre effort sera récompensé, nous vous adressons nos salutations antifascistes.

Le Délégué Responsable



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 28, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London Jan. 28th 37.

20034

Martin, my Dear.

Darling is leaving for Barcelona tomorrow. A lot of Church fakirs are going to Spain to see whether it is "Godless". Darling is trying to get hold of them on the train to prevent their falling into the hands of some fascists. So it is almost certain that he is going. I will give him along this letter. I am also inclosing copies of my letter to the Comité, Herrera, I sent letters to the Comité, Herrera, Carbo, Souchy and yourself to Berneris wife in Paris asking her to get them to Barcelona as quickly as possible. My letters went a week ago tomorrow to Paris. Whether they will reach you all by the time Darling arrives there is no saying. That's why I am sending copies. Also copies in English to Souchy and you. Now I will go over the points quickly. First however I wish you to know I have received your letter of the 20th. It arrived yesterday.

1). Durrutis pamphlet, the photograph albums and the album of posters have at last arrived. The people of the Independent Labor Party are trying to get them cleared out of the Customs to day or tomorrow. That will give me a chance to take some with me to Plymouth on Saturday. I speak there on Spain Sunday. I don't know how many Durrutis were sent. I know that part of them go to the book store of the I.L.P. Should I be short I will write for more.

handkerchieves

2) I took three hundred from the Comité Regional before I left. Also the insignias of CNT-FAI. And finally the five hundred small postcard albums. As you know all of these Bruno took. You wrote some time that more were sent to me. If so I did not receive them. I do not recollect what the amount for the handkerchieves were. I believe six hundred pesetas. Actually I will have to pay according to the exchange here about 105 pesetas per pound. The handkerchieves could not be sold here if I would be charged the exchange rating in Barcelona. Now what I want to know is, if the Comité wants me to send them the money for the handkerchieves and pins or keep it towards the expenses of the London CNT-FAI bureau. You say in your letter you will get me another 200, or 250 of the handkerchieves. That is not enough. If you have not sent them yet give at least five hundred to Darling for me. As I said I will send the money for those I have already sold and those you will let ~~me~~ have if that is the wish of the Comité. Let me know. *Darling*

3) While I am on the question of money I want you to see the Comité in regard to the money I have collected at our first big meeting for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. £57. Should I send this to Paris, or how do the comrades want me to dispose of that amount? I shall have to have a receipt for the £57. Be sure to attend to that and send me the correct information. I have to know because I will have more money to send from other meetings.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 28, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].—

4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20035

4) I wrote the Comité twice I believe regarding the two publications here that do splendid work for the struggle of our comrades in Spain. They are SPAIN AND THE WORLD and THE FIGHTING CALL. SPAIN AND THE WORLD IS THE BEST PAPER PUBLISHED BY ANARCHISTS IN ENGLAND SINCE THE WAR. It comes out twice a month and reaches a lot of people. In fact the New Statement and important weekly literary publication wrote about SPAIN AND THE WORLD in high terms. Italian comrades in Paris have guaranteed part of the expenses. It cost about 16 pounds an issue, 12 to £16 really. I have suggested to the Comité to contribute to the maintenance of this paper, ~~says with~~ one issue ~~this~~ per month. I also suggested that some contribution should be made to the FIGHTING CALL. It is a monthly and could be very much improved if it were financially secured. Now I know our comrades in Barcelona are handicapped by lack of funds. Yet it is of the greatest importance to carry on propaganda here by means of news papers. Heaven knows Moscow spares no money. I don't see how we are to serve the cause of the CNT-FAI unless we have publication. What I want to know definitely is whether the Comité is willing to give £25 a month towards the maintenance of THE FIGHTING CALL AND AND SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

The fifty pounds a month for two months the Comité allowed me is of course not enough to also support our publications for Spain. That's why I must ask if the Comité will support them separately and through the CNT-FAI Bureau I have established here. Actually it will not be hundred pounds for the two months because I will have to contribute thirty pounds out of that sum for the exhibition I am having with the I.L.P group. I hope you make the Comité understand this situation.

5) About Darling. He is sincere enough and he has been doing some publicity. He is not a man to impress people. But he is better than no one else and certainly better than Stewart. Besides he is at least honest. For myself I wish you to tell the Comité that I would prefer to return the mandate of the Generalitat. I simply cannot work in that Bureau without any help from ~~xxxxx~~ Carbo or even as much as an acknowledgement of my letters. I have repeatedly written that I must have a letter containing instructions about my position in the Bureau. All these letters to Carbo have been ignored. Now I have a feeling that Darling is not very anxious to have me work with him. He would if he knew exactly what part I am to take in the Bureau. So you see how necessary it is for me to have such direction. I am making one more attempt I am giving Darling a letter from Carbo. If that fails I will send back my credentials. As you know I have never represented governments, and I hate to do it now. I have consented only because I thought I might represent the interests of the CNT in the Generalitat. But if that is not to be I just as well return the credential. So you had better talk it over with the Comité let send me words in a sealed envelope with Darling.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 28, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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3

20036

6) I have written Carbo and Souchy about the Socialists they wanted me to find who might be good for the Generalitat Bureau. His name is Reynolds and he belongs to the I.L.P. now affiliated in a so-called United Front with the Socialist League and the Communist Party. I must have an answer to this? Is the man to go to Spain and will he be acceptable. It is not important to me except that I had promised Carbo to attend to this matter. Another reason is this, if Darling is to be in the Bureau alone, or even if I am to be with him the support the Generalitat gives this bureau should certainly not be £200. It seems an awful lot when the CNT-FAI bureau is receiving only fifty and is doing much more extensive work. So far I have taken nothing from the Generalitat simply because I have not been near the office. I have all I can do in our own for the CNT-FAI direct. Nor have I taken any living expenses from the amount for ~~thx~~ our own bureau. All this will show how very urgent it is to settle about my connexion with the Bureau of the Generalitat. I really must have it cleared about the financial end as well. Whether I am to draw some money for my living expenses from the £200 pounds promised by the Propaganda Bureau of the Generalitat. Please dearest Martin have it settled. I suppose the CNT-FAI are contributing to this large amount of money. Should they not also have something to say how it is to be spent. I hope so.

In re young comrades. There are not many. I have asked in my previous letter where the means are to come for their holiday in France. It would have to be paid from here. Be sure to let me know about this as well.

7) When I was asked by Souchy and the Comité to go here for a publicity campaign I understood that the CNT-FAI Bureau should be a sort of headquarters from which all propaganda and activity was to go. Such as the circulation and sale of everything that comes from Spain. Now I understand that some people calling themselves anarchists have ordered the Durruti pamphlet and other things. You understand dear Martin that it does not matter to me except that it will cause a lot of confusion if many people will handle stuff from Spain and run to the same places the CNT-FAI Bureau is establishing with their sales. It will take up a lot of yours or Souchys time corresponding with these comrades. And worse still Barcelona may never see a penny for the stuff sent. I would suggest that you bring this to Souchys attention and that you tell him I think he ought to write these people that the CNT-FAI Bureau here ~~with~~ is the distributing center of all things coming from Spain. They will therefore do good to order everything they want from me. I will then be able to collect for what they get and also prevent interference with each other. Please let me know about this matter as well.

8) Perhaps Darling will have luck with the film, go with him to the studio that has made the film. He will negotiate with them. Also for another reel of the Durruti film. We could do a lot of propaganda besides making a lot of money.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 28, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20087

4

9) In the letter sent to Mme Berneri I also ~~write~~ inclosed a copy of my statement of my impressions of Spain. When you get this ask the Sili if they care to bring it. To day I am inclosing copies of letters I wrote to two papers which unfortunately the Standard and Telegraph two reactionary papers have not published. The Sili or Tierra Libre may want them. You can see I am not idle. I am hard at work on our next meeting Feb. 19th in a large Hall where I will speak on the Church in Spain and Fascism. If you have any valuable material on that send it with Darling. Other wellknown men and women will also speak. I hope to raise more money for the relief work our comrades are doing. The 20th the exhibition opens which I think will be most impressive. Then I am planning a theatre performance to raise funds for the same purpose. Besides all that I have to speak in some of the provincial towns. I could do a lot more if I could afford a secretary. So far I did not dare spend money on that.

Well dearest Martin my letter should be plain enough and I sincerely hope you will be able to send me a long letter setting forth all points as I have made them. By the way, Dr I.N. Steinber asked me to give you his address 69 Aberdare Grdens London N.W. 6. He ltells me you were a ~~and~~ pupil of his and he wants to hear from you. He sends his ~~fraternal~~ comradely greetings to you. Monday I sent you a large package of POSLEDNIE NOVOSTI and two Soviet sheets, PRAVDA and IZVESTIA. I will get more soon and send them to you after I have read the their lies about the cowardly gang on trial. What a rotten gang.

I am surprised to hear that you are not doing much propaganda. Why is that?

I have received the appeal for the Congress the FAI is working on. When is that to take place. I want to be there of course. But I could not leave for Easter. I could for the First of May. Be sure to write me about this too. As you say you are not busy you can afford the time to answer in detail to all my questions.

Affectionately.

Give Ilse the inclosed note and the letters to the Comite and Herrera. I am letting Darling take the letter to Carbo direct.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 28, London [to] Harold J. Laski, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20307

London Jan 28th 37.

Dear Harold Laski.

Thanks for your letter. I had not intended to take up your valuable time or mine to talk on Russia. It is talking against itself louder than I could do. Besides, Spain is infinitely ~~more~~ more interesting to me because of the sincere efforts made by my comrades to construct a new social order I have propagated all my conscious life. To succeed they must first conquer Fascism. And since the conquest of Fascism in Spain means also a very considerable set back to Fascism in the rest of the world the heroic struggle now going on in Spain should be the concern of all liberty loving and fairminded people. I am therefore delighted to know that you are interested enough to be grateful to me for my efforts.

Of course I deserve no thanks, one never does when one is engaged in the kind of work one loves more than anything else on earth. To come back to my request to see you. Of course I do not wish to impose myself when you are so busy. What I really wanted to see you about was to ask you to be one of the speakers at the second meeting I am organizing. It will take place Feb. 19th and will be held in the Friends Hall. Fenner Brookway will preside. I have written Bertrand Russell to speak and I hope to hear from him before the week is over. Also I mean to invite Rebecca West. She is on the high seas now back from the States and will land Feb. 3rd when I shall probably see her.

The subject of the meeting is the relation of the Church in Spain with Fascism. With all the vicious charges in most of the British press against the united front parties regarding the Church it seems ~~it~~ very essential to point out the reason for burning some Churches. I hope therefore that you will consent to speak on the 19th of next month which will be a Friday, hence not interfere with your College work.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Professor Harold J. Laski
5 Addison Bridge Place

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Jan. 28 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. —
1 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19768

509 W. 110th St - Jan. 28

Dearest:

I am on my way to see Moe so this must be brief or I will miss the Aquitania. Saxe and I saw Moe Sunday - he looks marvelous, he could pass anywhere for 45. Monday Babs took him for the examination of the authorities if he is to be retained in service: Babs writes: "they gave Moe a complete physical, x-ray of stump, urine and an electricadiac. They found three murmurs instead of two and deficient pulse. They were hardboiled and noncommittal and when Moe questioned the doctor he merely said "I have to put down what I find". I do not think Moe will be reinstated nor is he able to work. I think the reason he has done so well physically is the great care and rest he gets. Any strain would be too much for him. As soon as they know what happens, Saxe, Smee, Beans, Hymen and I will see what we can do to help him and Babs. It will have to be done.

Souchy wrote me that credentials had been sent me. They never came. Also someone is bringing materials and films. Not so far. The Durruti film is still being held by customs, but I succeeded in getting the stamps out yesterday, after three hours, at the Battery, and then Customs at Varick Street. Ian examined them superficially but until he checks up on catalogue prices, etc. he will not know what the collection will fetch. Superficially he says the covers may amount to something, the stamps are not worth much - that he can already see.

Andre Malraux was denied a visa to this country for some reason possibly because he has been fighting in Spain. There has been no announcement of MacCormack's successor yet.

Hymen married a Mrs. Inez Kellen, an old friend of his, who has a little boy David, our Davy's age. Smee had dinner with us last night and she was very happy about it. She says the Dooder write so gayly that she hardly knows him for the same restrained person. She sent her warmest love to you. She sent your message to him.

Otherwise everything is as usual. I am beginning to feel a great deal stronger and more ambitious. Ian is in the midst of his exams and Davy flourishes. Ruth's condition is rather at a standstill and she is very depressed.

Mother and Father are well but lonely. I saw Fitz night before last at a wedding. Pauline's younger sister was married and we went to the party. Fitz looks well, still has her job. The same is true of Pauline.

I got the five copies of Spain in the World. I sent copies to Ami Hicks, Bolton Hall, one to Stelton and gave one to Ben Brooker, with whom I had lunch Tuesday. He begged me to send you his love. Same old Ben.

Hope the meetings are a big success and that your work in London carries out its promise. My love to Auntie. The boys and Teddy send you love, as do I always and ever.

Stella.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 29, London [to] Molli[e Steimer, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. —
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London Jan 29th 37.

20102

Mollitohka, my Dearest.

I am so swamped with work I haven't a minute to do anything else. I find it especially difficult to keep up my vast correspondence. You see, no one wants to work part time though they are unemployed. I suppose they would lose their dole. I therefore have to do all my letters myself in addition to seeing people, attending committee meetings in re our next large meeting Feb. 19th, sale of tickets, advertising and a thousand other little things. And the exhibition committee. In short I am swamped. Still I wrote you a long letter in reply to your criticism of me and the Spanish comrades on Jan. 19th. I am surprised that your letter dated the 23rd speaks of not having heard from me for a week. In case that letter got lost I am inclosing a carbon copy. Please send it back as I want to have a record of such things. Since I wrote this letter I also wrote a post card calling your attention to Santillans talk which I consider brilliant and most timely. And which also proves that our comrades in Spain are evidently willing to have criticism. I hope you read Santillans talk before a large meeting in Barcelona.

I will come back to this later. Now I want to tell you that the albums and Durruti pamphlets are on the way. In fact they maybe in London today. The Customs notify the I.L.P. book shop as the box was sent to them. I am only too happy not to have to lose time getting the albums and brochures released. The people in charge of the I.L.P. shop will do that. They are taking thousand copies of the two albums. We agreed on a fifty fifty share. They have great facilities of disposing of many more than we. For we have no one competent to do anything except Barr. In any event I am taking five hundred of the poster album and five of the photographs to sell at our meetings in and out of London. And thousand Durruti pamphlets. Darling left for Barcelona today so I gave him all instructions about everything I still need. And I sent along a letter to Martin I understand Souchy is in Paris, to give Darling all they can spare for my work here. Darling you are spelling Calvez wrong. It is not Calvet, thanks goodness. For as I wrote you Calvet is the fakir who led me on for two months with the art exhibition. I want never again to see him or have anything to do with him. The one in charge now in Paris is Calvez.

It is no use sending anything to Barcelona via Paris because the people who take the letters to and from Barcelona seem to keep them in their pockets for days. Thus my letters to Souchy and Martin reached them ten days later and Martins last letter written Jan. 20th reached me the 28th. I would write direct and send it by air mail. But one cannot write freely that way. So I do not know what to do. Besides there is no use writing to the Spanish comrades. They never reply. As to Garbo he is a curse. I had a hunch that he will be impossible to work with. But he is more hopeless than I thought. The trouble is that I will not be able to go near the Generalitat Office here without a letter containing specified directions of my part in

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 29, London [to] Mollie Steimer, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. - 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20103

2

the Bureau. I wrote Martin yesterday to tell the Comité Regional that I would ~~not~~ send back the Generalitat credentials unless such a letter were forth coming. Actually, the work for the CNT-PA takes up every moment of my time. Its still bitter hard to get support here. Thus Bertrand Russell refused to speak at our meeting Feb. 19th. And I fear so will Prof. Laski whom I wrote about it. Our own ranks are so poverty stricken in talent there is not one person, man or woman who can open his mouth or make any kind of an intelligent appearance at a big meeting. In other words, the work here strains all my energies and all my ~~at~~ resourcefulness. I therefore have all I can do without the Generalitat Bureau. But of course I do not like to break my word to the comrad who have begged me to represent them there. Well, we will see.

Penrose delivered the package you gave him. Unless the German pamphlet will sell at the exhibition I fear they will remain unsold, and so will DIE SOZIALE REVOLUTION. Because I do not know a single German in London. Nor does anybody else. But it will be well to have them at the exhibition with some of the Spanish literature I will have. We still have a few German comrades in San Francisco. I am going to send them some copies of the paper and the brochure. I hope they will try to sell them. Naturally I will send you the money for the photo post cards and the pamphlet when they are sold.

In your letter of the 14th you gave me an account of 78 80 for the posters, an album and the porto. I am not clear whether the porto of the posters and the Album cost 35 80. Do you mean you sent the posters first class as you did the fifty Albums? Else it could not cost 35. Or do you mean that the porto was 7.50. That of course would be more likely. Another thing is darling child I sent you money for my subscription to the Posled. I think I sent you fifty francs for that long before the \$2 for the posters. Please dearest when you write again make the account clearer. Meanwhile I am inclosing a check for £2. Of that I owe you I believe 88 francs for the postage on the Albums and the rest is the amount I got from Millies sister on the inclosed list. She collected one pound, two shilling and one six pence. I am not sure how much that makes in francs. If you will collect the check in francs from the Seligmans you will be able to see how much to take off the two pounds for the list. You should get 220 for two pounds. Once this will be settled and you will let me know as regards the last account in yours of the 14th I will straighten that out.

I am ~~very~~ busy on our meeting of the 19th. It is a big undertaking and no one of much good. Yes, I have met Feldman. So far I have only found her a talker. No doubt she will be alright to sell some tickets. But I was not much impressed with her. The rest of the comrades, with the exception of very few are not much better. It would make your heart bleed darling if you would be with them at one committee meeting. By the way I am inclosing two pounds in cash to save you going to Seligmans. Carrie please get a bottle of capsules Glutinsées d'Eucalyptine Le Brun. You can get it if

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 29, London [to] Mollie Steimer, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20104

in every pharmacy. And send it to me by mail. It is some medicine for Auntie that seems to do her good. She has been ill with flu and she needs the capsules. Please do it soon.

Darling Lenia Penrose brought most interesting photos from Madrid. I am seeing him to night and will find out where he got them. I shall need some for the exhibition in A. when I send mine.

Much love to both of you.

335

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20022

Cordially.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 29, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.
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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

20040

CASA C.N.T. - F.A.I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 32 Y 34 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14731

SECRETARIA

BOLEIN ESPAÑOL

BOLEIN FRANCÉS

BOLEIN ITALIANO

BOLEIN ALEMÁN

BOLEIN SUISCO

BOLEIN INGLÉS

Barcelona 29 Januar 1937

Liebe Emma,

ich habe Deine Briefe vom 16., 18., und 23. Januar erhalten, alle zusammen in einem Umschlag. Dabei auch eine Kopie eines Briefes von Dir an Ben.

Ich muss mich sehr beeilen, ein compaño wartet um diesen Brief mitzunehmen, und ich kann Dir daher nicht auf alle Punkte antworten.

Alle Alben etc. sind an die Adresse des Socialist Bookshop gegangen. Ich glaube, dass wir schon uns darüber verstanden hatten, dass die ILP, d.h. der Socialist bookshop, uns unmittelbar nach Erhalt der Bücher unsere Rechnung begleicht. Der Überschuss wird später aufgeteilt zwischen der ILP und uns. Das Geld wird Dir (sowohl für die Rechnung als auch für den Überschuss) übergeben werden.

Über die 57 £ die auf dem meeting gesammelt wurden, kann ich Dir noch nichts mitteilen. Sobald ich genaueres (d.h. mit den Genossen von dem National-Komitee gesprochen habe) werde ich Dir Mitteilung machen. Das wird etwa in einer Woche sein. Solange kannst Du das Geld aufbewahren..

Über die weitere Herstellung von Spain and the World werde ich ebenfalls mit dem National-Komitee sprechen. Ich glaube, dass es möglich sein wird für 3 Monate 1000 fros pro Monat, das sind 3000 fros oder 30 £ bewilligt zu bekommen. Das ist noch nicht ganz, aber so gut wie sicher.

Dein Brief an das Regional-Komitee wird weitergesandt werden an das National-Komitee, das sich mit diesen Angelegenheiten nunmehr beschäftigt.

Ich habe Kenntnis genommen von der Kopie des Briefes an das Regional-Komitee in welchem Du unter anderem um eine Einladung für Rose Pesotta ersuchst. Diese Einladung ist bereits vor einiger Zeit abgegangen. Die Angelegenheit ist also erledigt.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen

Augustin Souchy
Es wird dafür sorgen, dass
Dir alle neuen Drucksaften zu gehen.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Jan. 29, Bristol, England [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Archie Turner. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10698.
Hampden Street
Bristol

Dear Comrade Emma.

29/1/37

I am enclosing a letter which I think should serve as a starting point. I think it is plain enough for whoever reads it to understand.

I am leaving on Sunday for the West of England & will get in touch with the crowd there as to a meeting. Let me know about what date you could make it & if Brochway will speak.

Also put me in touch with Spain & the World.

I am

Yours as ever
Archie Turner

My address
until Sunday
111 Winchester St.
S.W.1.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Jan. 30 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.—
1 p. ; 13 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20169

Ethel Mannin
Oak Cottage,
Burghley Road,
Wimbledon Common, S.W.19

Jan. 30th 1937

Dear Emma, That about this I am? They asked me to speak for
them, but I said I was not a competent enough speaker to be a
chief speaker, except on Russia, but why didn't they ask you?
As they want me I said I would in that case come along as Chairman
for you. You'll note that they've had lots of meetings on Spain
but feel they could get away with another if I came (as their
students want to see me; and I think as speaker it seems I make up
for in 'box-office' value; they all want to see the little woman
who wrote Confessions and Impressions! It's useful sometimes)
I have told them I would ring you Mon. and then wire them, so will
ring you about it. You got my letter from Tanya L. an
of the News-Chronicle?

Haste.

Yours

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005154

[Letter, 1937 Jan. 30, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Ethel Mannin]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20170

BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST CLUB.

PRESIDENT - PROFESSOR P. SARGENT FLORENCE.
CHAIRMAN - MR. R. G. SMITH. SECRETARY - MR. W. S. FLETCHER. TREASURER - MR. H. V. COOKE.
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COMMUNICATIONS: THE SECRETARY, THE STUDENTS' UNION,
GREAT CHARLES STREET,
BIRMINGHAM.
PHONE: CENTRAL 6004

27th. January, 1937.

Dear Madam,


I am very grateful for your letter and suggestion of Miss Goldman as a speaker.

We have, of course, had a number of meetings here on campus, but if you could manage to come and take the chair we should certainly get enough people to justify holding yet another.

In view of the fact that it would have to be before the end of February, perhaps you might care to suggest a few of your convenient dates which I could then send to Miss Goldman. Almost any day from the beginning to the 10th. February would do.

I await your reply with the hope that we shall have the pleasure of your presence. Meanwhile, may I thank you for the help you have already given us.

Yours sincerely,


Secretary,
THE SOCIALIST CLUB.

Miss Ethel Mannin,
Oak Cottage,
Burghley Road,
LONDON, S. E. 19.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Feb.? London to unknown recipient (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. --
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

you brochure. I was just visited by an Australian comrade who sails for A. He is a sailor. I am giving him the address of the comrade in New York who is connected with the Sailors and Transport workers union. I will also write to comrades in

different English cities who might have access

to German ships. I hope in that way to use the papers and pamphlet for propaganda even if no money will be coming for them. Please tell the comrades of the German group I am awfully sorry not to be able to meet the bill they sent me. And that I want only six copies of each issue for which I will pay myself.

About Green I have written the comrades of the Fr. Arb. Stime to get in touch with the comrades of the Spanish Revolution and the Vanguard and ask them whether Green had be authorized to represent them. I will let you know when I hear from them. I do not think they have. But it will be better to wait until word from A. reaches me. I wish I could say that Ethel McDinalds English is much better than Greens though her speech is of course superior. Her talks over the radio are very clear and very good. But the Bulletin is as faulty as Greens. In fact it is impossible for any outsider except our comrades. Too bad that there is no one in Barcelona who knows English and knows how to put a bulletin together. I will ask the American comrades to keep up some connection with you. Is it anything particular you want them and us in England to communicate with you about? Let me know.

You will be pleased to know that I had a large and enthusiastic meeting in Bristol three hours from here a week ago Sunday and that I collected £100 for my fund of the women and children. I could do much more if it were not for the miserable underhand doings of the Communists. They seem to have started a campaign villifying the CNT-FAI that it is sabotaging Masd. That he refuses to work with Vale ncia, that it refuses a single command and a lot more. Even so fair a paper like the Manchester Guardian had the same misrepresentation of the CNT-FAI. So in addition to the campaign I have started here to present our comrades and their courageous struggle before the British public I must also write to all sorts of papers showing up the calumny spread by the damnable Communist outfit. I am inclosing copies of three, the first two are replies to the Tory papers. Of course the letters were not published. The third is to the New Statesman and Nation and may appear in this weeks issue. Now I have to write to the Manchester Guardian. You will also see that I have an article in SPAIN AND THE WORLD about the collectivised village Alcala. Later I mean to write something about the collectivisation of the railways. I had hoped American papers would take such articles. One reaches so

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 1937 Feb.? Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman? London? (fragment)] / David Antona. — 1 p. ; 20 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

La revolución, nuestra revolución, que ha de ~~hacer~~ aparejadas infinitas transformaciones en nuestro suelo, con relación a los pasados sistemas político, social y económico, nadie, empeñese quién se empeñe, no podrá ser desviada de los cauces por los cuales el pueblo en armas la encauzó el día de la grán victoria, que comenzó para nosotros en el momento preciso en que en las calles de las más importantes poblaciones españolas caían los primeros defensores de la libertad luchando contra la bestia fascista.

Sobre esto, podríamos tocar infinitos extremos, querida amiga, no lo hacemos por no molestar demasiado tu atención y por que, a la vez sabemos que te has percatado a tiempo de todos estos detalles y que como nosotros, tienes confianza en nuestro próximo venturoso triunfo y en un pueblo que por la libertad de todos los parias de la tierra, lucha en la hora presente.

Sin otro motivo, quedamos fraternalmente tuyos y de Acracia.

Por el Comité Nacional

Oficina de Información y Propaganda

David Antona



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Feb.? London to Emma Goldman, London] / V[ernon] Richards.—
2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I received your kind letter and thank you very much for the remarks concerning SPAIN and the WORLD. I am ~~also~~ glad you wrote to me, as I can therefore give you some idea of the whole position here.

Firstly. I am producing the newspaper on my own, i.e. in the first two issues (the second one is ready for the printer) I have written everything except two article by M.N. and a few bits taken direct from the Bulletins. I posted off over 1300 copies and a good friend of mine attended to the distribution in about 15 newspaper shops in London. Besides that I have to worry myself about all the incidentals. I really do not mind, but I think that the first thing that must be done is to arrange some sort of organisation for the distribution all over the country, so that instead of printing a mere 2000 copies we could print 10000. This is where the comrades can give real help, and where something ought to be done about it. I personally am not very keen ~~on~~ in putting ~~the~~ SPAIN and the WORLD in the hands of the Freedom Group for many reasons. As you may know this ^w Freedom group practically threw Keell out of the Editorship after he had been editor for some 30 odd years. As a matter of fact when I saw Keell a few days back we spoke about this ~~kind~~ amalgamation of Spain and the World with the Fighting Call which the Freedom Group and some other anti-Parliamentary ^{groups} are publishing now and then, and He agreed with me that our best policy would be to keep out of it for the time being, at least.

Your suggestions are exactly what I have been hoping someone would do here. Unfortunately I cannot give all the time I should like to give as during the day from 9.30 in the morning to 5.45 in evening I am working, and then I have to study for an examination

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Feb.? London to Emma Goldman, London] / V[ernon] Richards. —
2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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...; then there is the ... is also become one of my tasks since my father's death. So that as a rule I ~~am~~ prepare the paper during the night, and any other initiative is quite impossible under the circumstances. I think though that for the meetings and exhibition the groups will give all their help. The help I can give is through the newspaper.

I am glad you are coming over, and hope you will be staying here some time. It will be an opportunity to liven up affairs a little in the anarchist entourage. There seems to me, from what I could see from a small meeting held some time ago, in aid of Spain, that there is a lot of jealousy, and bickering between the young people ~~and~~ and the older ones. I do not know whether it is due to the fact that the younger members are anxious to do something and the older members are not, but there is something wrong, which I am sure you could put right. Of course I say ~~this~~ this in confidence and with reserve because I hardly ever frequent the Freedom Group.

I shall do my best to come along to the station and meet you, and probably we can arrange a ~~new~~ date to talk over this matter, preferably before you see the comrades from Freedom group.

However you can count on my full cooperation; I certainly welcome yours!

Sincerely Yours,



P.S. If you happen to pass by Berner's house would you ask the daughter whether she has sent those F.A.I. C.N.T. handkerchiefs in aid of victims - She will also be able to tell you something about "SPAIN and the WORLD"

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005070

[Letter, 1937 Feb.?] Turö, Denmark [to] Emma Goldman, Saint Tropez / Karin Michaelis. — 2 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

KARIN MICHAELIS
TURÖ / DÄNMARK

20001

Liabe, geliebte Emma-

So lang habe ich nicht geschrieben, weil ich meinte nicht zu wissen wo du warst, und heute finde ich wieder den Umschlag mit deiner St Tropez Adresse und jetzt muss ich sofort schreiben. Mit tiefem Schmerz habe ich erfahren, dass unsere Sache nicht mehr bei uns ist. Aber ob er krank war, ob es plötzlich so kam, wann wie, nichts weiss ich, und niemanden kann mir etwas sagen. Dass sein Tod für sich mehr als für alle andere bedeute, weiss ich ja ohne Worte. Du und er, er und du, was auch gewesen mag, Ihr beide gehörten zusammen. Ich hoffe nur so, dass du zuletzt bei ihm warst. Dass du seine Augen schliessest, dass er starb mit deiner Hand in den seinigen. Der Tod in sich sagt mich nichts. Die Zeit ist schon längst vorbei, wo jeder Verlust für lange meine Gedanken schmerzlich in Anspruch nahmen. Jetzt fühle ich es nur als eine Wunde nach einer, ist schon auf die andere Seite. Und eigentlich fühle ich es als ob ein Haufen Freunde sich dort versammeln. Ich, die ich weder an Gott noch an Teufel glaube, ich habe ein sonderbares Gefühl, dass die Tote niemals sterben. Wahrscheinlich, weil ich so sicher weiss, dass den Weg gehen wir alle. Und lange kann es nicht dauern bis auch wir dort. Sasha lebt in mich als der wunderbare junge Idealist, der glaubte, dass man alles erobern kann, der glaubte, dass wenn man ein bisschen besser gedrängt gäbe es schon Platz für alles Gutes. Der Sasha, dein Sasha, dein Jugendfreund, dein Jugendgeliebter. Und du lebst weiter, du kämpfst. Du kämpfst bis zur letzten Stunde, so wie ich dich kenne. Ich bin aber müde geworden. Aller Kampf kommt mir hoffungslos vor, und ohne Hoffnung ist alles mehr oder weniger gleichgültig. Ich bin dazu erreicht zu glauben, dass das Prinzip das stärkere ist. Dann lass es so sein. Wenn ich an etwas glaubte, dann möchte ich in Kloster gehen, um nichts mehr von alledem Schrecklichkeiten zu erfahren. Und du, du kämpfst. Du glaubst an den Endsieg. Ich nicht. Deine schöne grosse Rede habe ich zweimal gelesen, es hat mich tief gerührt. Bist so jung in deiner Seele, und so stark und so geistig ganz und ganz gesund. Aber deine Schrift ist wohl der schrecklichsten aller Schriften, die ich je

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005070

[Letter, 1937 Feb.?] Turö, Denmark [to] Emma Goldman, Saint Tropez / Karin Michaelis. — 2 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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20002

gesehen habe. Wie kommt es dass du eine solche Klause hast!

Wo bist du? In Dänemark, danke ich. Ob du wohl je diese Zeilen bekommst...

Ich bin krank gewesen, zweite male dies Jahr, und immer mehr nimmt es die Kraft
von der Kraft weg. Doch ich arbeite immer. Es ist als ob es vieles geschrieben
sein will und muss. Es fragt mich nicht.

Falls du jemals Zeit finde, wäre ich dich so sehr so innig dankbar für einen
richtigen Brief, worin du erzählet alles von Saäha. In wenige Tagen fahre ich

nach New York meiner Schwester zu besuchen. Ich achte mich es nach ihr.
Meine Adresse dort wird sein Karin Michaelis, c/o Baronesse Alma Dahlerup,
Remington Place New Rochelle New York. Ich fahre mit Frachtdampfer von Göteborg
weil dass fast gar nichts kostet und ich fast gar kein Geld verdienen.

Um drei Monate verbleibe ich dort. Und was machst du denn? Verträge? Von Agnes
habe ich keine Silbe gehabt, seit sie damals zu mir kommen wollte und

sich nicht gekommen ist, weil sie schleunigst nach Amerika musste. Hast du eine
Ihre zwei letzte Bücher China kauft und China blutet habe ich erhalten von

Ihrer. Die sind ja prächtig wie alles was sie schreibt. Aber ob es nutzt ist noch
anders. Ich fürchte wir gehen furchtbare Zeiten entgegen.

Liebe Emma, erinnerst du als wir letztemale beisammen waren? Unsere herrliche
Gespräche, wie mag es ihm gehen? Bleibt seine Frau bei ihm? Hat sie ihn besucht?
O nein, das glaube ich schier unmöglich.

Also, schreibe mir, Emma, ich wäre so froh darüber. Wir, die uns gern haben,

darf nicht einander verlieren während wir noch imstande sind. Leb wohl!
Ich habe dich herzlich, herzlich lieb.

Deine immer treue

- Karin

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005069

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 1, Amsterdam [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. — 2 p.; 21 x 27 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

that, or overrate the common danger.
They were men as for the time, from the very first day and nothing more was expected from them. They took to it taken seriously. They cause ridicule or contempt. I know that the surprise from Russia caused an agreeable surprise and was welcomed, but all that will be paid for and cannot be considered as a mortgage to be followed by foreclosure or forfeiture. — Mr. Trotsky of Kronshtadt is just now gone to real putrefaction or will have to wait his Fascist flag to be washed; his dupes may wear their eyes 24 or will have to be treated as fascists — and the others will be treated as Francos, as I said at least. Those in other countries are incorrigible fools and do not let yourself in England, be lowered to polemics with them, same as with the Catholics and other religious specialists. — Just appear to be very best, to ethical and humane people — Time is too short to begin with the very worst, the prejudiced and the interested. and with comrades pleading is not necessary: if they are men of fact they see things as they are, even when they do not know many details — if they are just doctors, wives, madams, managers, pedants, then this is not a time to educate them, just try to form little committees of the very best and make them use everyone his article of influence to spread the light, to provide for help, to expose the lumbags who infect the best of causes etc.
Good love and best wishes fraternally M. Nettlau

my name
do Institut S.G. 19999
Bibliothek
Keizersgracht 264
Amsterdam, Centre
Holland

Feb. 1. 37.

Dear Comrade (Mrs.) S.G.,
Your letter reached me here, to-day. Thanks for interesting enclosures, the two American letters. I am here working hard in arranging my old papers and making extracts from many for my historical purposes. An overwhelming mass of details. I work in this place on 4 weekdays from 9 to 6 and on 2 weekdays from 9 to about 10.30 or a little later at night with 15 minutes lunch interval. I am perusing the old papers in the total several hours in 5 out of 7 evenings and for 1 or 1½ hour in the morning. This is some strain on my eyes and on my intellect (if any) as it makes me deal with us and of subjects scattered over so very many years. — I am also writing for the paper Spain and the World (London) which, I know, you had an occasion to become acquainted with. I write a long article for each number and during some previous late evenings etc.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005069

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 1, Amsterdam [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] Nettlau. —
2 p.; 21 x 27 cm.
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I wrote the fifth article which took a little longer as it condenses the argument of Federica Montseny's *Discursos*. Address of Germany (5, I believe) and makes some comments on it. I thoroughly agree with it. This and a very few letters when necessary absorbed all my time here: very little reading of dailies, only a looking out for Spanish news.

Now you see that to this work I cannot add some connected thinking of the priests in Spain. I intend to leave here as soon as my present task is done and this depends on the intensity of my working here. I gave some small help for England by writing half of the pamphlet with the red cover which you may have seen and these 5 long articles etc. for the paper. I cannot do more work just now as my eyes would be overstrained.

I wonder the subject of the priests was chosen, as their role is so well known and it is over now for, let us hope, for good. I am aware of a permanent middle Catholic effort in England whose learned efforts were and are being made to whitewash and extol even the Inquisition — but do not be pinned down by cunning opponents to such subjects — hermits are unspeakable beings outside of the pale of discussion. Tell these schemers or fanatics or dupes that this is not the moment to waste time on them. Tell the same to the squeamish

protestant and other conformers — let them help the women and children 2000 Madrid — or let them keep their money — or let them send their money to Stalin, Pilsky, Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, just as they like — we can't educate now their slumbering or decayed intellect — and if they have feelings they ought to know what is to either give their support to any cause to be known by the women before the world — or to support the cause of those who fight these fiends.

I should speak with similar scorn to and of the faraway criticizing anarchists who had no occasion, or took not the trouble to be properly informed about Spain and who discuss, disinterested, cast of and curse those in Spain who are up and doing, whilst they do miserable hairsplitting and have brought about the almost living death of "movements" which were movements but simply audiences of lectures, buyers of papers, chairlifters and such who enjoyed polemical squabbles. In Spain they were awake at all times and more so for the last hundred years. Really one cannot have patience with those who stand aside in these times and are sure that they know things better as they always did and do.

The same post from Vienna brought me a letter from Federica Montseny in Valencia expressing her hopes and real certainties of a united factory issue. I have the impression

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 2, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / T[homas] H. Bell. — 1 p. ; 21 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

210 W Mathews St., Los Angeles.
Feb. 2, 1937

My dear Emma:

Not long after I received your letter I started in to reply to it. Herewith say as far as I got. For the bad weather set in and I departed this life for a while. Now that the sunshine is back again I am reviving. If I can, I will finish the letter soon.

But in the meantime not to have you think me forgetful I send what I wrote as a bit to show good faith.

I am very happy to see you once more in the front rank of the fight in England. I wish indeed I was with you. Still more, of course, that I were in Barcelona. But I am nothing now but a miserable old wreck, of no further use, I am afraid, anywhere in the movement.

I hope the great fight to be fought will arouse you to your best, and make life again well worth living — well worth indeed. I have to thank the rise of Bolshevism for at least ten years of happiness in useful activity.

Forward, girl, forward.

T. H. Bell

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Feb. 2 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. —
2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19769

509 W. 110th Feb. 2nd

My darling:

Your dear letter came this morning. I was so happy that the first meeting was such a great success. I know how hopeless it is to work where the Communists horn in. I tried to do something with the North American Comm. but found they wanted you to do the work and have no opinion and Radinowski told me the same thing last night. He, Mark and I are getting together this week. They are still chasing the Durruti film but hope to get it released today.

So glad you will see Cecil at last. He is a fine boy and will be able to give you detailed news of us. He adores Davy and may be helpful with theatrical connections.

As to Emmy, it seems an insoluble situation. Modest did say if she came over here, he would do everything in his power for her. He seems fond of her. That she objects to Michael Cohn is understandable. He is a petty soul but her letter which I return is not exactly elevating either. I wish I could do something.

I hope Roger is on the job but I am going to see Fannia Cohn very soon. Rose, after all, is in Montreal and is not on the scene. I understand Madeline Doty is coming back here to take a job under Perkins. I wish I could get at Mrs. Roosevelt. I will talk to Fannia. The only person who is close to Mrs. R. is Rose Scheiderman.

I went to the enclosed League dinner last night. There were 300 people there. So many people who asked for you. Henry Alsberg was down from Washington and he took down your London address and promised to write to you at once. Gurley Flynn sent her loving greetings. Dr. Goldwater asked for you and he showed me a letter from Ben Reitman, asking for your address, so he could announce the birth of his baby daughter. You'd think from Ben's letter that having another daughter was another personal triumph to his greatness. I told Dr. Goldwater that I didn't think you would be thrilled, you had other things on your mind. Gertrude Nafe, Ellen Kennan, Harry Kelly all sent their devoted love. Radinowski told me he thought that they had succeeded in getting another extension for the Rockers.

Dorothy is better. Saxe is still wretched; he may have an ulcer of the stomach. He was in great pain over the weekend but a little better yesterday. Babs was here on Saturday. They are waiting to hear about the result of Moe's physical examination. She is having a bitter feud with Bessie Davidoff, who always was a bitch, and Moe sides with Bessie, which is just breaking Babsie's heart. She looks like hell and weighs 107 pounds. It causes me the deepest distress. Imagine Bessie accuses Babsie of neglecting Moe - the cruelest and most unjust thing I ever heard and Moe backs Bessie up. It is too terrible in view of their whole situation to have this complication. She never could keep her hands off Moe.

I think it would be marvelous to pull off a really big meeting in Queen's Hall. I do hope you find support for it. I wish too I could be in England to help you. I could be of some use.

10330

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12100

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005074

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 2 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 31 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20009

2-2-37

Liebste Emma,

wir freuen uns jedesmal, wenn Sie schreiben und es ist wirklich lieb von Ihnen, dass Sie trotz Ihrer vielen Arbeit Zeit dazu finden. Wie schön, dass das Meeting solch ein Erfolg war! Jetzt fühlen Sie sich sicher auch wieder besser als die ganze letzte Zeit, nicht wahr?

Wir hätten Ihnen schon längst ausführlich geschrieben, aber ich Unglückswurm (Anita) war wieder mal krank. Ich hatte eine üble Darmgrippe, die sich auf meine niemals gesunde Leber legte, die denn auch hübsch anschwell. Ich habe vierzehn Tage ohne Nahrung im Bett gelegen, jetzt darf ich wieder aufstehen aber noch strenge Diät halten, und fühle mich, wie das immer nach solchen Infektionskrankheiten der Fall ist, sehr schwach und klapprig. Aber gearbeitet haben wir trotzdem schon die letzten Tage, sogar im Bett habe ich getippt. Wir wollen so schnell wie möglich die französische Uebersetzung fertig bekommen.

Sie können sich denken, mit welcher Spannung wir Ihre Nachricht erwarten. Hoffentlich klappt etwas. Jedenfall haben wir mit grosser Freude gelesen, dass das Buch Ihnen gefällt und Sie nichts wesentliches daran auszusetzen haben.

Aus Barcelona hören wir nichts. Wir bekommen weder das Bulletin noch sonst irgendetwas, obgleich wir an Souhy geschrieben haben. Das Gegenteil hätte uns gewundert. Umso mehr würden wir uns freuen, wenn Sie uns etwas schicken würden.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005074

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 2 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 31 x 21 cm.

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Mit Flechiner stehen wir in regelmäßiger Verbindung. Er
beschränkt sich hauptsächlich auf Telefonieren, da er so
spät arbeiten muss. Wir hoffen, dennoch in den nächsten Tagen
einmal mit ihnen zusammen zu kommen.

Sie scheinen ja tüchtig in England herumzureisen. In die-
ser Jahreszeit ist das doch wahrscheinlich nicht sehr angenehm,
aber wir wissen, dass das innere Höhenfeuer Sie wärmt!

Also schreiben Sie bald wieder und seien Sie vielfach und
allerherzlichst gegrüßt von Ihren

Anita

Hanns-Erich (Fam)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 3, London [to Diego Abad de] Santill[á]n / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

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London Feb. 3rd 37.

Lieber Santillan.

Ich wolte Dir und Elisa schon langst schreiben wusste aber nicht wie man Dich erreichen konnte. Ausser dem horte ich Gerichte dass Du eventual hie einen Besuch abstaten wurdest. Ich wartete sehr ungeduldig darauf. Du weisst natuerlich dass ich hier die CNT-FAI vertrachte und ein Bureau habe. Ich habe schon vieles erreicht aber nicht so viel als ich mochte. Wir hatten eine ziemlich grosse Versammlung Jan 18. wo ich uber die Bedeutung der CNT-FAI sprach und £57 fur die evakuierte Frauen und Kinder sammelte. Den 19ten d.m werden wir eine viel grossere Versammlung haben. Dort werde ich uber den Anteil der Kirche in Spanien an den Fascismus reden. Auch andere Redner werden sprechen. Du weisst natuerlich welche Richtung die Independent Labor Party hie einnimt. Sie ist Marxistisch aber sehr Links ohne Kommunistisch zu sein. Die Leute sind sehr bereit mitzuhelfen an dem Erfolg der nechsten Versammlung.

Aber es ist eigentlich eine andere Angelegenheit die mich veranlasst Dir heute zu schreiben. Es handelt sich von einem Englischen Genossen der lango Jahre in America wahr und ziemlich grosse geschäfts und finanzielle Erfshrungen gesammelt hat. Er ist sehr willens hier in England Austausch Verbindungen fur Spanische Produkte und Englische fur Spanien herzustellen. Er bat mich Dir daruber zu schreiben. Wenn Dein Departement ein solches Vorhaben beabsichtigt vielleicht waere dieser Genosse gerade der rechte Mann. Er spricht zwar nicht Spanisch ist aber bereit auf eigene Kosten nach Spanien zu fahren um mit Dir und and

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ere Maximalen seinen Plan zu besprechen. Du muusstest mir aber
sofort schreiben und für den Frem eine Einladung senden. Auch
wachte ich wissen an wehn er sich in Paris zu melden hatte um
die nötige Ausweise Papiere für seine Einreise in Spanien.
Also bitte lass sofort von Dir hören.

Ich bin sehr froh dass Du nicht mehr so angestrengt
arbeitest und mit Dingen beschäftigt bist die dir das Leben
der Massen direkt angeht. Bitte Grusse Lisa recht herzlich.
Ich herte von unserem lieben Alten dass er damals die Summe
empfangen hat die ich ihm für Buch übermittelte.

Meine Adresse ist E.G.Colton

18, Castletown Rd. London W.14.

Salud

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 3, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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London Feb. 3rd 37.

Dear Augustine. It is the first time since I left Barcelona that a letter from you or Martin reached me so quickly. That shows that most of the other go betweens who sent your and other letters from Paris to me and from me to you have been carrying them for ten days or more in their pockets. That is outrageous. Well, I am glad I got your letter quicker this time.

About the contents of your letter, first) as regards the albums and Durruti pamphlets. I am not quite clear what you mean when you said the I.L.P. book shop is going to pay the cost ~~for~~ then directly they receive it. I am sure you are mistaken. Because when Fenner Brockway spoke to me he said that the bill will be paid after some sales have been made. Also that the CNT-FAI Bureau here and the I.L.P. will go fifty fifty on the profits of the sales. I consented to that because I know that the I.L.P. has greater facilities to dispose of the albums than I have. For I cannot emphasize too often that we have no movement in England. Not even a baker's dozen of competent comrades. You can imagine how difficult it is to get anything done. Anyhow, the book shop of the I.L.P. and all their branches will sell the albums and Durruti brochure. But naturally they will want to keep the profits from the sales after they bill has been paid. I mean fifty percent of the sales. The other fifty will come to me for the expenses connected with the CNT-FAI Bureau. I hope you understand that.

As regard the £57,, actually it is sixty six now. I have received individual donations, I will wait for instructions. But whatever they will be I must have you understand that the Comité, whether National or Regional will have to send me a receipt for the amount stating that the money was received for the care of the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. I must have this specified in the receipt ~~as~~ as proof that I have kept my word as I said I would at the meeting, namely that I am appealing for the women and children. I hope you will explain that to the comrades.

To come back to the difficulties here you will be glad to know that the I.L.P. through Fenner Brockway have asked to join forces for the next large meeting I am organising for Feb. 19. We have THE FRIENDS HOUSE ~~at the~~ that holds 1300 people. We are making it with admission of 2 shillings sixd, 1 shilling and sixd and we have left four hundred seats free for unemployed. The cost of the meeting will be about forty six pounds. But we are fortunate in having a guarantee for the meeting of £25. And we hope to fill the hall. Of course the cooperation of the I.L.P. will go a long way to help fill the house. The conditions Brockway made for his party was 20/00 of the collection that will come in response to my appeal. I thought it best to agree. It is not only that it would have been much more difficult to fill the hall had we to do the work for the meeting ourselves, but also that it will give us trained help as ushers and collectors. And more important still,

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[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 3, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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it will give me a chance to reach the young members of the I.L.P. Heaven knows we need young blood in our ranks. The comrades here are nearly all walking corpses, except very few indeed and they are not very much alive. Of course, I made sure that the I.L.P. in joining us in the next meeting are not doing it in the name of the united front. For nothing on earth would induce me to work with the Communist. Since the recent horrible murder even less than before.

I have just called up the I.L.P. book shop the albums and pamphlet have not yet arrived. I wish you had sent them to Paris and then here because the Customs hold up our stuff if sent from Barcelona or even Perpignan. It will be awful if the whole shipment should be lost.

dear Augustine don't you think it is highly impracticable to deal with ever so many people in England wanting literature and other stuff when we have a Bureau here? True you sent me the bill for the Durruti pamphlet for Harvey. But he will now say he has written you and does not need to deal with me. He happens to be one of our old sticks in the mud who has remained standing still for the last forty years. He is not alone. All of the old gang are impossible in any organization. Fortunately they withdrew from the CNT-FAI Committee I organized here. Anyhow, for the future I suggest that if you receive requests or orders for literature or anything else you should instruct them to write me. It will avoid confusion. By the way, you say to Harvey he can get the Durruti pamphlet for the same price at the I.L.P. book shop. Of course he cannot. First we will have paid duty on the stuff and secondly the I.L.P. will not want to sell the brochure at cost.

I am so glad to know that the Committee will consider my suggestion of help to SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is really the very best paper in English we have had in years and the most and only medium we have to place our cause in Spain before the English public. I wish we had such a paper in the States. Of course ten pounds a month for three months is not much because the paper costs £16 pound an issue, twice monthly £32. But it will be a help to get ~~fifty~~ ten pounds a month. Perhaps it will pick up in sales and subscriptions. You say nothing of the FIGHTING CALL. Do I understand that the Committee does not care to give some support to this publication? I think it could be made worth while in a literary and propaganda sense. However I do think S. & The world more valuable.

I had a fairly good meeting in Plymouth Sunday last. The response to my appeal brought only four pounds and 2 shillings. Little indeed. I hope my meeting in Glasgow will be larger. I go there a week from Saturday. This Sunday I speak for a Jewish Student body on Spain, and we hope for more meetings.

dear Augustine would you believe it I who ~~edit~~ edited the Durruti pamphlet have not yet received a single number. Bar got a few and he brought me one. But I think it is sad that I get nothing in English from Barcelona. Somebody must be sabotaging me. I am sure. Is it my friend Green? I do get the Spanish, and German Bulletins and the Soziale Revolution. But nothing in English either.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1937 Feb. 3, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Madia I cannot believe that Ethel Mc Donald or Patrick would
sabotage me. So who is it?

I hope you will give Darling everything I have asked
for. I am so worried about the Albums not reaching here that it
might be well to give Darling hundred each along so we can have
them for our big meeting and also the D.pamphlet.

Let me hear from you again soon.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 3, London [to] Max Kirschner, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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1937

London Feb. 3rd 37.

Max Kirschner Esq.
12 St James Mansion
West End Lane

Dear Sir.

I called you on the phone this morning. I wanted to tell you that I had received two very kind letters from Mr R.A. Kirschner, and Miss Mary Feiweil from Jerusalem. They had gotten my name in the News Statesman Nation in regard to the work I am doing here for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. I have already held a most successful meeting for the purpose Jan. 18th. and am now at work to organise another meeting which will take place in THE FRIENDS HOUSE Euston Rd Feb. 19th. At that affair the relation of the Church in Spain to with Fascism will be presented.

I am also on a Committee for a Spanish exhibition of posters, photographs and other articles that will show the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against the Franco who is but the tool in the hands of Hitler and Mussolini. It was really the letter in the New Statesman Nation by my friend Dr Stella Churchill about the exhibition and asking for help for the purpose that brought me the two very generous letters from Mr Kirschner and Miss Feiweil. In as much as you maybe related to Mr Kirschner and also because Miss Feiweil asked me to write her c/o your address that I have taken the liberty to call you at your office, and also to write you now. I wonder if you too are interested in my task for the victims of Fascism in Spain, and if you would care to see me for a talk on the subject. My telephone is Fulham 68 29. Any morning between 11, 12 will find me in, or nearly always at tea time. I should be delighted to meet you at my place, or come to yours when convenient.

Sincerely yours

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Rd.
London W.14.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 4, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

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Anti-Parliamentary Committee

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Secretary—Frank Leech,
251 Nottingdon Road,
GLASGOW, W.2.

Treasurer—J. R. [unclear]
251 Nottingdon Road, W.2.

February 4th, 1937.

Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London. W.14.

Dear Comrade,

I have just received a letter from Barr enquiring what arrangements we have made. He mentions that you will travel on the early train on Saturday morning. This is indefinite, could you let us know the actual time you will arrive in Glasgow.

We have made arrangements with all our members to meet you on Saturday at 7 p.m. and regarding the press, I was waiting on further information from you as to time of arrival. I will meet you at the station when you arrive.

Referring to the display of our comrades would prefer the "Re-constructed in Spain". We have in double column bills, 10,000 half bills, advertising in two issues of the "New Leader" and in one issue of the "Evening Times". We are also expecting up in the City & Clyde column of the "The only newspapers we have in London apart from the papers from England are the "Sunday Post" and "Sunday Mail". For the sake of advertising, it would have been better if you could have interviewed the press so as to advertise in the evening and daily papers for Friday night and Saturday.

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 4, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

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ourselves by Aldred and his regeneration, and several people have seemed inclined to sympathise with him, and a good number of comrades in Lanarkshire have heard his tale, and are as yet undecided, but we are endeavouring to bring the facts before them, and if we get an opportunity of meeting him either on the platform publicly or before all the members of the U.S.W. and A.P.C.F. I think we will finish him for a time. This last paragraph I am writing privately, but I will be much obliged if you could let me have a copy of his letter to you appealing for forgiveness, and may I have your permission to show it to our comrades, and if necessary publish it. It will certainly take the sting out of his attack on you.

Now with regard to your visit to Edinburgh, when would you come; would you speak for us on the Friday or the Monday or Tuesday, and could you get in touch with Captain White to make arrangements with him. I will write him also. Ask him if he can stay for a week or a fortnight, and take say, from Sunday 21st. onwards. We have not yet booked any halls, so please let me know by return if possible or phone me, so that we may go right ahead, as there is not a day to lose.

The amount I paid you on your visit were; Collection - £25-18-10d. C.N.T. Lit. Sales £6-7/-, plus 6/6d. for the things I purchased on the Monday.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

SECRETARY.

P.S. I am enclosing a copy of regeneration.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 4, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Roger Baldwin. — 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Feb. 4, 1937

Emma Goldman Colton
18 Castletown Road
Weet Keneington, London, W. 14

Dear Emma:

I am grateful to you for yours of Jan. 26th. I quite appreciate your feeling, your plans, your hopes, and I want to do everything I can to promote them! The best I can do is to get you that visa.

But let us not underestimate the difficulties. A new commissioner has not been appointed. The acting man is a bureaucrat incapable of such decisions. Miss Perkins will not pass on it herself. Congress is in session and the Department is asking wider powers, which would be compromised by letting you in. The reactionaries will say "Don't give the Department wider powers. See what they do with what they have now!" Further, the Catholic sentiment is so powerful politically that the worst possible argument for your admission would be to conduct propaganda for Spain. The government is actually considering the prosecution of those of us who have been aiding enlistments.

I better seek a visa for you to come here to see friends and to lecture on Catalonian art, without any definite restrictions of course as to extending that subject! But it would be far better to work for a visa, as you suggest, from August to January than while Congress is in session. I will sound out the situation just as soon as a commissioner is appointed. I may say to you confidentially that Miss Perkins consulted me about that appointment and if the man I recommended is chosen, the road would not be difficult.

With affectionate greetings,

Ever yours,

RNB/IE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 4, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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4th February 1937
New York -

19574

Dear EG:

I haste: this acknowledgement to yours of the fifteenth because I want to make the Berengaria which leaves tomorrow. If this letter reaches you on scheduled time you will just about have time to reply so I can read your answer before the Queen Mary leaves New York on the twenty fourth. On that trip one of our comrades - Sprintzer Cohen, an old time anarchist, long time member of Freedom group, and one of the most sincere members of any group I ever came to know, will be aboard, bound immediately for Southampton, thence for London and subsequently - for Spain. You have met Sprintzer and her sister Sarah Cohen in New York and I believe she also has a sister in Chicago. She, with her sister and brothers in law have been the moving spirit in Freedom Group for some years and you will instantly recognize her as one of those whom you met on your last visit to New York. She will go to London especially to confer with you - hence I hope to receive an answer to this before she sails. Of course she will doubtless be able to reach you anyhow, since your headquarters are in the CNT London office, but it would be nice if she could have a definite appointment with you. She wants to pick up some details before resuming her journey. She will go to London whether or not she hears from you in time. Anyhow try to acknowledge this as soon as you can! I think it would be a splendid idea if you would give her a letter of introduction to the comrades in Madrid or Barcelona, or wherever she plans to go. She does not speak Spanish but she comes from that tribe of humankind that has traversed the surface of the earth for centuries, acquiring, among other things, a remarkable aptitude for linguistics and I am sure she will readily acquire a working knowledge of the dialects our comrades are using down there. However, she does speak Russian, Jewish, German and English. This armory should make her more than merely useful for obviously necessary purposes. She is a thoroughgoing anarchist and would be right at home in the midst of our beloved friends - the Nazis and Bolsheviks, as well as Marxists of varied hues. You will welcome her warmly, I am sure, and you will find her worthy of all you can confer upon her - she is pure gold!

I may have something more interesting anent the American scene after I see Stella tonight. She has feeling grippy and she told me over the Phone yesterday that Davy is a bit under the weather - nothing to be anxious about - but you know how popular it is to have been sick or to have had an operation or something in this benighted land of make-believe!

Anent Green - Emma, I really like the man personally and I do not at all feel that he has any insidious past to be hidden. He has told me a great deal about the suspicions that have been spread about him - of his escapades in the West and the charges flung at him always from the rear. I can readily understand the attitude of the comrades, too, for Green is altogether too much taken up with himself and in that way lays himself open to just the sort of opposition he finds wherever he is. Of course he was no big shot in New York, nor did he undertake any Herculean tasks, either personally, financially or otherwise. He just out talked every one he met and by capitalizing every sentence with the first personal pronoun, he invited, and seemed content with the reception he received. Rather than being at the forefront of things, he is just the sort of fellow who should be on the side lines, well to the rear because his lust for grandeur may some day very well lure him into dangerous waters! Nevertheless, I do not doubt his sincerity, as some of the comrades do. His comrade, I understand is either en route, or already in Spain. She is a very pleasant, retired, intellectual type, quite unlike Leon and she has been working on one of the big Metropolitan papers, the Times. I believe, or at least one of the important publications. She should be of inestimable worth in any news dispensing capacity.

There is another comrade here in New York who wants to take up something with you. Since I have given him your London address, he will probably write and explain matter directly with you. If you find his English atrocious, you will at least, discern that his heart is in the right place and that he has a very clear mind and thinking apparatus. Just think of the plight of your own comrades who are sometimes compelled to decipher your long hand letters and then you will be in just about the right frame of mind to take this boy to your bosom and talk to him like a Dutch grandmother. You have also met him in New York, I believe on more

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 4, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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This boy is Jack Prager. I think when he was about 15 or 16 he was among Makhno's constituents—he comes from the Ukraine and Sadie and I have known him for years. He also lived in South America for a time and speaks Spanish quite as well as he speaks English and he speaks it about as you murder the Spinoerian art-ha,ha. No, it isn't quite so terrible as all this—he just won't apply himself enough to the little matter of language because he always has something more important on hand. I think he is putting up or at least raising the money to bring out Santillan's book in English. That's the sort of a devotee he is. He will go to Spain if there is anything he can do there and he will go into the trenches too. Anyhow, he will take this question up with you when he writes...

Friday, I will take up the question of possible material for the struggle. I will let you know what they say. I know that most of the comrades do expect to return. One reason why the younger ones care nothing about learning English is because they mark off each day on the calendar as one more 24 hours nearer their time of going back.

Take it easy with HH. Hippolyte wouldn't harm a mosquito—he is really that docile except with his mouth. It is a mistake, of course,...(I have to continue in long hand.....) I was interrupted.... It is a mistake, I was about to say, to place Hippolyte in any position where he can do damage. By making him editor of MAN the Italians have a pliable instrument well in hand because HH has an almost superstitious reverence for everything Italian. Ferrero, who with Salito, is scheduled for deportation presently is in NY as is Salito but Graham is not here. It amounts then, to a mere transfer from San Francisco to NY of the paper with the personnel intact. Ferrero is doubtless the author of the critique on the comrades in Spain. I tried to get him to say so without letting him know I wanted to know in a conversation I had with him a few evenings ago. He defended the attack on academic grounds lest the spirit of suppression should grow upon us! You must know that one cannot reason with these Italian individualists— one never could on any question. Recall the old Borghi-Tresca feud and all the bitterness it caused, a bitterness that still exists on their side only. Salito, by the way, was the comrade of Liza Brilliant's daughter and Liza is the niece her Aunt Liza of the old B organization in Russia. The daughter went to the coast with him some years ago and died there of tuberculosis, leaving an infant for the grandmother-Liza Brilliant—who is here in NY and quite active with her Spanish comrade in the Cultura group. But I was talking about Havel. You would pity him, Emma, much more demoralized than I am or ever expect to be— almost senile, living only on hopes for what I do not know— and whiskey! He is in a good spot to become one of these days, a scapegoat for some harebrained individualist who may imagine himself to be called upon to save the anarchists from perdition, even tho they may be dying in trenches like rats. They are like that! But poor old Hippolyte is too irresponsible for anything of the kind.... VANGUARD answered.— The question of the CNT Congress I will also take up with Cultura, but you didn't send me their prospectus in French as your letter said!

Emma, dear, nothing would make me happier than to know that I could do something worthwhile in the contest now taking place in Spain— it will, in all probability be the last chance I shall ever have to do a decent thing ere I shift off this mortal coil. Here are my ifs: I am not too old (53) but I am seriously handicapped with my one leg off above the knee. Well that does not put a final quietus on the matter—the more important thing is my possible usefulness. I understand Spanish well enough to get on with it and read it sufficiently well—necessity would doubtless steep up my understanding better— Just what could I do there? I am essentially a white-collar stiff although I have and can do a good mechanical job. In a white collar capacity, I am afraid I would be a drag on the market and just another mouth to feed. Were I to go there, I am quite certain I would never again return to the States. Everything in my private life has been a disaster and I should have no qualms about friends, relatives or whatnot—I am quite consoled in the prospects of a lonely, miserable old age—if I ever attain it! Sadie and I are together but that is about all. Our interests collide altogether too much and I, of course, to be honest about it must take on a larger measure of responsibility. She is a damned sight better than I am, ever was or ever will be! I am never charged her with an iota of the blame I must assume myself for having made our lives more

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 4, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

EG#3

19576

than unhappy. She has had every right to want to abandon me, but really, instead of that, she has tolerated me but the foliage of affection that once was has wilted and, I am afraid will never be revived. So I have little to regret about Home (?) life and such nonsense. Sadie has grown independent of me in most things, being even indifferent to the idea....so we have little social pleasures together, either I guess we just go on as so many other couples do, drifting with the tide, too apathetic to swim against it: too listless to take water and drown! However, she will come to Stellas with me tonight, I guess....Well, I mention this only to assure you there are no tough heartstrings to be broken...I never was much of a father nor home man anyhow- I have a job of sorts, the like of which I shall probably never find again because of my age...I took me two years to get this one... Were I to go to Spain, this little question of my well being in future would probably be settled for all time because I would either go to the front or never come back here anyhow.....I am trying ever so hard EG to keep myself together.

Yet, I realize what little right I have to complain when so many more, more work while folk the world over are doing things and suffering real suffering! Enough of the sob stuff...Perhaps something may develop that will produce just the spot for me to sing my Swan Song in and be heard and if it be Spain, I just know no other thing could happen me that would make me die happier with the thought that I had at long last done something worth having lived at all for.

Should you meet up with any of the people getting out War and Spain, tell them I cannot use more than three or four copies- I have to give the rest away -

I will write them within a week or so just as soon as I can scrape a dollar or so together - they are doing a much better job than the comrades here in NY

with their Spanish Revolution...Here, our comrades never appreciate the value of good editorial and typographical work and English, well of course that is out of their line altogether. I will write Spain and the World shortly so don't inconvenience yourself unless you have the occasion.

The paltry little dollar enclosed is for some chocolate or lip stick or something for my dear old faithful EG who has also put up with so much from this terrible rascal who has wrought woe and grief wherever he has trod, and I blush when I send it.....Anyhow, I greet you as of old.....More again soon..... van

Wm E G Colton
London Office CNT
18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington
London W 14 England

Walter Starrett
Apt 8
419 East 5th Street
New York N.Y.U.S.A.,

*I am sending some
clippings and sent some
before - bid you. of it
them - Separate Post -*

365

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005253

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 4, Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / F[acundo] Roca.—
1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

París, 4 de Febrero de 1937.

20298

OFICINA DE SERVICIOS
EXTERIORES DE ESPAÑA

55, AVENUE GEORGE V
PARIS (8^e)
TÉLÉPHONE: ELYSÉES 37-04

Querida Goldman : Salud.

Tu carta del día 7 llegó cuando yo me había marchado a España, cumpliendo una llamada del Comité Nacional de la C.N.T. Terminada la gestión que me llevó a la tierra del dolor y de la esperanza, regreso de nuevo, quizá por no mucho tiempo, y paso a contestarte una vez ordenadas las cosas más apremiantes.

Debo tranquilizarte sobre las cartas que mandabas para diferentes camaradas y organismos de Cataluña, pues estas han ido en el correo diario que tiene la Oficina de la Generalidad de París, y que recibe personalmente el camarada Carbó. Si hay retraso en las relaciones no me culpes amí. Es falta de agilidad en los distribuidores y en los que responden.

En cuanto a las informaciones directas con Cataluña, creo haberte dicho que en la Oficina de París hay un camarada de la C.N.T., Nemesio Galve, quién diariamente recibe información telefónica tomada taquígráficamente, información que utilizan para el Boletín que publican y para la información general. Pues bien; ésta información, o la parte más importante, podeis recogerla mediante la comunicación telefónica que celebra esa Oficina con la de París. Circunstancia que tú puedes aprovechar para hablar con nuestro camarada de las cosas que consideres de mayor apremio.

Por mi parte, aunque no tengo la posibilidad de antes, si me es posible un día, te llamaré para saludarte de viva voz.

Te supongo satisfecha del resultado del mitin del día 18, pues todo hacía suponer que sería un éxito general.

Respecto a la inversión de las libras recibidas, hablé con Herrera y lo vió muy bien, incluso que no devuelvas la miseria de 2 libras. Lo que él desea y yo te pedía es un recibo firmado por tí para entregarlo a Tarradellas que los entregó. Mira de mandarlo.

En espera de tus noticias, saluda al paciente traductor y recibe el afecto de este amigo.

F. Roca

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 5, London [to Comité de Défense de la Révolution Espagnole Antifasciste, Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London Feb. 5th 37.

Dear Comrades.

The Post Office in this city has just notified comrade R. Barr of 106 Coningham Road London W.12 that he must have an invoice of the handkerchieves you transported on the Twickenham Ferry boat. The invoice is to consist of the number of handkerchieves, wheth one or two sizes, their weight and the price charged for each one at Barcelona. Unless we can have this invoice we will not be able to get the package from the Customs. So please hurry the invoice.

Another matter, some time ago I have been informed by comrade Martin Crudell who ~~is~~ works in the Oficinas de Propaganda that films have been sent to me via Perpignan. It was either a Durruti Film, or the long film of the taking of Sietamoá. Do you know anything about it? And would you please write me as soon as possible. Or if there are such films with you for me better send them. You can write me eith Spanish, French Germ and of course English.

One more thing, I am having considerable trouble in getting my letters to the Comité General, Souchy, Martin Carbo and others to Barcelona. I have been sending them to Paris But it has often taken ten days or more before the letters reached Barcelona. And equally as long for the mail from there to reach me. Would it be alright to send them to you so you can get them to Barcelona quickly. As I am representing the CNT-FAI in England I naturally would like to be able to reach our comrades without any delays as I had so far. Please do write at once. Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 5 [London to Comité de Défense de la Révolution Espagnole Antifasciste, Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5 de febrero de 1937

Queridos camaradas

La oficina de Correos de esta plaza me acaba de notificar al camarada R. Barr, 106, Coningham Road, London, W.12 que tiene que presentar una factura de los pañuelos que fueron transportados por el vapor Trickenham Ferry. En la factura se debe indicar el número de pañuelos, tamaño de los mismos, peso y precios de cada artículo en Barcelona. A menos que obtengamos esta factura no podrán ser despachos los pañuelos por la Aduana. Así pues, hagan el favor de enviarlos pronto.

Otro asunto. Hace tiempo me dijo el camarada Martín Gaitan que trabaja en las Oficinas de Propaganda que me habían enviado unas películas via Permision. No parece que fue la película de Durruti, o la larga de la toma de Bietamo. Saben Vds. algo de esto. Escribanme enseguida, y si estas películas están en poder de Vds. hagan el favor de enviármelas lo antes posible. Me pueden escribir en español, francés, alemán o inglés.

He experimentado dificultades para hacer seguir mis cartas al Comité General, Souchy, Martín y Garbo y otros en Barcelona. Las he estado enviando por mediación de París, pero han tomado en muchas ocasiones más de diez días en llegar a su destino. Y al mismo tiempo para las cartas de Barcelona llegar a mis manos. Hagan el favor de decirme si las podría enviar a Vds. para que las lleguen.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 5 [London to Comité de Défense de la Révolution Espagnole Antifasciste, Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

guir a Barcelona.

Representando como represento a la CNT-FAI en Inglaterra, naturalmente con mis deseos que mis compañeros a los camaradas no sufran demoras como hasta ahora.

Escribanme pronto.

SALUD.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 5, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Archie Turner. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19606

BRISTOL COMMITTEE FOR DEFENCE OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY

Miss B. M. Baker : Rev. Dr C. C. Barber : Councillor A. W. Cox : Professor G. Field
P.W. Hopkins Esq : Rev Vyvyan Jones : Canon C. H. Norton : Ald. Mrs Phyllis J.P.
Canon F. D. V. Narborough : Miss Eleanor Rathbone M.P. (Vice-President)

Chairman.
PROFESSOR J. CROFTS.
Hon. Treas.
MISS J. STOCK.
Hon. Sec.
J. C. MORRIS.

18 Charlotte Street
(Off Park Street)
BRISTOL 1
Telephone: 20111

Please quote Ref.

Franklin Catterall
13 Bristol
5/2/37

Dear Comrade Emma

I have taken the matter up with F. Barriman whom I know very well — upon his advice I went to the above. This is a committee of no shade with no axe to grind & are in with "all the best people" mostly the University grade. I have placed the cards upon the table — that all the money less expenses must go to the C.I.T. & A.I. It is a good a settled, but they have a committee meeting on Monday next (which I shall attend) to officially OK the matter. If you can get both E. J. & Janner so much the better (they can always send a last minute Telegram apologising)

There is a Coth Hall that will seat over 600 which they suggest as being very good.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001123

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 5, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Archie Turner. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19000
Upon this platform you can be a free agent.
The S.L.P. will more than cooperate so will
the Trade Council.

May I suggest a Bristol Chairman,
if it came at him — he would be money
in the Bank — Crofton Game, he owns
the highest grade furniture shop in the
town & is one of the leading Quakers.
He has been Chairman for Lord Allen meetings
here & is a leading Liberal. — Let me know
how you feel about this.

so much for that I shall write you
after Monday's meeting.

Re my letter for the Candidates in Bury
I could hardly be more specific as I do not
know what they have to sell — but they must
have lots of stuff. However, see what they have
to say. What I have in mind is to assist them
in selling what they don't want, and buying
what they do want.

Cordially greetings
Archie Turner

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 5, New York [to] Emma G[oldman], London / Arthur Leonard Ross. — 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19743

ARTHUR LEONARD ROSS
COUNSELOR AT LAW
ONE CEDAR STREET
NEW YORK
PHONE EDGMAN 3-0040

February 5th, 1937

Mrs. E. G. Colton
18, Castletown Road
London, W. 14, England

Dear Emma:

Immediately upon receipt of your letter I communicated with Mr. Schuster. He told me that he had no dearth of manuscripts on the Spanish situation but he would be glad to read this manuscript. I impressed upon him the fact that I wanted an early reading. He pleaded how choked with manuscripts his editorial department was. However, he will do the best he can. If I had more than one manuscript I could have given the thing to another or several publishers in order to save time.

It would interest you to know that Beverly Stark was married at the opening of the new year to a Montreal lad. She just returned from Cuba where they spent their honeymoon. I saw them last night at a New York hotel. Pan is laid up in bed with the flu.

I must tell you that your friend Whitehead has been sick for sometime in his lonely room in Montreal. Pan Stark has for three months sent him daily, hot meals. Poor fellow, he is up against it.

With every good wish, I am, as ever,

Devotedly yours,



ALR:R

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 5 [New York to] Emma G[oldman], London / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss].— 1 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

February 5th, 1937

Mrs. E. G. Colton
18, Castletown Road
London, W. 14, England

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Devotedly yours,

ALR:R

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005059

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 5, Barcelona, [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO

ANARQUISTA IBERICA

1937

BARCELONA

DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

~~Barcelona~~ 5 de Febrero 1937

Liebe Emma,

Deinen Brief vom 3. Februar habe ich soeben erhalten und
antworte sofort.

Ich habe mit McKair ueber die Verkaufsbedingungen des
Albums mit der Durratibroschüre gesprochen, er legte mir die Vor-
schlaege Fenner-Brockways vor, die wir akzeptiert haben. Vielleicht ha-
be ich dabei zu einem Missverstaendnis. Ich bin einverstanden mit dem
Vorschlag den Du gemacht hast und ueber den Du mit Fenner-B. einig
geworden bist: 50/50. McKair sagte mir, dass die ILP die Besucher
gleich bezahlen wolle, d.h. unmittelbar nach Eintreffen derselben,
und den Restgewinn spaeter.

Ich fahre heute abend nach Valencia und werde dort die
von Dir gemachten Antraege behandeln lassen. Wahrscheinlich werde
ich Dir von Valencia aus definitive Antworten schicken.

Ich lege eine Kopie eines Briefes an "Unifilm" ein.

Mit herzlichen Gruessen

Augustin Souchy

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 6, Brno [Czechoslovakia to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 3 p. ; 29 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23648

Brno, February 6th 1937.

My dearest Emma,

I feel not satisfied at all having written you only a short card. I have to answer a few very important letters and yours will be the first. Since my handwriting is not readable I will type it to you and give you a clear picture of everything.

First of all, I came again to such a bad point, that I could neither move or anything. Could not eat for more than usually and was thinner than ever. And the pain.... So my poor mother brought me right away to another specialist, of which I am going to include the picture in this letter. He is a great capacity over here.

Resultat. Stomach fallen down and dilated. My intestins are ALSO DROPPED DOWN ALTOGETHER. They bild three auf Deutsch Bogen und harte Kanten, wo das Essen sehr schlecht weiter kann. Es bleibt auf einer Seite meines Leibes liegen und drueckt. Nach 30 Stunden hat sich die Masse nicht geruehrt. Dieses kommt erstens von der Ptose (Senkung des Darmes) und zweitens von einer sehr starken Erweiterung des Darmes, wohin gegen ein grosser Teil des Darmes so verengt ist, dass kaum etwas durch kann. Grosse Traegkeit infolge. Grosse staendiges Druecken infolge der abnormalen Lage des Darmes und Magens.

Ja, Emmale, es ist haerter denn je, es zu ertragen. Doch was tun? Der groesste Chirurg o er here included Vienna sagt, dass ich nach einer Operation sterben wuerde. Also, wozu es tun? Ich muss, einzige Emma, kaempfen, kaempfen, kaempfen. Das ist alles was ich tun kann und MUSS.

Man hat mich nochmals geroentgt und beobachtet. Mutter hat alles bezahlt. Sie will alles getan haben..... Es war ihr sauer genug.... glauben Sie nur.

Meine Eltern haben sich mir so wunderbar zart gezeigt, und die Atmosphaere zwischen uns ist schoener denn je. Sie tun alles in ihrer Macht, mir zu helfen.

Jedoch ist dieses keine Solution, dear. If my parents would not have lost everything now with Hitler, my dear, the matter would be different. But they are not in the situation to keep me forever. Oh, Emma, darling, I would not be good to myself if I would stay here on. I have to go back to life. Sick or healthy. So long until I cannot stand it anymore.

There is only Paris possible. To Nice I would not like to go back and with work it would be more difficult there than in Paris. Mother will pay also my fare there. And I had also help from Katie for the doctors, who are so expensive.

Emma, Emma, if our beloved OWN had been treated here, he would be alive today. THEY ARE BUTCHERS IN FRANCE.....

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 6, Brno [Czechoslovakia to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 3 p. ; 29 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

23549

I had a long talk with a fine doctor about our BELOVED ONE. He said the feeling of having no feet WAS NOT DUE AT ALL TO the fact of the shoot. No, Emma. He had, in consequence of the terrible strong narkosis TROMBOSIS of both legs which would be curable. And he must have had something wrong again with the urine, says the doctor, which happens often, even after operation. But, he was outraged when I told him that Sashenka had waited so long with the Prostate. THAT WAS ALL THE FAULT, he says. Indeed, Emmutschka, I was without power when it came to going to a doctor. And then, Darling could be so angry whenever I implored him to go to the doctor because of the prostate. ~~But~~ In 1928 I met an infirmiere, and when I told her that Sasha has difficulty in urinatang, she said that he must have treatment right away. It was a JOB to tell this to my poor boy. He was so outraged how I could talk to a stranger about that. And so time went on. And he was so angry whenever I wanted to tell you about it. You know, Emmutehka, those things should stay between you and me. Do not send this letter to Stella. Because that is to you. If ever I would have told you about the Prostate, Sasha would have been so angry. And you know yourself what that means. Take the head and run away and leave me in sorrow and fear for his being. He was wild, in this respect. Poor dear, what have you done..... Oh God, Emma. Well enough of this.

By the way, I hope you did not send Stell the letter about Cohn. I asked you not to show this to anybody. Not that I care that Cohn knows it, I do not at all care so or so. But, it is not necessary to tell the people. They will find out themselves. One cannot be such a crank without that people find out. I am convinced about it.

From the laundry, darling, there is NOT ONE THING LEFT that I can use. That also between us. And it lacks everything. Mother uses the rest for Fetzen. If I only had left it to you. But I thought that I should help Cohn who is anything else but praktisch not to speak of his wife. But all that is over now. Only I hope you did not send that letter to Stell.

Now Emm, I wrote more than two months ago a very long letter to Voline, explaining him that I wanted to stay on with my parents and that he should either try to prolong my titre de voyage which had expired in the beginning of March, or he should give me an advice what I could do about it. There never came an answer. So Father run about and tipped a fortune in having prolonged my stay here for a month. But finally, I have to leave now here. Once I will stay on, I will have neither the right to stay here or to go away pr enter France. So I have to go back to France. IT WAS TERRIBLY hard for Father to get the back visas. Also through money only, Emma. As you may know yourself, and maybe you remember, that I should renounce of ever coming back to France if I go to C.S.R. But we know influential people here and they did it for me.

I will leave here about the 15th or latest 16th of the month for Paris. Well, well. Emmutehka, if I would get there a working paper. Please do write to Voline or Shapiro.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 6, Brno [Czechoslovakia to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 3 p. ; 29 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23650

- 3 -

Or may be I can get French. It is a difficult thing, I know. BUT WHAT SHALL I DO? If I were French, you know, I could at least do some work I am able to. Type MSS. Or give French or German lessons or something. But so, what will be, I DO NOT KNOW.

My health, Emma, is terribly poor. But I will do my utmost to do whatever will offer itself.

Emmutchka, write me a letter to Amexco Paris. I will take a little room in Paris and let you know address then. Now I do not know yet.

My sister in Berlin is so sick that she may not live long anymore. Being much taller than myself, she is so light that one can't carry her about like nothing. She refuses nourishment because of fearing it is poisoned. You can imagine what that means to Mother and all of us....

Emma, I ask you again. How is Moe? Why, I ask you will you never answer me that? I want to know. So please do tell me in your next letter.

Greet Auntie from me. I will put a note into this letter for her. Tell me all about your evtl. plans. Also about U.S.A. And tell me more about yourself. My God, this Spain.... when will this bloodshed end? Many anarchists are giving their lives, daily. I read all those papers over here I can get....

Emma, write me about you and the people I know.

Your EMMY.

I. send back this picture of my doctor
" send back the letter from Boden.
I asked you already

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

377

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 7, London [to Archie Turner, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London Feb. 7th 37

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your letter of the 5th. It was good news to learn that THE BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY is considering having me to speak at a meeting for Spain. I hope the Committee ~~has~~ in its session tomorrow will definitely decide to organise the meeting.

I do not object to a Liberal in the chair. In fact, it should be a local man, and if you can find one truly Liberal enough to want to be of help to the anti fascist struggle the better I will try to get Fenner to promise to come along though he is hard worked. Unless he will come there is no use announcing him. I never liked to mislead my audiences. But as I said I will try. Ethel Mannin is definitely coming with me.

I inclose clippings from the Manchester Guardian and one from a Plymouth paper. They may help to impress the Committee that is to decide tomorrow about the meeting. By the way, should it decide against would you then try for an independent meeting with the cooperation of the I.L.P.? Let me know.

When I hear from comrade Santillan I will write you.

Cordially.

Remember me kindly to Mrs Turner.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 8 [London to] C[assius] V. Cook, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington, W. 14.
8th February, 1937.

Mr. C. V. Cook,
1,038, Albarosa Street,
Los Angeles - California.

- Dear C. V., -

Your letter of December 20th took just a month to reach me. It was forwarded to all kinds of places - hence the delay! I have been so rushed since my arrival in London (on 23rd December) that I could only do the immediate jobs. The result was a delay of all my letters from America. I hope to be more punctual from now on - as I have finally succeeded in finding a Secretary. Anyway, you are an understanding person and you will not hold my neglect of you against me! Like you, I too feel that life is fleeting; perhaps because there is so much to do for Spain. There was a time when I could do a great many things without fatigue and without delay: I cannot any more - especially is this the case in London, whether it is the climate, or the difficulty of getting at people. Most of my time is taken up, running from one to another, and at the end of the day I feel all battered up.

However, it is Spain that I am working for and it is my feeling for the heroic struggle there which drives me on. I have succeeded better than on former visits.

We had one splendid Meeting with thousands of people turned away, the Hall being packed to its limits. I have raised some money for the unfortunate women and children evacuated from Madrid and other Fronts; but, in comparison to the gallant fight made in Spain, the sacrifice of thousands of men and women, the suffering of the children, my achievements here seem insignificant indeed. I know it would be different if I were in the States, but while Roger Baldwin is at work to secure a new Visa for me I might as well aim for the stars! It would be as likely as revisiting the States. Still, one goes on hoping, since life without Hope would be utterly impossible.

I am enclosing a statement which I wrote for our Press in America. It will give you my attitude towards the comrades in Spain, and will show you that I am not blind to the mistakes they are making, nor am I unaware of the danger lurking in every corner as a result of the childlike faith of the C.E.T. - P.A.I. but conditions are such that I do not feel justified in attempting to change their course.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 8 [London 10] C[assius] V. Cook, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rose Pesotta Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Mr. C.V. Cook,
Continued : -Page 2-

8th February, 1937.

They are paying the price and they know their country and their people better than I do. In addition, they themselves realise some of their blunders and they are trying (as far as it is possible - faced as they are by overwhelmingly armed force) - to do the best they can. At the same time, they are themselves conscious of the many things far removed from their objective, but they feel that nothing can be done until the principal menace - Fascism - is gotten rid of. They are concentrating, therefore, on the struggle - and what an heroic struggle it is!

Anti- The amazing side of the struggle is that the C.N.T.-P.A.I., can continue their constructive work,--The collectivization of factories and the land; nothing like it was ever attempted during this period of war and revolution. To me, that is the most significant side of the evidence in Spain. If only the united Fascist Forces succeeded in dragging out the black scourge our people will demonstrate to the whole world the "spirit of destruction can indeed be the spirit of construction as well."

About myself - as I have written to many friends, a call from Spain saved my life. The blow I received in the death of my old comrade made life seem utterly barren and the years still left me, void of any importance - but Spain electrified me, and put new life and strength into me. As you can imagine, I worked very hard while in Barcelona, editing the "Bulletin", talking to correspondents and travelling to see the collectivized villages and towns.

It was tremendously interesting and absorbing and I hated to leave Spain, but the comrades thought I could perform wonders in England. They do not know the difficulties one meets here and they have overestimated my mesmeric powers! I should despair utterly if I had to stay here permanently. Fortunately, this would be useless. I have definitely decided to go back to Spain unless a visa for six months, to the States, has been secured. Yes, it would be nice if the comrades would realize that one cannot live on air alone, but evidently they do not; so I must manage the best I can. Needless to say, I cannot live on the Spanish Revolution. I couldn't stand the idea of taking anything from the Fund I am raising for the women and children in Spain. It is therefore difficult to manage, but I try hard to economise my expenses to the minimum: I must go on - no matter what happens to me.

You are quite right, my dear, I am not made to sit by supinely in the face of overwhelming ~~passive~~ passive resistance is all right for some people and no doubt it has its value, but I cannot see for the life of me how it would work in the face of armed resistance! Bear in mind, that the revolutionaries in Spain were not the ones to attack. They took to arms only when they were

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C. V. Cook,

-Page 3-

8/2/1937.

face to face with armed forces (officers), directed by Generals who were known to be in Military and Fascist Conspiracy. Had our people not armed themselves, Spain would now be in the position of Germany and Italy, where hardly any resistance was offered to the invasion of the Fascist power.

In offering active resistance, the Spanish workers gave a shining example to the rest of the Fascist world, that they still love Liberty well enough to struggle and die for it. They have done more; they have shown that Dictatorship is not essential in a Revolutionary period. It is true that those who are enjoying political freedom in Spain are taking advantage of it to an alarming extent, but I agree with the comrades that there is less danger in the abuses of freedom than in Dictatorship.

For the rest, only the Future will show whether they are right.

As far as I know, I am going to remain in England to the end of April. Please write me here, but don't wait for this to do so. Give my greetings to all our friends; my love to Rudolf and Milly. I am not sure I will have a chance to write them in time for the next sailings, on Wednesday, but I will do so soon.

Give my love to Sadie,

Affectionately,

P.S. I am sorry to hear of the death of Starts: I didn't know that he was still active, until his death. I saw his name somewhere mentioned for quite a number of years.
Remember me kindly to Spradling.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 8, London [to] Tom [Keell Wolfe, Edinburgh, Scotland] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

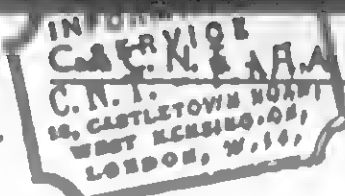
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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

*Accredited
Representative*



I. - Via Layolana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona London Feb. 8th 37

Dear Tom Wolfe.

I have just sent you a wire that I will come to Edinburgh on Monday the 15th of this month. It will be a great strain because I speak twice on Sunday, in Glasgow and Paisley, and I have an engagement for Monday evening. Besides all that I had intended to go to Edinburgh for a larger meeting. It is such a pity to come to a city for a small gathering of only two hundred people. But since I will be so near it would be foolish to forego having even a small affair. ~~Then~~ Perhaps when I have met the people in Edinburgh who want to arrange the meeting for the 15th and your friends I might be able to prevail on them to organize a large affair after the Easter holidays. Anyhow, I will be with you Monday, the 15th. I understand Edinburgh is quite near. I may therefore be able to come in time for an interview with an evening paper if there is one in the city and it can be arranged for its representative to meet me.

There is however, something which I wish you to explain to the S.S.P. It is this; while I am most desirous to place the part played by the CNT-F.I. in the anti-Fascist and reconstructive work in Catalonia before the British public, I am most anxious to raise funds for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts. I must insist, therefore, that I be permitted at all meetings I am addressing to make appeals for contributions and to take the amounts collected for my purpose. Please tell this to the S.S.P. and also, I want the right to put on sale our literature on Spain as well as the albums we have received. I hope they will agree to these conditions. Naturally I want nothing for myself but the fare and hospitality. In our own meetings we do not take a single penny from the collections for the expense of hall rent. Everything goes to the CNT-F.I. for the purpose already specified. I hope that will be satisfactory.

You may tell the S.S.P. that I have credentials from the CNT-F.I. authorising me to collect and accept contributions and to represent them in every way possible.

Please write me at once whether the meeting the 15th is definite. The subject would have to be the same as in Glasgow THE PART OF THE CNT-F.I. IN THE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE IN SPAIN. OR, THE CNT-F.I. AND COLLECTIVISATION. This is the theme chosen in Paisley.

Cordially,
Perhaps you can get the J & W to help.

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 8, London [to] Mark [Mrachny], New York / Emma [Goldman]. —
3 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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18, Castletown Road, West Kensington, W. 14.
(London). 8th February, 1937.

FREIE ARBEITER STIMME,
45, West 17th Street,
New York City, U.S.America.

Dear Mark,

You are certainly not very generous or lavish with your letters! You permit months to pass between one and another and then you write a few measley lines! I realise that you are busy; still, I think you ought to write more often, and keep me posted as to what is doing. Surely you must know how very much I think of, and dwell in, America and how intensely interested I am in everything that is taking place there - especially in our ranks. But I suppose you are incorrigible as a correspondent?

I am terribly disappointed with you people that you have lost so much time in getting the Durruti film from the Customs. Surely there must be a way of getting it released. Could not some attorney do it? Or someone who has connections with the Customs? Actually, in sending you the film, I deprived myself of it. It was intended for my use in England. The reason I sent it was the information I received from London - that a Durruti film has already been brought here. Much to my surprise, I discovered on my arrival that the Durruti film already in London, is the one taken by the Generalidad and only of the funeral; whereas our film gives Durruti's activities from the moment he organised the first column for the Aragon Front. You bet I have regretted having shipped our film to New York! I am therefore disgusted to know that you people are so ~~relaxed~~ about getting it released and making use of it. If it takes so long to get the film from the Customs, what will it be about the material for the Exhibition which I am planning to send? - just as soon as the Exhibition closes. It is no use going to the trouble and expense, unless there is some guarantee of getting it passed by the Customs. I have therefore written Stella to get into touch with our friend A.L. Ross, and to find out what chances there are of safe conduct for the material for the Exhibition. When I was in Paris, I understood from Sania that ~~that~~ the Exhibition in Paris would go to Sweden, and Holland first, and then be sent to The States. Naturally, if it goes to New York, I shall send mine to Chicago - or vice versa. America is large enough to have more than one Exhibition, of the struggle and the constructive work in Spain; but the main thing is to make sure that the material will not lie around at the Customs, so you had better get in touch with some responsible person who can find out particulars about the matter.

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme 2-

8/2/1937.

(2)

I wonder if you have read the remarkable speech made by Santillan? I was very pleased with it, because of the charge of censorship on the part of our comrades in Paris against the C.N.T.--F.S.I., - I mean the withdrawal of the support from the Paper, España Anti-Fascista. In view of the frank criticism contained in Santillan's talk, I am very loathe to believe that the paper was suppressed because of the critical article by Volin: there must be other reasons. Anyway, Santillan expressed the very ideas I tried to convey to the comrades while I was in Spain - the idea that while an armed attack on the Revolution calls for an armed defence, it doesn't also, to my mind, ~~also~~ necessitate the shooting of people whose only crime is their difference of opinion. Besides the justification of my thought and feeling about the matter, contained in Santillan's address, it also has a great many other things that needed to be said, and no-one besides Stalin seems to have seen the necessity of doing so.

muscle The Address of Montseny is also very illuminating, though I rather found her a bit too self-satisfied, and uncritical. I don't say that in any sense of condemnation. One whose whole life was spent in one sphere, even more insular than most of the Spanish comrades who have lived in exile, naturally would see everything in roseate colours. Nevertheless, she is among the ablest of our people, and certainly the bravest.

All in all, the situation in Spain is not very bright. True, the Spanish people have almost superhuman courage; their power of endurance is like nothing that was demonstrated before, but how can they possibly hold out against a numeric force such as Franco represents? - not to speak of his superior arms? The talk of non-intervention and of 'Volunteers' is certainly among the most outrageous hypocrisy.

Still, the democratic countries are jabbering about these things, while Germany and Italy continue to pour in tens of thousands of trained soldiers. It should be obvious to the blind that not only Hitler and Mussolini but Mr. Blum and Mr. Baldwin are in league in their intentions to crush the Anti Fascist struggle and to drown in the blood of the Spanish people the magnificent beginnings of a new social structure. It is like crying in the wilderness to make the masses in this country see the frightful treachery against the Spanish people. Often I think that I am wasting my time and energy, I want to rush back to Spain, at least to share the dangers with our people; but, on the other hand, I realise how necessary it is to be heard about Spain - if only by a negligible minority,

Dear Mark, I think I wrote you six weeks ago or longer, asking for the pamphlet by R.R. What management is this in your office that my request has not yet been complied with? After all,

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme(3)

8/2/1937.

(3)

Rudolf did not write the pamphlet for his private amusement, he wrote it for the enlightenment of the people. Why then was it not sent to me? It is still time, provided it will be mailed at once. I want 250 copies. As I am staying here until the end of April, and am likely to have a number of Meetings, I think it will not be difficult to dispose of the pamphlet. Please hurry with it.

Another thing is that your paper still continues to go to some Sttropz. That too I have written about long ago; is there no way of having the address changed?

Another thing - what stand do you and the paper intend to make regarding the proposed Conference in Barcelona? I am asking because I want to know whether anyone is likely to attend the Conference from The States. Of if not, whether the comrades of the Federation and the F.A.S.T., would like me to convey their decisions to the Conference? I certainly mean to attend it. Will you let me knkw that very soon? - or submit this question to the Federation and ask the comrades to write to me?

Fraternal Greetings to all of them,

Affectionately,

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

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18th Castletown Road,
West Kensington, W.11.

Monday,
8th
February
1937.

Miss Rose Pesotto,

Dear Rose,

I am sending this to the address of The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in New York, because I am not sure that you are stopping in the Montreal Hotel, in Montreal.

re: id
I received your letter of 18th, and was very much interested in what you had to say about the Strike in Flint and Detroit. It is certainly an encouraging 'showing' on the part of the workers. It is a commentary, however, on the lack of recognition of the movement, for Industrialism, that was carried on in America for more than thirty years. Lewis has simply taken the wind out of the sails of the I.W.O., without having the grace to *give* to the latter. I suppose that is the nature of all things that finally come to a head. Human memory is very fleeting: it forgets the pioneers in every great Cause. Not that the pioneers want credit; it seems but right that the young generation should know that the path of their successes was strewn with thousands of martyrs, who were ahead of them. Of course I do not trust Lewis; his crooked past speaks against him. I cannot believe that he has made the move of industrialising the workers of the different industries because he is interested in their fate: I rather think it is for his own self-glorification. But I am glad to know that there are young 'elements' who are sufficiently awakened to realise the importance of the new trend.

I am particularly delighted to know that Powers Hapgood and you are active in the present 'Scrap'. Naturally I am not surprised to learn that the ranks of the workers are honeycombed with Pinkerton spies. These dreadful creatures have done enough mischief in the ranks of Labour in the United States. It is reassuring that the Strikers are aware of this and are not falling into the trap set for them.

I am afraid, my dear, you misunderstood my letter to Stella, wherein I said that it would be rather awkward to ask 'Comrades' in Barcelona to invite you as an Organiser. It is not that they would not have been ready to do so; it is only that they dislike keenly to be a party to any scheme, even if it is in their behalf. However, I have a letter from Souchi, telling

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Miss Rose Pesotto.

(2)

8/2/1937.

me that a credential and an invitation have been sent to you over a month ago. What could have become of it? Of course I gave you~~me~~ Montreal address at the time; is it likely that your Mail is being tampered with in Montreal? From what you tell me of the organised malicious interference with anything in behalf of Spain, this leads me to believe that it may well be possible that your Mail is receiving such attention.

However, I have since written again, suggesting that you be invited as an Organizer. The struggle in Spain will last quite some time, so there is no such hurry of your getting there. Naturally, your work in the Automobile Strike is too important to drop it easily but I would suggest that you try hard to get to Spain for the 1st of May, when the ~~XXXX~~ F.A.I., and the youth of this Organization will hold an International Conference. As it is not likely that the comrades in America will be able to send a delegation, perhaps they would be willing to have you represent them in connection with your going, at the invitation of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., - what do you think of this suggestion? Let me know.

I am sure that you mean it for the best when you refer Stella to Gardner Jackson but I do not see how he can possibly do anything for me, at the same time, of lobbying for Spain. I have no idea what is meant by 'lobbying for Spain'. I have no idea what he hopes to achieve by his method, but then I am an irreconcilable heathen when it comes to any political wire-pulling. Whatever will come of it for Spain, Gardner Jackson will not be able to combine the two purposes, Spain and a visa for B.G! But why is it necessary to go in a roundabout way? I think that you are closer to Dubinsky than Gardner Jackson is to the Commissioner of Emigration; why not approach him, to help? Or would he not be willing? Judging by the high tribute he paid me at the Banquet in Montreal, he should be ready to go a long way to get me back to The States - but of course there is always an abyss between words and actions.

Anyway, you should approach him and see what he has to say. I enclose a copy of a letter (in fact of 2 letters) I have written to C.V. Cooke, and Maratchny. It will tell you everything of my reactions to the methods employed by our comrades in Spain and also about my work here.

I have asked the comrades in Barcelona to send the invitation to you, c/o the New York address of the I.L.G.W.U; that is safer than sending it to Montreal and I have asked them to write me. Just as soon as I hear from them, I will let you know. I am glad to hear that Dubinsky is using some of the money collected to send food stores to Spain.

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Miss Rose Pesotto

- 3 -

8th Feb. 1937.

I only want to call your attention to the deplorable fact that Spain does not necessarily mean Catalonia. It is that Sabotage against Catalonia cries to the very heavens. So far, neither money or food supplies have reached there, yet it is Catalonia and Aragon that carry the brunt of nourishing fighting forces on all the Fronts. In addition to a million of its own population, Barcelona now has to take care of 30,000 women and children evacuated from Madrid and the other Front; yet no support comes from anywhere to Catalonia.

Actually our people have been sabotaged not only by the Communists but by Caballero and his Cabinet. I go further. I am certain that this gentry would rather have Fascism, if it were secured of its skin, than the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I wish you would impress that on the mind of Dubinsky and prevail upon him to make sure where the food supplies go. At no time in the history of the social struggle were people so discriminated against as the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Yet our people have gone ahead heroically and have extended tolerance to the breaking point to their so-called 'allies', who are only too willing to stab them in the back.

I cannot tell you what an effort it is for me to keep the facts from the public; I would like to cry them out from the housetops but I know it would only add grist to Franco's mill. But at least it is necessary that our own people and those truly interested in the gallant fight that the Spanish people are making, should know exactly what is going on behind the scenes. Yes, a great many organisations are pandering for Spain. Heaven only knows what becomes of the thousands of pounds and dollars raised! All I can do is to repeat what I have already said, that Caballero has received most of the amounts raised by these - and Catalonia, nothing!

I do hope that you will be able to come to Spain and that we may meet in Barcelona. It would give me a chance to talk to you as one cannot do in a letter. Let me hear from you soon.

Affectionately,

Emma

P.S. What has become of Shane? Is he no longer in Madrid? Give him and his wife my affectionate greetings.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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18th Castletown Road,
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(2)

8/2/1937.

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Miss Rose Pesotto

- 3 -

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I cannot tell you what an effort it is for me to keep the facts from the public; I would like to cry them out from the housetops but I know it would only add grist to Franco's mill. But at least it is necessary that our own people and those truly interested in the gallant fight that the Spanish people are making, should know exactly what is going on behind the scenes. Yes, a great many organisations are pan-handling for Spain. Heaven only knows what becomes of the thousands of pounds and dollars raised! All I can do is to repeat what I have already said, that Caballero has received most of the amounts raised by these - and Catalonia, nothing!

I do hope that you will be able to come to Spain and that we may meet in Barcelona. It would give me a chance to talk to you as one cannot do in a letter. Let me hear from you soon.

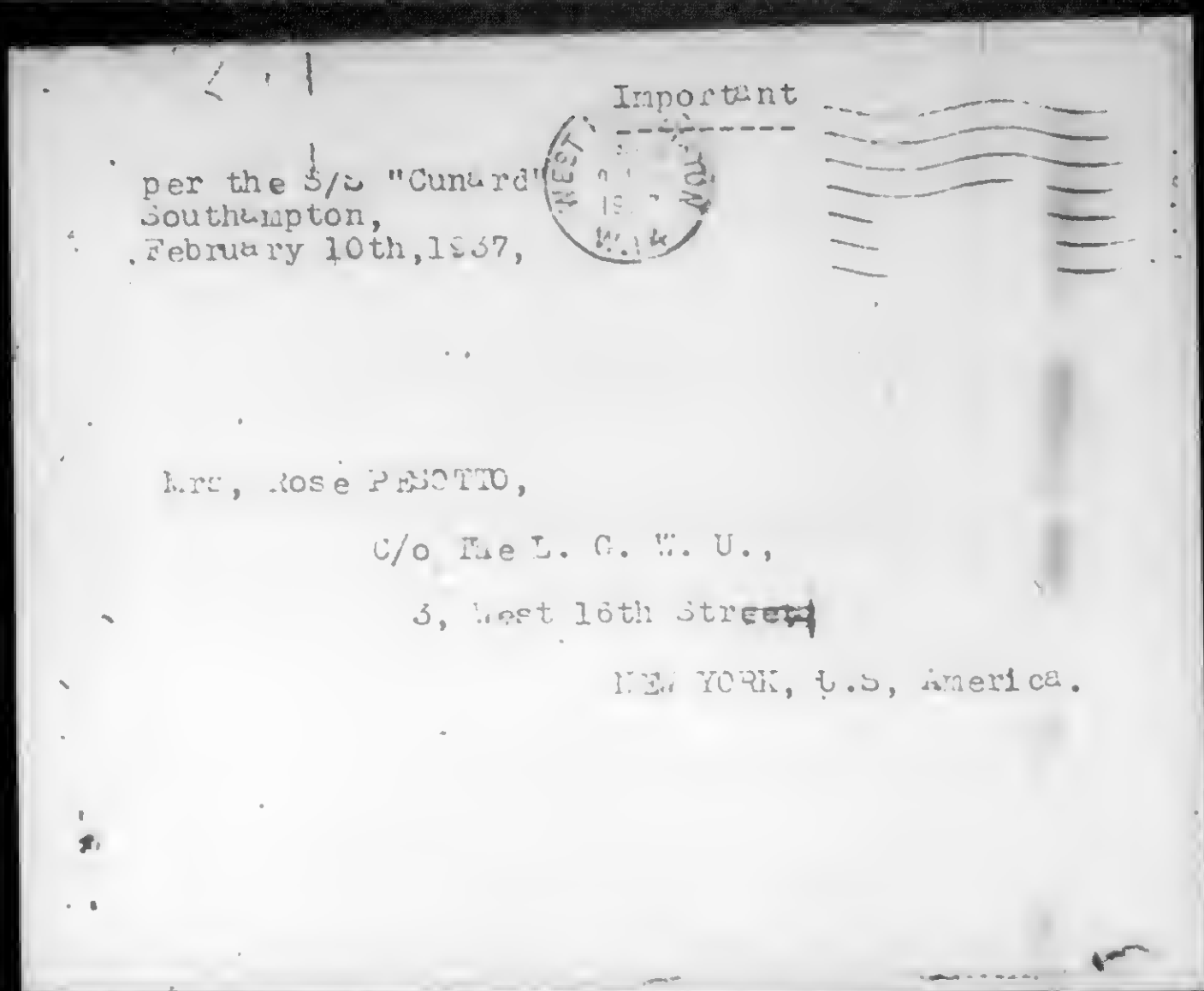
Affectionately,

P.S. What has become of Shane? Is he no longer in Madrid? Give him and his wife my affectionate greetings.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1937 Feb. 9, London [to] Rose Pesott[a], New York / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 12 × 15 cm.

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18 Castletown Road, West Kensington,
London, W.14.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 9, London [to Mary] Feivel, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19659

18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington, London, W. 14.
9th February, 1937.

Dear Miss Feivel,

I have received your kind letter of the 24th January and the £7 postal orders enclosed. It is most generous of you to have responded to the letter of dear Stella Churchill in "The New Statesman's Nation".

I wish I could find more such willing and large-hearted people to help me to rouse British public opinion in behalf of the heroic struggle made by the Anti-Fascist forces. It would not be fair to state that there is no interest in Spain at all in this country. There are quite a number of organisations raising funds - largely for Madrid. We welcome that of course, but on the whole the sympathies are very lukewarm.

As to the Press, there is a definite conspiracy of silence. The reactionary papers - such as "The Morning Post", "Daily Telegraph" and "The Express" - as well as "The Observer" - are bitterly hostile, and unscrupulous in their misrepresentation of the Anti-Fascist forces. "The Daily Herald" and "The Chronicle", while writing somewhat favourably, are nevertheless frightfully narrow in their approach.

Actually the only two exceptions are "The New Leader" and "The New Statesman". With such a solid wall to face me, I naturally find it extremely difficult to break through; nevertheless, I have made some inroad. Our first meeting, January 18th, was very successful indeed. I have since worked on a larger undertaking, which I hope you will be able to attend. It is a meeting in the "Friends' House" (February 19th) and I have other plans that might help my friends and comrades who are making such a valiant fight.

You said you would be here in about three weeks. This means you are likely to arrive this week-end or early next week. If so, will you please call me up? (Pulham 6829). I want very much to see you and talk to you, and I would also like to reserve some space for you for a meeting.

Sincerely yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 9, London [to] Milly W[itecop] Rucker, Los Angeles / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rucker Archive.



18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington, W.11. (LONDON).
9th February, 1937.

Mrs. Milly W. Rucker,
c/o Mr. C. V. Cooke,
1,038, Albaroda Street,
LOS ANGELES, California.

Dear Milly,

As I am not sure how long you remain in Los Angeles, I am sending this letter o/o C.V. Cooke. He will surely know how to reach you should you have left for Mexico when this arrives in Los Angeles. It will be quicker than sending it to New York.

I was very happy indeed to get your letter after such a long silence. You say that Rudolf has written me; if it is the letter I received from him before I left Spain, then I have answered it; I do not know of any other letters having come from Rudolf. They mean so much to me and they are usually so interesting that I reply without delay. In other words, Rudolf owes me a letter in answer to the one I wrote to him some time ago - but then I know how difficult it is for him to keep up a correspondence while he is on tour.

Before your letter arrived, I heard from our dear Ben Capes. He told me of Rudolf's illness, which shocked me very much. He must have been very sick indeed if he had to be taken to a hospital. Was it influenza? This terrible disease has been raging in England; so far, I have escaped it. Actually I have gone along without a cold, which is the first time in many years of my coming to this country. Of course, I have my annual winter's cold - but even that has not been so violent as last year; so I am "knocking wood"! I am delighted to know that our dear Rudolf is himself again. I hope fervently that his stay in The States may have been extended.

It seems to me that the people who worked so hard to give Rudolf another four years in the White House could and should try to get you a prolonged stay in America. Rudolf is so needed there; but of course if you have to go to Mexico to be able to return in the ordinary quota routine, perhaps it is just as well. When I saw Abrams in Paris, he seemed to be certain of a most successful tour for Rudolf in Mexico. I hope it will materialise. I am enclosing copies of letters I have written, to save myself repetition about my attitude towards the Spanish comrades and their methods, as well as about my work here. I quite understand the unwillingness of our

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Mrs. Milly W. Rucker.

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2/2-/1937.

 Roc

Spanish comrades in America to discuss the actions of the C.N.T.-FAI; they know the terrific struggle their comrades and their country are making, the sacrifices of the best in the ranks; their feeling is not unlike that of a mother towards her child, whose supreme effort is to concentrate against defeat. I am not Spanish, but I myself feel intensely with our people in Spain. Perhaps I would be more impatient if I had not been there and had not seen with my own eyes, on one side the conspiracy against the C.N.T.-- F.A.I., on the part of their so-called 'Allies'; on the other hand, the truly superhuman effort made in the constructive work in the beginnings of the ideas and ideals we have propagated all our lives. At the same time, I consider it necessary now to swallow everything without a murmur. It is necessary to be critical. True friendship and comradeship never stand for blindness or fanatical adherence to the things contrary to what our comrades have proclaimed and fought for, for so many years.

I don't know whether you have read Santillan's speech of a few weeks ago? You will see that he and others have finally realised the necessity of admitting mistakes. This is the more necessary since our people have so generously submitted to the encroachment of their allies the Communists, as well as the Government of Caballero, on their rights. A recent arrival from Barcelona (one of our finest men) has brought the news that Catalonia is almost denuded of arms of defence & of everything else, in order to supply Madrid. Now I realise that concentration on the defence of Madrid is imperative, but, on the other hand, Catalonia is in equal measure in equal danger, especially from the sea. It is therefore nothing short of a crime to leave Catalonia bare of everything it needs to protect itself against the possible attack of the Franco-German Italian forces. Actually the latter have already bombarded Port Boa; they have proved therefore what their plans are as far as Barcelona is concerned. Fortunately, our people in Barcelona are realising that they cannot go on indefinitely pouring men, arms and provisions into Madrid, not only because they must prepare themselves to meet the dreadful enemy, but also because of the Communistic force. Thanks to the generosity of our people, they have become stronger and are now dominating Madrid. Thus they have stopped the C.N.T.--F.A.I. paper (not for long, to be sure), and they have now suppressed the paper of the P.O.V.M., which merely goes to show what they are likely to put forward should they be unable to do so by the C.N.T.--F.A.I. As I said, you will gather from the enclosures what I am doing here. Our first Meeting (18th January) in Canway Hall, was very successful indeed, 700 people in the Hall and thousands turned away. The enthusiasm for more knowledge of the Spanish situation was great enough to decide us on a more auspicious venture on the 19th of this month. We have taken the Friends' House, holding 1,300, and we charge for admission from 2/6d to 6d. I am glad to say that the Independent Labour Party has offered co-operation.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 9, London [to] Milly W[itcop] Rucker, Los Angeles / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Mrs. Milly W. Rucker.

-3-

9/2/1937.

I hesitated to accept it because I was afraid that it would insist on speaking in the name of the so-called "United" Front. Fortunately, Fenner Brookway - the General Secretary of the I.L.P., - has assured me that his Party has retained its independence as regards Spain and other important issues, and it will be speaking in its own behalf at the meeting of the 19th. I was glad therefore to consent, because we have so few efficient people in our own ranks. I am therefore hopeful that the meeting of the 19th will be successful.

In addition, will be the Exhibition which we are preparing for the 20th. That, too, is jointly with the I.L.P. I could not carry out the original plan, owing to the Exhibition costs it would have involved.

I also have a very ambitious scheme of some kind of a concert, of a combination of music and perhaps one-act plays, on behalf of the women and children evacuated from the different fronts. I don't know whether I will succeed but I am certainly going to try. In addition to this, I am speaking in some of the provinces. I was in Plymouth a week ago, and I am going to Glasgow next Saturday, and possibly to Bristol for the 28th. You see I am busy, but I don't mind it because I feel Spain more intensely than I have for any issue in many years. I think I shall be through with my work here by the latter part of April. I mean to go back to Spain even if a visa to The States will be granted, which I doubt very much. I will need new impressions but am not at all sure that a visa will be forthcoming.

You will be interested to learn that I met some people yesterday who assured me I would have a great success for Spain, in Palestine; in fact, they mean to get me an invitation to go there. Naturally, if America falls through, I would be only too glad to go because of the economic experiment made there - which seems to be very interesting; and also because I am assured that the response would be much more enthusiastic and generous than it has been here so far. Anyway, I am determined to give all my remaining years and all my energy to our heroic comrades in Spain.

I am delighted to know of the translation of Rudolf's book when finally in shape for publication. If I had received your letter in time, I could have spoken to Knopf, who was here and whom I saw on Saturday. He should be approached again; You will remember I let him read the German script; he was not averse to considering it for publication but insisted on very considerable cuts. He was sure a very large book would not meet with success. Anyway, if there are no others, luck should certainly be tried again.

With love to Rudolf and yourself and fraternal greetings to all the comrades. Affectionately, ("Mama") p.p. Secretary.

(Note:- the foregoing page was signed by Miss Goldman, for my letter.)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 9 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

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10040

9-2-37

Liebste Emma,

heute haben wir eine sehr gute Nachricht zu berichten: das Buch ist auf französisch angenommen und erscheint bei Marx; und zwar in einem sehr anständigen Verlag, nämlich Denoël & Steele, der auch der Verleger von Céline ist. Wir können sich denken, wie froh wir sind, damit wir noch froher werden, fehlt nur noch, dass auch Sie uns bald ähnliche Nachrichten schicken werden. Dass es nicht an Ihnen liegt, wenn sie noch nicht da sind oder überhaupt ausbleiben sollten, wissen wir.

Leider ist die französische Version immer noch nicht fertig, denn durch die Krankheit des weiblichen Familienmitglieds sind wir sehr in Rückstand geraten und müssen uns nun sehr anstrengen, um rechtzeitig fertig zu werden. Sie sehen also, die Arbeit ist noch lange nicht zu Ende, wir haben immer noch von morgen bis abends zu tun.

Die Nachrichten aus Spanien lauten leider sehr schlechter als unsere persönlichen. Wie uns heute bekannt wurde ist, nachdem die Einnahme von Malaga zur Gewissheit geworden ist, können Sie sich denken, dass Céline scheint es nicht gut auszusehen. Die Gegenstände werden immer stärker, und wir haben leider den Eindruck, dass die Anarchisten der Lage nicht ganz gewachsen sind. Sie werden sich von den andern betrügen lassen!

Von Besky hatten wir endlich einen Brief, und auch das spanische Bulletin bekommen wir jetzt. Trotzdem waren uns die Sachen, die Sie uns geschickt haben, sehr wertvoll, und wir danken Ihnen herzlich dafür.

Was machen Ihre Versammlungen? Ist es sehr anstrengend?

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 9 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

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19049

und ermüdend? Aber Sie sind ja glücklicherweise unverwundlich!

Wir waren gestern in einer Versammlung deutscher Emigranten, in der die Kommunisten gegen das Buch von Gide loszogen. Der männliche Teil der Unterzeichner dieses Briefes sagte dazu auch etwas, und da er eine recht kräftige Stimme hat, ging es schön und lebhaft zu. Schade, dass Sie nicht da waren, Sie hätten Ihre Freude daran gehabt. Uebrigens waren die Kommunisten alles in allem ziemlich kleinlaut, man merkte ihnen ^{an} dass es bestellte Arbeit war, die mit schlechtem Gewissen gemacht wurde.

Molly Flechine habe ich (Anita) gleich angerufen, als der Trakt da war, sie ist wirklich ein so lieber Kerl und hat sich mit uns mitgefrennt. Ich hoffe, sie recht bald zu sehen.

Uebrigens will der Verlag das Buch mit Bildern bringen um die Veranschaulichung des Bild der Milizionärin von wegen Sexappeal! Das ist es ja nur recht sein, wenn dadurch die Kauflust wirklich gesteigert wird.

Wie lange werden Sie eigentlich noch in England bleiben? Das Wetter sehr schlimm und haben Sie darunter zu leiden? Hier ist die Sintflut ausgebrochen, es regnet jeden Tag in Strömen, und Gärten sind schon überall Knospen an den Bäumen und Sträuchern.

Schreiben Sie bald, wir haben schon sehr lange nichts von Ihnen gehört.

Viele herzliche Grüsse und alles Liebe

Ihre



The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 9, Perpignan [France to] Emma Goldman, London / Comité de Défense de la Révolution Espagnole Antifasciste. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Comité de Défense de la Révolution Espagnole Antifasciste

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Toute la correspondance doit être expédiée à
L. MONTGON
310, Avenue M^{re} Joffre
PERPIGNAN (P.-O.)
Compte Chèques Postaux: MONTGON 4.983 Toulouse

Permanence
Ancien Hôpital Militaire
Rue Maréchal-Foch
PERPIGNAN
Téléphone 23-81

Perpignan, le 9 Février 1937

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN
18, Castletown Road
West Kensington
LONDON.

Ma chère camarade,

Films. Nous n'avons reçu aucune pellicule d'Espagne pour vous, nous allons demander à Martin à quelle date ces films auraient été expédiés.

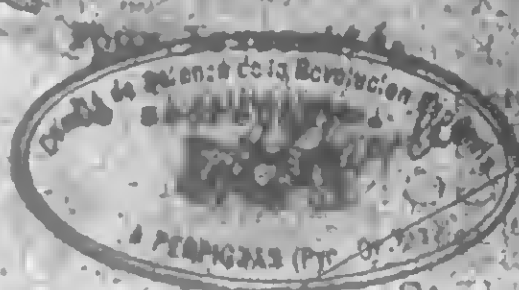
LETTRES. Oui, nous savons que les lettres expédiées par la poste mettent un certain temps à parvenir à leurs destinataires; comme nous avons un camarade qui fait le service, régulièrement, entre Perpignan et Barcelone, plusieurs fois par semaine, il vous suffira à l'avenir, de nous adresser votre correspondance pour l'Espagne que nous ferons porter directement à leurs destinataires.

Nous ne pouvons vous envoyer la facture des mouchoirs car nous n'avons fait que transmettre cet envoi que nous avait

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001070

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 9 [Barcelona to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [author unknown]. —
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19513

9 February 1937

Dear Emma Goldmann,

I am very sorry indeed, and can't understand it at all, that you never receive our bulletins etc. Most of the things I have wrapped in and stamped myself and handed them to Toto when he went to the postoffice. Your address was given to me by Souchy. Yesterday when getting papers in order in his room, I found your address - on a letter of yours - and realised that mine was incomplete. The "West Kensington" had not been added. But I can't imagine that that should have been the reason that our things never reached you.

Today is a ~~very~~ sad day. Malaga has fallen². Thanks to the enormous contingents of German and Italian troops landed lately in Franco's ports. Last night there were some cannonshots also here in B. Probably a pirateship of the rebels, getting so excited about their victory that they thought they might now start on Barcelona also.

I enclose some translations. The speech of Garcia Oliver which I had sent before, but may be you never got it. Also some parts of last Sunday's conference of Juan Lopez. The Soli has only published part of it so far. *Also a short article, also out of today's 'Soli'.*

The Durruti pamphlets I posted to Barrs address some time ago, were meant for you, as I then had no other address. I also sent you a copy of a review "Mi Revista" and wrapped some pamphlets inside about the same time. Have you got this? Have you received the translation of Santillan's speech? If not, I have another copy.

I don't know if you got in touch with Frank. He has - as I learned from the Film-syndicat comrade here - bought 2 of our films and taken them to America. The one "19th of July" and another about

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 9 [Barcelona to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [author unknown]. —
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19514

Madrid. If you want to communicate with him, write c/o Freie Arbeiter-
stimme.

I heard that you had several successful meetings. I can
imagine how difficult things are in England, but I can also well
imagine that this will not discourage you.

Has the young man of Mrs. Sheridan's party delivered the
enveloppe with the posters and the letter?

With all good wishes

yours

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 12, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C. N. I.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. I. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona London Feb. 12th 37

Dear Roger.

I am just writing to tell you that I saw Knopf when he ~~was~~ passed through London. I spoke to him about your efforts for a visa in my behalf, and he said he would like to help in whatever capacity you will want him to. So will you get in touch with him. It is Alfred A. Knopf of course.

Another thing occurred to me that Washington maybe more will ^{my} (to issue a visa if ~~it will~~ my coming will take place when Congress will not be sitting. You remember Mc Cormack stressing the excuse when you asked for an extension of my last visa. It is of course ridiculous for a right government like the U.S.A. to fear one human being. But if Stalin fears Trotsky why not Uncle Sam and Goldan? anyway. I figured out that if you were successful I should sail in August, be with Stella and my own in their place in Bearsville and start work for Spain in Sept. That would give me plenty of time to cover the country ~~for Spain~~ for Spain. Let me know what you think of this suggestion.

I am working like a house on fire here to rouse interest in the great tragedy of the Spanish struggle. A tragedy because of the deep ^{and} conspiracy on the part of the Powers to crush the workers and the glorious beginnings of the collectivized experiment. For, the main conspiracy is really against Catalonia. In this the Caballero Cabinet and the Communists are as one with Franco. They hate the CNT-FAI

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almost as much as they do Fascism. Believe me I know whereof I speak and some day soon the rest of the world will know. For the present it is the CNT and the FAI whose patience are being tried to the breaking point because they will not add grist to Francos mill.

and it is for this reason that I am holding on by sheer force of will not to cry from the house tops the scandalous sabotage carried on under cover in Catalonia against the CNT-FAI.

We have had one successful meeting Jun. 18th at which I raised \$57 for the evacuated women and children now being taken care of in Catalonia. The inclosed will show you that we have another and larger meeting. Then we have the exhibition. About that too a chapter could be written of how the members on the committee fought me on every step to sabotage the CNT-FAI. Fenner was actually the only one who sustained me. Well, its ready and it opens the 20th. In between all this I speak a great deal in the provinces. Tomorrow I go to Scotland to speak in Glasgow and Paisley Sunday, and in Edinburgh Monday evening. Then rush back here for all sorts of committee sessions in re our meeting and the exhibition. I have other plans for Spain. But it is bitter hard to get things moving in England.

I am determined to go back to Spain the end of April. I want new impressions if I go to the States. If not I will remain in Spain. I'd rather share the dangers with my comrades than live in England in safety.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Affectionately

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005071

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 10 [London to] Karin Michaelis, New Rochelle, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

A0002

20003

19, Castletown Road, West Kensington, W.14.
10th February 1937.

My dear Karin Michaelis,

c/o The Baroness Alma Dablorup,
Hemington Place, New Rochelle, New York.

My dear dear Karin!

I was very pleasantly surprised to receive your letter; unfortunately, you did not date it so I have no way of knowing how long it took to reach me. I have not written about Sasha's tragic end because I did not know how you felt about us, after your close affiliations with the régime in Russia. Perhaps I was mistaken to think that you, like others of those who once gave me their friendship and their love, had gone over completely and blindly to Stalin's régime. This is certainly the case of Agnes and quite a few others. I therefore kept my sorrow to myself rather than to share it with you; believe me, it was not easy because, of all those who have known Sasha and my life, I felt you would understand best the blow his death had dealt me; but, as I said, I hesitated to write you.

You can imagine how delighted I am to have your letter and to find the same sweet, warm, loving friendship as of yore. I enclose a copy of a letter I wrote for our Press and for my own friends, and comrades, about the end of our Sasha. It will show you that I was unfortunately not present when he breathed his last. I left him for an hour to go out into the fresh air, as I was suffocating in the patrid hospital air in Nice; when I came back, he had reached eternal sleep. He was unconscious between four in the afternoon and ten o'clock, when he died. But even while he still had the faculty of his marvellous brain, he was in such agony he could say nothing. It was a frightful end to a great life. Aside of my own loss, I feel his death more terribly now that the heroic struggle in Spain is going on. Now he would have gloried in it and how his energies would have been revived! Every day during my stay in Spain, the one thought hammered on my brain that here was the one thing we had worked for more than half a century, bringing forth fruit, and Sasha not here to rejoice in and participate in it; but it is no use eating one's heart out over the inevitable.

Dearest Karin, your letter sounds pessimistic and hopeless. I wonder is it because you like myself have become disillusioned over the "miracle" that is Russia? I should like to know, if you care to tell me. You know how terrible was my disillusionment, though never a moment in the Revolution. It was entirely in the betrayal of the Revolution by the Bolshevik State. The events since in Soviet Russia have justified our position against the deadly machine.

Every day more proofs are added of the betrayal of the Revolution just when it began hold out such promise. However? Spain has revived

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871005071

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20003

Mrs Karin Michaelis.

-2-

10/2/37.

20004

my spirit and has re-kindled my hopes, for there the very ideas I have held high all my life have taken root and they now blossom into a new life. Unfortunately, Spain is surrounded by enemies within and without - not only Germany and Italy are back of Franco's forces, but even the so-called Democratic Conference are not at all averse to seeing the Revolutionary spirit in Spain utterly crushed.

Well, they have undertaken more than they can carry out, for the Spanish Revolutionaries are not Germans. They do not represent the uprising of a Party. The Revolution in Spain is the result of the awakening of the whole people. The peasants in the remotest villages have become socially conscious and will fight unto death on behalf of their newly-gained ground. You can imagine how inspired I feel!

To save time, I am also enclosing copies of letters written yesterday; from all of these you will be able to see what I am doing, and how much I would love to do, for my wonderful Spanish comrades. I wish you could go there with me and see with your own eyes the achievements already gained in the midst of all the horrors of the civil war. Perhaps you will come when I am there in the summer?

Dearest Karin, you remember my speaking a great deal to you about my beloved niece Stella Ballantine. Her address is 509 - 110th Street, New York, City; she wrote me she had heard you were in America but did not know how to get in touch with you. I do wish you would drop her a line; you would find her most interesting and charming. Also her husband (who is a great sculptor) and two wonderful sons. Please do see my dear ones, for they have always been devoted to me in every trouble.

I hope you will write me soon; tell me how long you mean to stay in America. Emmie has been with her people in Checko-Slovakia; naturally she was stunned by such a death. There is no greater misfortune in the world for a woman to have no life or interests of her own - to live only through the man! - whose ideas she never shared. Added to this is her continual illness. Her fortune has already been spent on Doctors, examinations and X-rays and there seems to be no end to it; poor Emmie is not to blame, because her nervous condition is inherited from her people. They are nearly all neurasthenics in the highest degree. The last news I had is that she intends to return to Paris and look for work; I wish she could succeed but am afraid her physical condition will make it impossible to keep a job even should she get one. I am unfortunately helpless, as I have no means, and now I am absorbed in Spain I really have not time or strength for anything else. I have put St. Tropez up for sale; it has lost its meaning for me & I never want to go back to it. I'm afraid it will be difficult to find a buyer & naturally I don't want to throw it away. If I could succeed it would enable me to secure Emmie for a year or two. For the rest, she will have to learn to face life as many others.

With deep love, affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 10 [London to] Miles Maleson, London / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17796

'Fulham 6829.'

Mr. Miles Milleson,
27, Belaise Square,
London, N. W. 3.

Wednesday,
10th February, 1937.

Dear Mr. Milleson,

I do not know whether you remember our
Meeting at the Conference with the British Drama League in
Birmingham, in '25 ?

If I mistake not, we also met on another
occasion. Anyway, I hope that you will remember my name. After
many months in Spain, in close contact with the gallant struggle
there, I have been sent as the accredited representative to England,
by the Catalonian Government and the C.N.T. (National Confederation
of Labour);/the P.A.I., (Anarchist Federation of Iberia).

The purpose of my coming here was to dispel some
of the fantastic and unscrupulous stories spread by The British Press
about the people—the Anti-Fascist forces are ~~watching~~ and also to
raise funds for the women and children evacuated from Madrid and
other fronts. While I have succeeded in carrying through one
successful meeting (January the 18th), and am now engaged in organis-
ing another, (as the enclosed bill), yet I have not been able to penetrate
the Press.

Even the "News Chronicle", ostensibly favourable
to the Anti-Fascists' struggle, has kept silent on the importance of
the C.N.T., and the truly extraordinary constructive work carried on
by this organisation.

It occurred to me that perhaps some undertaking on
a larger scale - something in the way of a Benefit Performance in a
London theatre - might morally force the Press to say something about
the real situation in Spain. With this in view, I went to see

The Emma Goldman Papers

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17797

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Mr. Miles Maleson.

10th February 1937.

Mr. Geoffrey Whitworth - who has always been most helpful when I was here before, trying to do something in the way of lectures on the drama.

I am therefore taking the liberty to approach you. The idea of a Benefit Performance is to consist of either a full-length Play or two or three one-act Plays combined with some good music. Naturally, one will have to find a theatre for some Sunday evening, free of charge, and also enlist the co-operation of artists known in this country, who would participate in order to help the women and children evacuated from Madrid and the different fronts.

That is really the purpose of the undertaking.

I would like to speak to you about the matter, and present to you the real situation in Spain. Could you spare half-an-hour, and when? I am going to Scotland on Saturday and will not be back until Tuesday evening, but could see you to-morrow or Friday. Will you be good enough to get in touch with me by 'Phone (Wulham 6829) at your earliest convenience? Should it be impossible, for me to see you this week, perhaps you will make it next Wednesday afternoon? Anyway, let me hear from you.

Yours sincerely,

Accredited
Representative of
The C.N.T.,--
F.A.I.

*Enclosure
Handbill*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890128032

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 10, London [to] Wim Jong, Haarlem, The Netherlands / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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COPY

18, Castletown Road, London, W. 14.
10th February, 1937.-

 Gud

Mr. WIM JONG,
Haarlem,
Orchidsenlaan, Holland.

Dear Comrade,

I feel very guilty having neglected you for so long. If you need any proof that I have not forgotten you during the whole time, I can tell you that your letter of August 1st and the one of 15th September have travelled with me to Spain. They remained there among my letters and they went with me to England, and have not left me since my arrival - but so many things have happened in the last eight months, that it was that I had neither the time or the mood to write you and the many others of my friends and comrades. Even now, I should not have been able to finally answer your letters, if it were not that I am quite a plutocrat, I have a Secretary and can dictate to her many neglected correspondences with my friends in different countries.

Your letter of August 1st found me considerably broken as a result of the death of my old comrade, A. B. In fact, it seemed to me at the time as if life had lost all meaning. Fortunately, the call from Spain came; the comrades of the CNT-FAI, invited me to come and work with them. It was like a ray of light from a blank sky. I left the South of France on the very day when you wrote your second letter (September 15th.) While there, I was in the very midst of the heroic struggle of our comrades and their truly magnificent constructive effort. It was like coming home after a lifetime of pilgrimage from land to land. I was not blind to the many mistakes our comrades made and to the danger lurking in every corner, as a result of their childlike faith in their so-called 'allies'. Yet I felt, and still do of course, that the constructive venture undertaken by the CNT-FAI., in the midst of the dangers of war and the difficulties of Revolution was so phenomenal that everything else seemed to sink into insignificance.

It was for this reason that I felt it would be sheer treachery to condemn our people for some of the steps which they themselves knew to be inconsistent with our ideals, that the Spanish comrades have held high for so many years.

To give you a very infinitesimal example of what they are facing in Spain, I enclose copies of two letters, one written for our Press and the other to a very old and staunch comrade in America. You can use part of the Press letter for your paper if you consider it worth while.

Now as to the problem of Pacifism and the armed resistance which our people in Spain are offering: it is quite true, dear comrade

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 Gud

Mr. WIM JONG.

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10-2-1937.

that I opposed war and went to prison for it. I would do so again, for I hold now, as I ever have, that war does not solve any problem. On the contrary, it usually brings more evils in its wreck than the evil it supposedly comes to fight. The trouble is that our Dutch Pacifist comrades do not seem to be able to distinguish between Imperialistic wars - always engaged in loot and conquest - and the defence of revolution. Unable to distinguish between the two, they naturally now feel at sea over the Spanish situation. For myself I have always maintained that armed counter-revolutionary attack cannot be met in any other way except by an armed revolutionary defence. Passive resistance is no doubt of value at times; in most cases it depends on a number of factors - economic as well as psychological. Thus the Hindus practice Passive Resistance, because passivity is pre-eminently an Eastern characteristic, and even they have proven that it does not go very far. In Western Europe, Passive Resistance has proven a failure whenever and wherever it was tried. In the case of the Spanish people who have struggled against oppression and subjugation by feudal lords and the Catholic Church, it would be nothing short of suicide. The success numerically and morally of the CN.-FAI., is due entirely to the heroic struggle these organisations made for their emancipation.

But granted that Passive Resistance were preferred, it could only be so if the workers and peasants had been first to rise in revolution. Then perhaps their economic power might have decided the issue. What the Dutch comrades seem to overlook is that the Revolution as well as the Anti-Fascist war, were imposed on the masses by the military and Fascist conspiracy, hatched and perfected over a period of two years, in Germany and in Italy. In other words, our people found themselves face to face with an armed military force which could not possibly have been met lying down. It was therefore a question either of offering armed resistance or of complete annihilation.

That the CN.-FAI., are not overlooking the importance of the economic factor in their struggle is demonstrated by their procedure immediately after July 19th, to collectivize both factories and the land. This in itself is the greatest achievement in the history of the revolutionary struggle.

At no other time was any attempt made to construct in the very teeth of the danger of war and the bitter difficulties of revolution. Yet our people have gone ahead and have shown the whole world that Bakunin was right after all when he insisted that "the spirit of destruction is also the spirit of construction."

Now, it is all very well dear comrade, to remain consistent and to be tied by theories when one is far away from a battlefield, but Reality imposes many things not provided for in one's Ideology, nor in theoretic hairsplitting of this or that idea. Confronted by

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890128032

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Mr. WIM JONG.

-3-

10-2-1937.

Gud

facts, such as the military and Fascist conspiracy in Spain, supported by the feudal lords and even more so by the Church, our comrades were forced by circumstances either to fight back or be destroyed. It is really expecting too much to expect our gallant comrades to abide by the kind of Pacifism entertained by comrades in Holland. I am quite certain that our comrade Domela, were he alive now and aware of the facts in the Spanish struggle, would have been with our comrades with all his generous nature; for he realised as I do and many others that there is a vast difference between Capitalist wars and the defence of Revolution. True, a great many well-meaning people have lost sight of the Revolution. They are stressing the Anti-Fascist war. To be sure, that is very necessary, because the victory of Fascism would not only destroy all the constructive achievements of our Spanish comrades, but it would throw the whole world back into savagery — as it has already done in Germany and Italy. But while the Anti-Fascist struggle is important our people have never lost sight for one minute of the more vital issue, which is the social revolution in Spain, and that cannot be prevented by any resistance or well-meaning Christian Pacifism.

This is my position dear comrade, which I hope you will place before comrades in Holland. I feel deeply and intensely with the struggle which Spanish comrades are making. I am not uncritical, but am ready and willing to go with them to the bitter end, and want nothing better than to stand with them in the battle towards victory. Or if the dread thing should happen (their defeat), to go down with them. For the rest, you will gather much from the two letters enclosed.

The conspiracy of silence on the part of the Press in this country and the miserable betrayal of the Spanish people, of the British Labour & Trade Union, make it most difficult to reach the British Public. Nevertheless I have succeeded in bringing about one successful Meeting, which took place on January 18th and at which £57 was raised for the evacuated women and children and the comrades; and I am working very hard to make our next public meeting on a much larger scale equally successful. In between, I lecture a great deal in the provinces and in London, before all kinds of smaller groups; thus, I am going to Scotland on Saturday to lecture in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Paisley. Later in the month I may go to Bristol. It is tiring I admit, but it is nothing at all compared with the struggle, the sacrifices and the suffering of our people in Spain. I expect to remain here until the end of April and then go back to Spain, so you may write me here until then.

Fraternally,

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001100

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 10, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation.

19558

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.

Secretary—Frank Leech,
287 Netherton Road,
GLASGOW, W. 3.

Treasurer—J. B. Andrew,
207 Waddell Street, S.S.

February, 10th. 1937.

Emma Goldman,
10, Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London. W.14.

Dear Comrade,

I regret you are arriving so late on Saturday. It does not give us much time for press interviews, not that they matter a great deal, as they generally mis-interpret what is said. The fast train from London leaves Euston at 10 a.m., landing in Glasgow at 5-45 p.m. I presume this is the train you are travelling by.

Comrade Barr tells me that Comrade Etta Browne is coming with you. Tell her there is plenty of room for her, unless she has made other arrangements whilst staying in Glasgow. I will meet you both with motor at the station. If you change your plans wire me or phone Scotstoun 2610. I will arrange for the press interviews upon your arrival and then we could go to my home, where our members will be waiting to receive you. They wish to have a talk regarding the I.W.O.A. etc, unless you will feel too tired for this. Then on Sunday we will have the big meeting at 2-30 p.m. and the small one at Paisley in the evening, allowing you a break between them. There is a lot of folk would like to see you but I don't know how you feel on the matter as your time is limited. I have seen Comrade A.B. Fowie of the old Anarchist group in Glasgow and he has given me the addresses of Comrade John Blair Smith and Comrade Duff, perhaps you would like to see them while you are here.

For the return train on Monday, there are trains leaving at 10 a.m. arriving in London 5-25 p.m. - 1-30 p.m. arriving in London 9-20 p.m., both fast trains.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 10, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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19559

I am writing Barr regarding material but I would like very much to have a large supply of C.N.T.-F.A.I. posters. The I.L.P. in Glasgow are co-operating with us ~~in~~ making the meeting a success, more especially ~~the~~ young element, but we have heard that Guy Aldred has urged his audiences to boycott this meeting but don't let this worry you, his advice will probably have the opposite affect. We are expecting a fairly good response from what we have heard, our advertising has been on an extensive scale.

With revelutionary greetings,

Yours fraternally,

Frank Leech

Secretary.

P.S. You will probably be asked a few questions about the P.O.U.M. The I.L.P. especially favour them.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 11, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne Levey. — 2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

JEANNE LEVEY

SALES REPRESENTATIVE
1834 MERCHANDISE MART
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

February 11, 1937.

My very dear Emma:

It is sometime since I have heard from you. I hope you are getting my mail in the meantime. I have been away to Mexico for four weeks and just have returned home.

Where are you? What are you doing? How have you been? Now, Emma dear, since Rudolf's books is practically out of the way, I am going to settle down to real business on your pamphlet. Hope I shall be able to send you some money before very long. However, I have advanced quite a little money and have received comparatively little. I sent out 65 letters and only two people responded, both of them amounting to only \$7.00. But I am going to take it up with some of the large labor organizations and attend some of the big meetings. In this way, we should be able to dispose of quantities of them.

According to the newspapers, things are not so good in Spain. It looks as though they are trying to take Barcelona --- I hope not. If the reports are true, fifteen thousand Italian troops have landed in Spain. What will be the answer? We can only continue to do what we can to help.

I have a letter from Ben Sabes and he writes that he has word from you from England. What reaction do you meet with there?

Rudolf and Lilie are in Los Angeles now. Covichi Fried is going to publish his book. We have to advance them \$2500.00 for five hundred copies and the book will later be published at \$3.50 per volume. The first five hundred will be a Deluxe edition and will be autographed by Rudolf so those who have paid their \$5.00 will be presented with an unusual copy.

I met some friends of Rudolf's in Mexico. Perhaps you know them. The name is Cadulha. He told me that he met you in Russia. They were very hospitable to me, but it was quite difficult to make conversation with them because they speak only in Spanish and very little Jewish. I can speak neither, my Jewish is wretched and I know no Spanish at all. Therefore all we could do was to make signs which was quite unsatisfactory.

I have a letter from Angelica. She is still in New and tonight she is speaking on a broadcast with Trotsky. He is speaking

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JEANNE LEVEY

SALES REPRESENTATIVE
1834 MERCHANDISE MART
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

-2-

from Mexico, while she is in New York. Trotsky is not as favored in Mexico as most people believe he is. He can practically say nothing there. He is only permitted to remain there, on the basis that he will make no trouble. Diego Riviera with whom he is staying has gained a great deal of antagonism because he is protecting Trotsky. There is no large Trotsky group in Mexico.

Write me, Emma dear and let me know what is new. What about that Art Exhibit you were going to send. How are you faring with it? Have you had any success? If you want me to do something here, I will be very happy to do so.

We sent you fifty pamphlets and also ten to Mollie Alperine and several to Barcelona. Have you received these? Please Let me know.

Otherwise, dear there is nothing new. Jay left town this week for a four weeks trip to Havana, Puerto Rico, and San Juan.

Let me hear from you when time permits. You have all my love.

Always,

Your Jeanne

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 12, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18030

London Feb. 12th 37

Dear Roger.

I am just writing to tell you that I saw Knopf when he ~~par~~ passed through London. I spoke to him about your efforts for a visa in my behalf. And he said he would like to help in whatever capacity ~~you~~ will want him to. So will you get in touch with him. It is Alfred A. Knopf of course.

Another thing occurred to me that Washington maybe more will to issue a visa if ~~it~~ my coming will take place when Congress will not be sitting. You remember Mc Cormack stressing the excuse when you asked for an extension of my last visa. It is of course ridiculous for a might government like the U.S.A. to fear one human being. But if Stalin fears Trotsky why not Uncle Sam Emma Goldman? Anyway, I figured out that if you were successful I should sail in August be with Stella and my own in their place in Bearsville and start work for Spain in Sept. That would give me plenty of time to cover the country ~~that~~ for Spain. Let me know what you think of this suggestion.

I am working like a house on fire here to rouse interest in the great tragedy of the Spanish struggle. A tragedy because of the deep ~~aid~~ conspiracy on the part of the Powers to crush the workers and the glorious beginnings of the collectivized experiment. For, the main conspiracy is really against Catalonia. In this the Caballero Cabinet

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almost as much as they do Fascism. Believe me I know whereof I speak and some day soon the rest of the world will know. For the present it is the CNT and the FAI whose patience are being tried to the breaking point because they will not add grist to Francos mill.

And it is for this reason that I am holding on by sheer force of will not to cry from the house tops the scandalous sabotage carried on under cover in Catalonia against the CNT-FAI.

We have had one successful meeting Jan. 18th at which I raised \$57 for the evacuated women and children now being taken care of in Catalonia. The inclosed will show you that we have another and larger meeting. Then we have the exhibition. About that too a chapter could be written of how the members on the committee fought me on every step to sabotage the CNT-FAI. Fanner was actually the only one who sustained me. Well, its ready and it opens the 20th. In between all this I speak a great deal in the provinces. Tomorrow I go to Scotland to speak in Glasgow and Paisley Sunday, and in Edinburgh Monday evening. Then rush back here for all sorts of committee sessions in re our meeting and the exhibition. I have other plans for Spain. But it is bitter hard to get things moving in England.

I am determined to go back to Spain the end of April. I want new impressions if I go to the States. If not I will remain in Spain. I'd rather share the dangers with my comrades than live in England in safety.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Affectionately

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 12, London [to Facundo] Roca, Paris / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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20297

London Feb 12th 37.

Dear comrade Roca.

I was delighted to get your letter from Paris and to learn that you are again stationed there. I was in ~~despair~~ not knowing whom to address myself to to get my letters quickly to the comrades in Barcelona. Even with you to look after the letters they usually took ten days or more to reach the Comité. I do not know why it should have done that. Is there no more reliable comrade who will deliver letters directly he ~~reaches~~ reaches Barcelona and who leave Paris about the time you receive my letters? You will agree with everything moving so swiftly in Spain it is exasperating to wait weeks for my letters to reach Barcelona and to get the reply. Please, dear comrade see what you can do to hasten matters.

The reason I did not answer your letter immediately is that I am frightfully busy with our second meeting which takes place the 19th of this month. It will be in a very large hall and it will cost nearly fifty pounds to fill it and the rent. It therefore means a lot of work to make this affair successful especially as we made it with an admission charge. Fortunately the Independent Labor Party has asked to join us which of course I accepted. They are helping to advertise the meeting and to sell tickets. They want in return 20/00 of the collection which we hope to make outside of the admission fee. Anyhow I am hopeful but it really takes an awful time to get anything done in this cold country!

Open Then there is the exhibition which is finally to ~~begin~~ begin the 20th. That too necessitates work. In addition I had to go to Plymouth, speak here for students. And Saturday I must go to Scotland where I will speak in Glasgow, Paisley, two different cities next Sunday and Edinburgh Monday the 15th. You see I am busy. My kind translator is also very hard worked. All that explains why I have not written you on receipt of your letter.

I am surprised that you have not received my receipt for the £47 14/. I sent it almost immediately after the check reached me. I inclosed another one in Spanish so you can send it to Taradellas.

I am quite determined to return ~~in~~ to Spain the end of April. I must absolutely get new impressions of the situation there since the material I receive is absolutely negligible. And I am tired writing to the comrades of the importance of keeping me in touch with the events. I will therefore have to go back. Also I want to attend the International Conference the FAI and Youth of the FAI are organizing. In addition there will be very little to do in England during the summer. So I am determined to go back. England freezes my blood. I must go for new inspiration and where can I hope to find it if not with our brave comrades in Spain. I hope I will see you in Paris when I pass through.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 12, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / M[ariano R.] Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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20664

COMITÉ NACIONAL

SECRETARÍA

Calle Landerer, 1

Teléfono 17947

Valencia

We received 57 L, realised in a meeting held by our comrade
Emma Goldman, representative of the CNT-FAI in England destined
for the relief fund for women and children refugees.

Por el C. Nacional
R. Vázquez
secretario

Valencia a 12-2-37

IMPORTANTE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 13, London [to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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LONDRES XXXXXXXX 13 de Febrero de 1937

Estimado camarada Roca: Salud:

Con gran alegría recibí tu carta desde París y también la noticia de que te encuentras otra vez ahí. ¡Es tan desesperada sin saber a quien dirigirme para que mis cartas llegasen con celeridad a los camaradas de Barcelona. Aun enviándolas por conducta tuya, tardaban por lo general unos diez días en llegar a manos del Comité, no explicándome porque han de tardar tanto. No se puede contar con un compañero más seguro, que salga de París al tiempo de recibirse ahí la correspondencia y que la entregue tan pronto llegue a Barcelona. Comprenderas que con la rapidez que se suceden los acontecimientos en España, resulta exasperante aguardar semanas enteras por la llegada de mis cartas y recibir aquí la respuesta. Te quedaría muy agradecida si tu pudieras hacer algo para remediar estas dilaciones.

El no haberte contestado a tu carta inmediatamente, se debe a que he estado la mayor parte de ocupada con el segundo miting para el 19 del presente. Se celebrará en un local muy amplio, que costará, incluyendo el alquiler, unas 50 libras. Así pues hay que trabajar intensamente a fin de conseguir que sea un éxito, especialmente si se tiene en cuenta que esta vez se ha decidido cobrar por la entrada. Afortunadamente la S.L.C. nos ha solicitado aceptemos su cooperación, lo por supuesto he accedido. Ellos ayudarán el trabajo de la propaganda necesaria para anunciar el miting y en la venta de las entradas y han pedido que se les asigne el 20 % de la recaudación, que seguramente será cubierto fuera de lo que se consiga por la venta de entradas. De todas maneras, confío que todo saldrá bien: pero de ~~veras~~ veras te digo que cuesta mucho conseguir realizar algo en este frío país.

Luego queda la exposición que definitivamente se abrirá el 20 de este mes y que también representa un trabajo impropio. Encima de esto, he ido a Plymouth a hablar a los estudiantes; y el próximo sábado marcharé a Escocia para hablar en Glasgow y Reisleigh (dos sitios distintos) el domingo y en Edimburgo el día 15. Como podrás ver me encuentro muy atareada. Mi traductor también se halla muy ocupado, todo lo cual explica el no haberte escrito a correo seguido.

Me sorprende que no hayas recibido mi recibo por las £ 47/14/1, que mande enseguida dejar el cheque en mi poder. Te incluyo otro para que puedas mandarlo a Tarradellas.

He determinado regresar a España a fines de Abril. Es imprescindible que recoja nuevas impresiones de la situación, pues los antecedentes que aquí se reciben son negligibles; y ya estoy cansada de ~~escribir~~ escribir a los camaradas por noticias que nunca me llegan, a pe....

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 13, London [to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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....sar de haberles hecho notar varias veces, la importancia de tenerme al corriente de las cosas. Además deseo asistir al Congreso Anarquista Internacional que las Juventudes están organizando. Como por otra parte muy poco habrá que hacer en Inglaterra en el verano, vale más que me marche de aquí, pues este país me hiela la sangre, tengo que salir en busca de nueva inspiración ? I donde mejor que ir a buscar sino al lado de mis heroicos camaradas de España:

Confío poder verte en París a mi paso por Francia

Saludos fraternales de tu camarada

P.S.

Hazme el favor de mandarme a correo vuelta una carta de recomendación para los camaradas en Por Bou a favor del camarada Stanley Sutton, quien marcha a Barcelona el 20 de este mes. Su compañera está prestando servicios de enfermera con la columna Durruti y desea hacerle una visita para pasar con ella unos cuantos días. Yo le dare una carta para los camaradas en el Comité, pero yo deseo que tu me escribas unas líneas para los camaradas en la frontera a fin de que no le pongan ninguna dificultad. Suplico te hagas esto inmediatamente.

EG

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 14, Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / F[acundo] Roca. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris 14 de Febrero de 1937.

Querida Goldman:

Hoy mismo he recibido tu atenta carta que contesto a vuelta de correo.

Tomo buena nota de la actuación intensa que llevas en ese frío país y me congratulo de que, por los heroicos camaradas españoles no regatees sacrificios hasta de orden personal, con tal de ensanchar el radio de acción en la propaganda antifascista.

Tus deseos en volver a España para conpenetrarte con los nuevos problemas que plantea la guerra y la revolución, son naturalísimos y los estimula aún más el aislamiento en que te encuentras con relación a dichos problemas.

Por mi parte, hago cuanto puedo porque tus cartas lleguen pronto, e insisto para que tengan bien informada. El camarada de la U.G.T. en esa Oficina de Londres, comunica por teléfono en París casi a diario. ¿Por qué no aprovechas esas comunicaciones para hablar con el delegado de la C/N/T/ como te dije en mi última carta?. Esta camarada está ahora en España y volverá dentro de unos días.

Te adjunto el salvo conducto que pides para el camarada Stanley.

El recibo para Tarradellas lo haré llegar en seguida.

Saludos fraternales al generoso traductor y un abrazo para ti de tu compañero;

F. Roca

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 14, Valencia [Spain to] Emma G[o]l[d]man, London / Mariano R. Vázquez.— 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

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COMITÉ NACIONAL

SECRETARÍA

Calle Landerer, 1

Teléfono 17947

Valencia 14 de Febrero de 1937

A LA COMARADA EMMA GOLDMAN.

LONDRES

Estimada compañera:

Habiendonos remitido la Regional de Cataluña los informes que mandaste, los hemos estudiado. El resultado es haber decidido, en primer lugar, que desde este momento, el Comité Nacional se haga cargo de cuanto necesites.

Nosotros te mandaremos toda la propaganda que podamos y nos entenderemos con tigo. Ya sabes pues, que para los efectos de propaganda y económicos, en el orden específico, te relacionarás con el Cte Nacional.

Ello claro está, al margen de la relación que tienes que mantener con la Generalidad de Cataluña, puesto que ha ella representas.

Para los efectos, te adjuntamos la Credencial, para que en representación nuestra puedas actuar e intervenir.

Estamos de acuerdo con la intervención en la exposición y la forma que lo has decidido.

También conformes en el destino de cuanto se rescude: a Sanidad. Igual lo que vaya a Barcelona que lo que se mande al Ministerio de Sanidad del Gobierno Central, será administrado por nuestros camaradas siendo esta la máxima garantía de que los fondos llegarán intactos y completos, a los servicios sanitarios.

De acuerdo con apoyar las publicaciones de "Spain And The World" Puedes disponer del dinero que necesites para ello. Lo mismo puedes hacer con "The Fighting Gall".

Sonchey comunica que ya ha mandado al invitación para venir a España, a Rosa Peralta.

Una de las actividades que puedes desplegar en Inglaterra, es invitar a los sindicatos para que manden delegaciones a España a ver lo que ocurre y visitar los lugares de trabajo. Esta es una de las propagandas más efectivas que pueden realizarse en pro de nuestro movimiento, ya que comprueban los horrores del fascismo y la capacidad cons-

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tructiva del proletariado español.

Aprovechamos para indicarte que estuvo a visitarnos una delegación de la "Trade Union". Les dimos algunos dedicados expresamente a la delegación y atendimos en cuanto nos fué posible nos dejaron un cuestionario al cual hemos contestado.

Te adjuntamos copia de la respuesta, indicandote que deberías publicarla por lo menos en nuestra prensa para que el proletariado inglés la conozca.

Cuando necesites dinero para desenvolver las actividades necesarias nos lo comunicas para mandartelo inmediatamente.

Y nada mas por el momento.

En espera de prontas noticias, fraternalmente te saluda,

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL

Mariano R. Vázquez
SEC. ETARIO



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 14 [Valencia, Spain to] Emma G[o][d]man, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 2 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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14 de Febrero de 1.937

A LA CAMARADA EMMA GOLDMAN.

L O N D R E S

Estimada compañera:

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Cuando necesites dinero para desenvolver las actividades necesarias nos lo comunicas para mandartelo inmediatamente.

Y nada mas por el momento.

En espera de prontas noticias, fraternalmente te saluda,

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL

Mariano R. Vázquez
SECRETARIO

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Feb. 14] Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Mariano [R. Vázquez]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Copy letter from National Comité, Valencia,
to Emma Goldman.



We have received from the Comité Regional of Catalonia the report which you sent to them, the contents of which we have noted. The result is that it has been decided in the first place, that from this moment the Comité Nacional will provide you with all you need.

We will let you have all the propaganda we can and also will treat with you concerning all other matters, so it is understood that you will address yourself to the Comité Nacional regarding everything connected with money affairs and propaganda.

The foregoing, of course, as far as we are concerned, and outside of the arrangements and understandings you have with the Generalidad, whom you represent.

We are enclosing herewith the necessary credentials so that you may act and decide on our behalf.

We are in agreement with what you have done in connection with the Exhibition in every respect. Also with the use of the money collected. Whatever is sent to Barcelona, the same as to the Ministry of Health of the Central Government, will be utilized for Sanidad. The funds will be administered by our own comrades and this will fully guarantee that every penny will go to the sanitary services.

It has been agreed also to support "Spain & The World". You can count with the money you need for this purpose. The same applies to the "Fighting Call".

We have heard from Louis Brow-Brow that he has already forwarded the invitation to Rosa Luxemburg for her to visit Spain.

One of the activities you could display in England is to urge

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

We intend to send delegations to Spain in order that they may see what is taking place, and also visit the centres where work is carried on. That is the most effective propaganda that can be made in favour of our struggle, because it will show the horrors of fascism, and the constructive capacity of the Spanish proletariat.

We would mention that a "Trade Union Delegation" paid us a visit. We presented them with albums especially dedicated, and we looked after them as much as we could. They submitted a questionnaire to us, which we have answered. We are enclosing a copy of our reply. Perhaps you would like to have it published, at least in our own Press, so that the English proletariat can read it.

When you require money for the expenses connected with your activities please let us know and we will send it at once.

That is all for now.

Fraternally greetings.

34 Mariano Basque.

Secretariat,

National Comité C.N.T.-F.A.I.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1937 Feb. 14, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] /
Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

COMITÉ NACIONAL

SECRETARÍA

Calle Landerer, 1

Teléfono 17947

Valencia 14 de febrero de 1937

CREDENCIAL

a favor de la compañera Emma Golman, para que actue
en representación de este Cté Nacional de la C.N.T.
en INGLATERRA.

Esta facultada para intervenir en nombre de
la C.N.T. en cuanto considere preciso.

Por el Cté Nacional C.N.T. España


Mariano R. Vázquez
Secretario

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1937 Feb. 14, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] /
[Mariano R. Vázquez].— 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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CREDENTIAL.

In favour of Comrade Emma Goldman so that she may
act in representation of the Comité Nacional of the C.N.T. in
England.

She is hereby authorised to intervene in the name
of the C.N.T. in everything she may consider necessary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 16, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p.; 26 x 22 cm.

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I was in London last night and I must write you a little meeting in the evening. I must write you the Queen Mary to tell you about my visit with Hattie and her one son. I think Hattie is in the name. You wrote me in your letters to let Hattie know of my coming to Glasgow. I failed to write me her address. Fortunately Hattie saw the comrades that gave the address of one of the comrades. So when I arrived I found a letter from her saying that she had to go to Edinburgh for Sunday but she would be back Monday and would I lunch at her house. I was to go to Edinburgh for a meeting yesterday. But there was some mix up of the Hall and the meeting was called off. Thereupon I decided to return to London in order to use the extra day for the work yet to be done for the meeting and the exhibition. But I arranged with Hattie to meet her and Quirhead at some restaurant. They did and they gave me a regular feast. I appreciated it the more because the comrades I was stopping with though meaning enough have no conception of the strain and exhaustion of two meetings in one day with travel in between, or the need of having a few comforts. Well, I must say Hattie and her family were charming. They treated me as if they had known me all these years and as if I was part of their own lives. Really they were beautiful. They took me to the Station in a taxi and did everything else to make our meeting more than pleasant. The second boy of the Quirheads is in Edinburgh at school. So I could not meet him. But the one I did meet looks singularly like Ian. Only Ian is handsome. It's the Jew in him of course. Now don't think I have become a Yiddishist. It's really true that this makes a difference.

As I said the Edinburgh meeting was bungled. I don't know whether it was done deliberately. I was to speak for the Scottish Socialist Party. Tom Keels son was cooperating with them. But he irresponsibly left everything to the SSP and went away for the week end. On my return from Paisley Sunday night I found a long telephone message from Keell saying there had been a blunder about the date. Whether true or not I was glad to be free to go back to London a day earlier. Young Keell hopes to arrange a meeting in Edinburgh for later. So there is nothing lost. I was very glad indeed to have had a chance to meet Hattie and her family. I had to promise to stay with them if I should have another meeting in Glasgow.

The meeting in Glasgow was not bad. The Hall holds 1800 But no more than six or seven hundred were there. The ps. appeal I made brought 27 pounds for the women and children evacuated from the different fronts. It is worse than chopping wood to get money here and even more difficult from a Scotch audience. Yet I have to keep it up. This week is the opening of our exhibition. It would just be on the day of our large meeting. You know how I feel about attending anything when I have to speak. But I will have to be present at the vernissage. I enclose a folder we got out. Wish you could attend the opening. God it cost blood to deal with the damned snobs who disrespected our time and did not contribute a sou, or labor except their idiotic titles they did absolutely nothing. But if the exhibition will be a success and the CNT-E.I. shown in its quality I shall not mind the blood I passed in dealing with the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 16, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

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I have a lot of time for writing but I am coming to N. in August. I wrote him it could be it. I got the visa. He seems to be somewhat more how I'd like. I asked him to suggest the way to take McCormack's advice. He is not sure that the party he will suggest will be assigned. But I hope he might. The trouble is to get after the purpose of my coming. I shall have to be visiting the family and lecturing on Catalan art. The last is absurd. I know very little about Catalan art and if the danger of our people is this seriously too important for me to ignore. So unless I can do the same work I am doing here there will be no use of my going. I don't know how this issue will be met. Well, the first step is to try for the visa, and that Roger will do when the moment comes. In any event I am going back to Spain about the third week in April. I must absolutely get new impressions. And I may if I do go back still succeed in getting the art collection. It's doubtful. But I will try.

There is another proposition. You don't be surprised it is that I go to Palestine for Spain. I have been told by a number of responsible people recently returned from Palestine that I would meet with great success if I went to plead in behalf of the struggle in Spain. A labor ~~xxx~~ commission headed by Schlossberg whom I know ~~xxx~~ in N. is expected here in a week and the people who suggested my going will get in touch with him. But even if the project can be carried out I will have to go to Spain first. Naturally I prefer to then go to the States. But not if I am to be bound by all kinds of restrictions. We will see. Meanwhile I have enough to do here. Next week I begin work on the theatre project. You will be glad to know that I had a very warm reception by the man at the head of Equity. He promised help. Then I had a charming letter from Sybil Thorndyke. She is on tour until April but promised help in every way I will ask her to do. Covelly promised help. But that was more than two weeks ago. I have not seen him since. I am writing him for an appointment for next Monday. Then, I will get after Rebecca and others as sponsors of the undertaking. In short it means an awful lot of labor. But it seems little compared with the sacrifice and the suffering of our wonderful comrade ~~xxx~~ facing death and ruin. I tell you there is nothing on earth I would not do to help them.

I had a letter from Van saying Davy had the flu. It startled me. I have to cable him to day about something I will ask him to let me know how our beloved is. The cable is to prevent, if possible the sailing of some comrade who intends to go to Spain. I know her to be a most devoted soul. But she would be utterly out of place in Spain now.

Please call up Arthur and ~~xxxxxxx~~ tell him I got his letter. Ask him for me not to wait too long for the answer of ~~xxxx~~ Shuster in re the MSS I sent him. From Arthur's letter C.G.S. do not seem so very interested in the MSS to begin with. So it will be best to take it from them as soon as possible and give it to McCabsch to read. I saw Knopf when he passed through here. I regretted not to be able to

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to him about the matter. I had sent it to Arthur to submit through Cataloni. It since I had sent it to Arthur to submit to S.A.S. then to the Viking and only after that to Knopf I said nothing about the matter to Knopf. By the way Knopf said he would help Roger about the visa to the best of his ability. I have written Roger to get in touch with Knopf though I do not know just what he can do.

Arthur's letter brought the news that Beverley Stark, a lovely looking girl was married to a ^{very} ~~normal~~ chap. If he is the one I met he is anything but prepossessing. But I say nothing of course. I have not heard from the Starks in ages.

Enough for to day. I am waiting anxiously for your next letter about Davy and about Moe. Ian

Love to Teddy Ian and Davy. I thought of him all day yesterday and his and Davy's ears must have burned for the hour I was with Hattie and Ian's namesake. We talked of the kids and nothing else.

Love to all the members of our family. I hold you close my dearest. Emma

Better say nothing to the present
and Rogers, share in, he the
new man to be appointed.

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London Feb. 10th 37.

I have your letter of the 4th inst. I got it Saturday morning when I was leaving the house to take the train for Glasgow. I read it on the way. My dear I wish I had the time to due your moving letter justice. Believe me it is not lack of will on my part. It is just that I am swamped with work about 18 hours out of twenty four. To give you but one example here is how I rushed about last week. Monday, Tuesday, Wed. Thursday and Friday I attended dreadful committee meetings and saw about fifty people. I worked Friday night until 2 ~~am~~ A.M. Got up at seven. Travelled eight hours to Glasgow. Had a sitting with comrades there directly I arrived. Spoke in Glasgow the afternoon, in Paisley in the evening travelling back and forth there. And again spent hours on the train getting back here at 9.30 Worked on the mass of letters I received until early hours this morning. And here I am at the machine writing you and a lot of letters to people about the opening of our exhibition and the meeting Friday. This evening I must again attend our own group meeting to see that the finishing touches of the meeting should be made to guarantee our ~~own~~ success. Now, you will agree my dear that one so over-crowded cannot do what she would want most, and that is to write you a long letter about all the questions you raised, or rather the various things in your letter. Most important of all yourself. Forgive me dear Van if I do not go into all of it to day. I hope to find a little relief from the rush in about a week or so. Then ~~xxxxxxxx~~ I will write you more fully.

However I must tell you already that I consider it a wild goose chase at this period for any of our comrades to go to Spain unless they are willing and strong enough to go to the front. Yes, and also young enough. Other comrades would only mean extra mouths to feed which our people in Spain cannot afford just now. For fear that this may not reach you in time in re Sprintzer Cohen I will send you a cable to day. Of course I remember her fully. How could I forget one so active and faithful? But just because I visualize her I have to strongly advise against her going to Spain at this moment when the situation is so grave for our people. If at least Sprintzer knew Spanish Even then I cannot imagine what she would do. But without the language or at least French she would find no place of usefulness for herself in Spain and her service to our movement in a. would be ~~the~~ lost. But mainly I want to spare her the bitter disappointment of not being able to render service to the comrades in Spain. I was somewhat amused at your naivety saying that I should give Sprintzer letters of introduction to the comrades "in Madrid or Barcelona or wherever it is she was going". My dear, my dear Spain is in the throes of war and revolution. One cannot just get on a train and go there at will. Madrid is completely out of the question because it is besieged on all sides. ~~Madrid has been abandoned by the good comrades and the proletariat.~~ ~~The proletariat has evacuated thirty or forty thousand mouths to feed of women and children from Madrid and all other fronts. There is a frightful scarcity of food besides. So what sense is there in Sprintsers going there now and without the knowledge of Spanish at that. I hate like~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 16, London [to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19472

hell to throw a cold bucket on dear Sprintzer's head. But she must know the actual situation in Spain. It will save her disappointment and much heart ache to find herself a burden rather than a help. Where she a trained nurse, or young enough to go to the front ~~xxx~~ in the capacity of a militia it might be worth her going. But even then she would be frightfully handicapped without the language. ^{as, I know as being} Jewish she might pick it up quicker than others. But Spain to day is the last place on earth for such a purpose. It needs people for immediate service, people who are strong enough to face starvation or at least a great scarcity of food, warmth and cleanliness. However, if Sprintzer insists on going I will give her credentials of course, and I will be very glad to see her. But I hope she will reconsider ~~xxxx~~ her decision for the present. And here is what I suggest. You know about the F.I. Conference called for the first week in May. Perhaps the Freedom group would have her represent them. Or if she wished she could attend just as an individual comrade. Then she should come to England in April and wait here until I will return to Spain. I will be delighted to have her go with me. I am determined to return about the 25th of April to Barcelona. There is not much one can do in England in the summer. Damned little at any time. But more important still I must get new impressions and of course I must attend the Conference. I am sure it will be better for Sprintzer to go to Spain around that time. At least she will be saved the cold, if not the scarcity of food. I hope she will understand that I am writing as I do for her sake. Yes and also for the sake of the CNT-F.I. You have no idea how overburdened our comrades are and the difficulties they are confronted with.

The other comrade who writes about is another matter. As you say he knows Spanish and if he is willing to go to the front I am sure the CNT-F.I. will help to get him to Barcelona. In fact they have commissioned me to find them comrades for that purpose. Alas, there are no anarchists to speak of in England. Old sticks in the mud who have not gone beyond their deadeningly dull group meetings. And who are a great hindrance rather than a help. And certainly we have no young comrades in England, or anything organized. ~~xxxx~~ In rereading your letter I see that F. is ready for any work. Good. But bear in mind that with the lying plans of the Powers in re "volunteers" ~~xxxx~~ one must be extremely careful about going to Spain. Now I do not care in the least if I were looked up for helping men to go. It is the men I am concerned in. However, the Spanish comrades in Paris would know how to get F. to Spain. I will see what he writes and will advise him accordingly.

My dear, old pal your letter moved me to tears. I am deeply sorry that you see your own life and your usefulness in such bleak colors. Who of us has not muddled his private life? Perhaps it is impossible to serve two gods. If one gives oneself ~~xxxx~~ to an ideal to the uttermost one hardly ever also succeeds in one's private affairs. That is true not only of those obsessed by a social ideal. It is true of every ideal, art, letters, science. And the lives of a Rembrandt, a Quoguin, Beethoven, or ever so many other geniuses. You will find that your failure is the failure of us all to have

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[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 16, London [to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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1937

are dedicated to one purpose in life. That may not be of much comfort. It is true nonetheless.

About your going to Spain. Dear Van I am deeply sorry not to be able to advise such a step. Here again it is the language. With Spanish and English you would be a considerable asset to the herculean work our people are doing. You could find an outlet in the Anglo American section. Or in some of the collectivised industries as a book keeper or some other job. But it is impossible without the knowledge of Spanish, at least for the near future. Later and especially if Fascism is crushed as I passionately hope it will there are sure to be a number of openings for our comrades from other countries and for you. I may seem cruel to you to write so plainly. But there is no use ~~discouraging~~ to raise your expectations when I know the situation in Spain and especially in Catalonia. Though I speak French and many of our Spanish comrades do the same I often felt completely out of place. And I felt terribly handicapped in my work on the English Bulletin because I had to depend on other for translation of the Spanish material. So you can see that I know whereof I speak. Actually I have begun to get at least the rudiments of Spanish by means of the Linguaphone records. My trouble is I have little time to apply myself; or I would know much more now than on my first visit to Spain which was nil. Please forgive me if I seem discouraging.

Green is not important enough to worry about. So let's not continue about him. As to H.M. as I never correspond with him I am not likely to go "hard" on him as you fear. I deplore it deeply to see such ability as Havel's go up in liquor. There is no excuse for it except a weak will, and people can no more help that than the color of their eyes. As to Graham he is a rotter, ~~exceedingly~~ vindictive, and with a poisonous tongue. But I have no time to waste on such creatures in our ranks. I would have despaired long ago if I had not been sustained by my abiding faith in our ideal. For as I have so often said anarchism will be realized regardless of some of its adherents. Since I came close to the comrades of the CNT-FAI I am more than ever convinced that the weaklings and rotters in our ranks are of no importance so long as we also have comrades of such strength, fortitude and sublime courage now demonstrated to the whole world by the CNT-FAI. If only they were not so trusting and childlike in their dealings with their so called allies. For it is this shortcoming charming as it is that is likely to bring their marvelous beginning to woe and ruin. The situation is very grave not only because of Franco. Much more so is it because of the Caballero types and his ~~followers~~ following who may yet sell them out. I tremble for that.

I inclose some copies of letters our exhibition folder and a copy of the French letter in re the Conference in Barcelona. As you see I have written you more than I thought I would to day. So you have no cause for dissatisfaction. Dear foolish Van what is friendship if it cannot stand "woe and grief" of those we care about? And I have and do care about you a great deal. Love to Sadie and

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Feb. 16 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Handwritten: 11/20/37

509 W. 110th Street, Feb. 16th

19764

Dearest:

I have been trying for days to get to the typewriter to write you but the past week has been hectic. L. Frank arrived from Barcelona from Souhy with films, pamphlets, posters, etc and I have had to ohas around with him and make contacts, Babsie went on night duty and slept in my three room apartment daytime, my son's coming of age party for 50 people at Pauline Turkel's mother's house so this is the first chance I have had for yesterday I spent the entire afternoon with Moe.

Moe was notified that they Civil Service expected him to retire on score of physical incapacity and gave him a thirty day appeal. He has appealed their decision and is getting the affidavits of three nationally known doctors. Privately Saxe and I do not think he will be able to work. He looks marvelous and is begining to learn to walk on h his ~~artificial~~ artificial leg in the hospital with the help of canes, but he needs a month's practice. Babs tried to work last week and collapsed doing night duty on a ward of two ty seven patients, after three nights I put her to bed here with a rhomide and the next afternoon she went to Northport, where she packed Sunday and yesterday, sold most of the furniture and came in last night in order to take Moe to see Dr. Boas, the eminent heart man so he could give Moe an affidavit that he is able to work. They had no money so Saxe and Hymen between them gave them \$100. Saxe contributed \$100 about three months ago. It ought me when I was absolutely strapped for funds myself but clearly it will be up to Hymen, Saxe, Smea and myself to help. This is of course in strict confidence. Poor Babs is such a wreck from these months of strain she lives on three or four packages of cigarettes day and about ten cups of coffee. It is harder to get her to eat than an ailing child but that isn't much help to herself or Moe. I ought not to worry you about it but I can't write you lies.

Frank is in touch with our various groups and I have arranged a meeting with them for Tuesday, Feb. 23rd. He has already run up against group jealousies, which at this time, coming straight from Barcelona, strikes him as nothing short of criminal. He and I have an ap pointment on Thursday with a big movie man about the films and the best way to dispose of them in the interests of our people. I also attended a committee meeting last Thursday evening with our comrades to raise funds for your work in England. They wanted me to go to see your bourgeois friends but I refused, knowing that you would not approve. Of course our comrades are contributing as much as they can for Spain and their papers, FAS, Vanguard and Spanish Revolution. I gave them some names but I feel there will be little from those sources. They will see the more radical Jewish labor leaders.

Ian had a wonderful party. In the midst of everything I felt our boy would only be 21 once and like you for my 45th birthday in Nice, little as we could afford it, it was an occasion he will never forget. He passed with A's and honors in all his subjects and got a letter of commendation from the Dean of Columbia for his work. Everyone seemed to have a wonderful time. I wish you could have been with us.

Saxe begins to feel a little better. It seemed for a while he might have to go to the hospital for observation, they suspected an ulcer of the stomach. Dorothy is all right now. Ruth is still quite ill, poor kid, and she is trying psycho-analysis with an associate of

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Feb. 16 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19763

Dr. Smith Jelliffe, a woman, Dr. Ricard. I hope it helps.

We are so glad you liked Cecil and enjoyed meeting him. Give him our love when you see him next. I haven't seen or heard from Roger, but he usually reports to me when he has any news. Just now the country is mainly excited about Roosevelt's attack on the Supreme Court, as you will see from Sunday Times and Nation, which I send you every week.

My brother Lou was married last week to a girl named Rodie from Omaha. We have had only two post cards about it and that is all we know. I hope the dear boy will be very happy. You know Hymen was married last month to a Rochester woman with an 11 year old boy, Inez Mellon. Hymen has been splendid about Koe and has already contributed \$150.

We have this apartment till March 1st when we plan to return to Bearsville. It will lessen the financial strain a bit when we do not have to pay rent for the apartment and the studio but of course it will cost something to keep Ian in N.Y. in room and board. I wish I had some real earning capacity, apart from mending the house and squeezing the pennies. Davy counts the days and hours till his return to the country. He hates town. It has been stimulating to me to be back but we really can't afford it unless we could increase our income in some way.

I sent Amy the \$25 from Modest three weeks ago but haven't heard from her. I don't know whether she is still in CS or back in France. I hope your meetings have been very successful. Here there are nothing but disgraceful bickering between the Leftwingers and the Stalinists. The only inspiring thing was the magnificent stand of the autoworkers, who won through solidarity, yet the AFL is sabotaging them at every step.

I too think it would be best for you, if you get a visa, to come in late Summer for next Fall. What a question. Of course ~~you~~ our home is always yours, and it would be grand for you to prepare quietly in Bearsville. Have you heard from Roger about it yet?

I think I have written all the news, darling. Frank is here for a month on private business. We all like him very much. He returns to Barcelona in March. His entire heart and soul seems to be in the struggle over there. You will probably see him on your return to Spain in the Spring.

My love to Aunty. The boys and Teddy send their love as did Moe yesterday.

Devoted love always,

Stella

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Ilse [Jueneman]. —
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO CONFEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

19517

ASA C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 32 Y 34 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

EFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14731

SECRETARIA { 44

ETIN ESPAÑOL 35

ETIN FRANCÉS 34

ETIN ITALIANO 42

ETIN ALEMÁN 47

ETIN SUECO 49

ETIN INGLÉS —

Barcelona 16 Februar 1937

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
London W 14

Liebe Emma Goldmann,

Darling gab mir vor seiner Kueckreise eine
Liste von Material, das Sie so schnell wie moeglich geschickt
haben wollen. Es handelte sich um:

- 1.) 1000 Taschentuecher. Die Taschentuecher stehen hier im
Zimmer, schon eingepackt. Eine Rechnung
legen wir bei, das Geld geht an Ganin,
die Pakete gehen, wenn moeglich noch heute
ab.
Durruti-taschentuecher gibt es im Augen-
blick nicht.
- 2.) Postcardalbums. Martin hat 250 dieser Alben vor einiger
Zeit Bruno fuer Sie mitgegeben.
- 3.) Filme. Am 12. Februar sind die Filmleute in
Paris, wie Sie aus der Kopie eines Briefe
den wir Ihnen kuertzlich mitschickten,
wissen. Die Filme werden dort gezeigt.
Haben Sie eine Moeglichkeit jemand hin-
zuschicken? - Souhy sagt, dass er versuchen
wird, die Filmleute zu ueberzeugen, Ihnen
die Filme auf Ihre Verantwortung zu ueber-
lassen.
- 4.) 500 badges. Ein Paket mit 500 insignias wird von
Perpignan aus in den naechsten Tagen
abgeschickt werden. Rechnung einliegend.
- 5.) Stationary. Souhy schlaegt vor, dass Sie Briefbogen
mit ihrer Londoner Adresse drucken lassen.
- 6.) Photos. Es ist eine neue Fotografin gekommen, die
bereits heftig mit der Herstellung von
Kopien beschaeftigt ist. Ich hoffe Ihnen

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001072

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Ilse [Jueneman]. —
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- im Laufe dieser Woche die gewünschten
Kopien, Militanten etc. schicken zu können.
- 7.) Posters etc. 2 grosse enveloppen mit Plakaten gehen heute
an Sie ab.
- 8.) Ich halte es fuer ziemlich ausgeschlossen den jungen
Kappenbaum nach Hause schicken zu lassen. Man wird hoechstens
mit einem "mind your own business" beschieden.

Das ist glaube ich heute alles. Hoffentlich kommt alles gut an.

Wir sind am Sonnabend nacht vom Meer her bombardiert worden.
Es hat Tote, verwundete und viel Verstoerung in der Stadt gegeben.
Ein italienisches Kriegsschiff feuerte abends um 10 Uhr einige
Salven gegen die offene Stadt. Ob das noch lange so weiter geht?
Am naechsten Morgen haben unsere Jugend ein grandioses Meeting
auf dem Plaza Cataluna abgehalten.

Die 50 records werden in Laufe dieser Woche abgeschickt.

Herzlist

Ilse.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Invoice] 1937 Feb. 16, Garden City, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, St. Tropez / Garden City Publishing Company. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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(SAME AS SOLD TO IF NOT FILLED IN)

SOLD TO

AUTHOR

EMMA GOLDMAN
BON ESPRIT
ST TROPEZ VAR, FRANCE

ALL CLAIMS MUST BE MADE WITHIN FIVE DAYS AFTER RECEIPT OF SHIPMENT. GOODS NOT TO BE RETURNED WITHOUT OUR WRITTEN PERMISSION.

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PER BOOK	DISCOUNT	AMOUNT
2	LIVING MY LIFE	1 49	40 pp	1 79 84 2 63
PREVIOUSLY SHIPPED BY MAIL ORDER DEPT				
"STAR DOLLAR BOOK WINDOWS PAY BEST"				

442

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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19524

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 32 Y 34 - BARCELONA

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LETÍN ALEMÁN 47
LETÍN SUECO 49
LETÍN INGLÉS —

Barcelona 16 february 1937

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road

West Kensington

London W 14

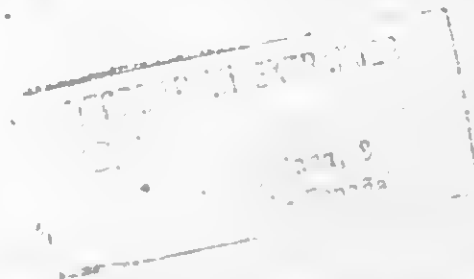
Liebe Emma,

beigelegt sende ich Dir einen Brief mit Beilagen vom National Komite, unterschrieben vom Sekretär Marianet Vasquez mit einem credential fuer Dich. Ich habe bei meiner letzten Anwesenheit in Valencia veranlasst, dass Du nicht nur von Katalonien, sondern vom National Komite der CNT beauftragt bist die CNT-FAI in England zu vertreten.

Bitte also in Zukunft nichts mehr an das Regional Komite in Barcelona, sondern alles an das National Komite in Valencia zu senden, und eine Abschrift an mich.

Die Quittung ueber die 57 £ hat Vasquez vergessen einzulegen. Ich habe aber schon darum geschrieben und werde sie Dir in den naechsten Tagen einschicken.

*Herzlichen Grues
Augustin Souchy*



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 17, London [to] Harry Kelly, [New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 29 x 17 cm.

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18, Castletown Road, W. Kensington W14
17th February, 1937. (LONDON, W.14).

Mr. Harry Kelly,
c/o West End Hotel,
106, Canningham Road, W. 14.

*clipped under my old
graph in my
address*

Dear Harry,

You know our saying - "it's a long way between drinks" - I just possibly could not write you sooner in answer to yours of January 4th; I am simply swamped with work; there is hardly any need to tell you, after the years you have lived in England, how very difficult it is to get people interested and things moving.

True, there is more interest in Spain than there ever was in anything I tried to present before, to the British public. But it is nevertheless a very hard job for one person to organise big affairs. You will be interested to know that I have succeeded somewhat. How far, you will know from the enclosures - as indeed also, you will be able to gather about my attitude towards our comrades and towards the situation in Catalonia.

I quite agree with you that every nerve should be strained to keep the unit front intact; certainly our people have shown tremendous patience and tolerance; but the other side is insidious. Not only the Communists - the Left Republicans are also trying to get hold of the ship of state. Sometimes I fear that our people are making too many concessions; I dread the day when they might find themselves frozen out. Evidently they themselves are realising it - because they have begun an intense campaign in the way of meetings, broadcasting and literature, before the Catalonian masses. They have neglected that for quite a number of months. When I spoke to them, pointing out that their allies are working day and night to spread their ideas, our comrades assured me that they did not need such mummery. Well, better late than never!

The taking of Malaga has been a terrible shock to me, but from the latest news from Barcelona I can gather that the papers in this city have been, as usual, very premature in their announcement that the road to Madrid is now occupied by Franco's gang. It is not - and as far as superhuman effort and tremendous courage can go, it will not be. But of course the enemies consist of an overwhelming number of trained soldiers and an equally overwhelming quantity of arms. It will be a miracle indeed if our side will win! It is reasonably certain, however, that if the workers and peasants of Catalonia and Aragon will be forced down, it will not be without a most heroic and supreme resistance ever offered by the

(P.t.o).

-1-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 17, London [to] Harry Kelly, [New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 17 cm.

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Mr. Harry Kelly.

-2-

17th February, 1937.

masses.

For the rest, we must go on ^{with} in our work for Spain. I am doing that here, to the best of my strength and ability.

As I said, the enclosures will give you an idea of the work so far carried on, and the results achieved.

Remember me to Leah, Elsie and her family, and all the comrades.

Affectionately, *Emma*

Accredited representative of the C.N.T./FAI.,

P.S.

Regarding Real Volunteers, our people in Barcelona want only men not tied with families — those who are either non-political or understand our ideas. They cannot afford to pack the ranks with mere adventurers or with members of the party which has done and is doing its utmost to undermine our position.

*Had a good meeting in Elias gozo
himself 24 saw the 1/2 of the
land.*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 17 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson. — 4 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17561
THE ATHENÆUM.
PALL MALL. S.W.1.

17561

THE ATHENÆUM.

17. II. 37.

Dear Miss Goldman

I am so glad you
can honour me with your
company to lunch on
Satur. 20th at the Russell Hotel
Russell Square. 1.15 p.m.
I am inviting one or two,
a only hope notice is not
too short — as for example
it is, unfortunately, I find,
in the case of Dr. Stella
Churchill.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 17 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson. — 4 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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1562

It has occurred to me
you might like to bring
another with you. If so
please do — as my guest.
Fenner Brockway e.g. (or
someone like ~~that~~ him).
I have not met him for
years. I have one
or two acceptances already.
But hope for another one
at least. I am
trying to get Mr. J.S. Grant

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 17 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson. — 4 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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3.

17563

TELEPHONE
WHITE HALL AREA
TELEGRAMS
HOLLAND STREET

THE ATHENÆUM.

PALL MALL, S.W. 1.

John E. Grant, the author of
"The Problem of War & its
Solution" (See Allen & Unwin)
is a great book.

He is an old friend
of mine; & knew W.C. O'Brien.

Many thanks for the
tickets, etc. received this
evening. I will send
a ^{small} contribⁿ for the Spanish
exhibition to ^{direct} ~~morro~~;

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 17 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson. — 4 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

V 7564

I hope to visit it
(with my daughter) on
Friday afternoon.

I suppose you've
seen the letter from John Humphrey
on the Spanish Civil
War? It is a most
important one & has been
widely read. I will send
you a typed copy under
separate cover.

Yours sincerely

S. V. Pearson

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 18, London [to Mercedes Comaposada, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Martin Gudell Archive.

London Feb. 18th 37.



Dear Comrade. I was happy to hear from you. I thought often where you are and what you were doing. I write and write to Barcelona but no one answers. Sometime Souchy and Martin write a few lines. But even they write seldom and say nothing of what I want to know. It is very hard to be so cut off. Especially is it hard when one wants to carry on a big campaign for the struggle at your end. It is most discouraging at times. But I do what I can though not as much as Martin may have suggested. We had a good meeting a month ago. Tomorrow we have another meeting on a much larger scale. I hope it will be successful and we can raise some money for the women and children evacuated from the various fronts. I already have raised about hundred pounds I hope to get more.

I am also going to a number of smaller towns. And then we have the exhibition which opens tomorrow afternoon. It is not merely a CNT-F.I. exhibition. I have consented to have it with other groups, primary with the Independent Labor Party who have been most helpful. I have other plans for our ~~happ~~ people. Will write when I know more definitely whether I can carry it through. But whatever I have yet to do I am determined to return to Barcelona the end of April. I must get new impressions and I want to attend the Conference the CNT F.I. is organising. So you see my dear, I hope to see you again in about two months.

Yes, I have received the Mujeres Libres, I am going to have it on sale at the exhibition hoping that some Spanish people will attend. As to writing anything for you it is impossible. I cannot spare the time. I actually work 18 hours out of twenty four. A little later I may have a free day to write what you want. I can only tell you now that while considerable is being done for Spain nothing until I came was done or interest shown in the glorious work the CNT/F.I. are doing. The women in this country are indifferent to the suffering of the Spanish people. The majority anyhow. However, one of my plans is to try and rouse them to the tragic situation.

We have no movement in England. We have only a few comrades, very faithful and willing but without influence whatsoever. That makes my efforts still harder. But there is some response. Perhaps I can organise it before I leave for Spain.

Forgive me my dearest Mercedes that I am not satisfy your request for a contribution. Not now anyhow. Is Jeannette still in Barcelona and her comrade. Give them my love and greetings please. And to all the comrades.

I embrace you tenderly.

*Signed
Emma Goldman*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 18, London [to unknown recipient], Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18, Castletown Road,
London, W. 14. (England).
18th February, 1937.

I am so glad that you are keeping me in touch with a few things, for it is the most excruciating effort to wait endlessly for a word from anyone else in Barcelona. I could have done twice as much work and with much greater success, had I been kept posted of the events at your end. As it is, I am "eating my heart out" with anxiety about the situation.

I think it is unpardonable of our friends who are working with you, to ignore all my letters and all my requests for information. I am making one more effort to reach Soucy and Martin, through the friend who will give you this letter. If they again fail to reply, I am going on with the work as best I can, until the latter part of April - when I will return to Spain.

It is impossible to reach anyone with mail that is three months; things move too swiftly in Spain for anyone to be interested unless he can be supplied with current information; anyway, you have been splendid in writing me as you have.

Yesterday was the first time in the month that I received the English and German Bulletins. I do get the Spanish, regularly, but none other. I do not know why they should have failed to reach me, unless they were not properly sent; it is not necessary to say 'West Kensington' on the envelope. My address is :-

18, Castletown Road,
London, W.14. (England).

Everything reaches me; why should not the Bulletins have come? The only explanation I can give is that they were not sent. Will you please attend to them yourself? Even if the mailing of the Bulletins has been taken out of your hands? I am writing B. and M. separately. This is only an acknowledgment of your co-operation and the greeting.

Yours affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 18, London [to] Tom Keell Wolfe, Edinburgh, Scotland / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

18, Castletown Road, W.14.

(London, England).

~~Barclays~~ 18th February, 1937.

Mr. Tom Keell Wolfe,
10, Queen's Crescent,
Blackball, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Dear Tom,

I wonder what caused the mix-up of the Meeting? Can it be that the ~~new~~ S.S.P., has withdrawn at the last minute? That would be an ugly trick to do, but not very surprising. The longer I am in our Movement the more I feel it wrong and foolish to admit any affiliation with any of the political parties. I have already had no end of regrets, having consented to join the Spanish Exhibition Committee, with the material I brought from Spain. I have lost two months, with weekly grinds at the sessions of the Committee and I had to fight inch by inch for the rights of the CNT/FAI. This is merely one of many experiences with people who pretend a lot and are too weak or cowardly to live up to a single pretention. You might ask - 'why then co-operate with the Independent Labour Party?'

So far, I actually have not done so; they have come to offer their co-operation with our Meeting to-morrow, and Fenner was also the one who offered to speak at the last Meeting. True, I found him exceptionally broadminded and decent, - far bigger than his political creed. Yet, I feel that we should not allow ourselves to be too intimate, even with Fenner's party. The unfortunate thing is that our own ranks are very poor, terribly deficient in vision and outlook, as well as capacity to do things. Actually, the one who does the most of the work is Ralph Barr, but one person cannot possibly create a Movement.

For the rest, there is hardly a trace left of the work done in this country for so many years.

Now about my coming to Edinburgh - can you really undertake to organise a Meeting? It is no use undertaking such a thing in a small Hall. The expense of travel is pretty high and I must raise money for the Spanish Fund I have begun, for the evacuated women and children. So will you consider carefully whether you (and whatever co-operation you can get from your friends) could undertake a large Meeting? - I mean not less than 500 people. I can

-P.t.o-

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 18, London [to] Tom Keell Wolfe, Edinburgh, Scotland / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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-2-

give you 14th of March; I am already engaged on the 7th; the 21st is (I believe) Easter, and on the 28th I am again engaged in London.

I think that the comrades in Glasgow would want another Meeting, less expensive than this one has been - in connection with my visit to Edinburgh; and they may be willing to spend half of the expense of travelling. I will write them just as soon as I hear from you what can be done in Edinburgh - so please look about and let me know without much delay.

I have many requests for dates and I hate to lose Sunday or any day that can be profitably employed for the victims of Fascism.

Cordially --

Emma Goldman



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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005272

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 19, London [to] Eliot White, Roselle, N.J. / [Emma Goldman]. --
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20253

18, Castletown Road, London, W. 14.
19th February, 1937.

Dr. Eliot White,
126, Gordon Street, Roselle -
NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

My niece, Mrs. Ballantine, sent me your kind letter of October 13th of last year. As usual, your generous spirit has expressed itself! I am glad, indeed, to have your abiding interest and friendship. I should have written you after I left Spain and landed here, but there wasn't much time - as you will see from the enclosures I am sending.

The struggle to rouse interest in the historic battle of the Spanish people is sometimes beyond my endurance. But I feel I must go on, no matter what the price. Until I came here, the CNI-FAI., were never mentioned by all the other political parties, ostensibly so interested in the fate of the Spanish people. Some of them would rather make peace with Franco than grant the real Idealists credit for the marvellous constructive work they began a few days after 19th July, and have kept up in high pressure since. Still, Anarchism, revealed and repudiated, hounded from country to country and prison to prison, is being applied in war-ridden Spain.

How I wish you could go there and see with your own eyes that the ideas advanced by some of the greatest spirits through all history are actually made good under the most harrowing conditions - but whether the Spanish workers and peasants will succeed in their heroic attempt cannot be foretold. Their success would be very certain had they only the common enemy - Fascism - to overcome. Unfortunately, all their political allies are the enemies of the magnificent socialised attempt made on the part of the CNI-FAI. This applies not only to Spain but to all the so-called "Left" elements in that and every country. I have explained all that in the letters, copies of which I am taking the liberty to send you.

Yes, the call from Spain came in the right psychological moment for I was never before so near the end as after the death of my old comrade. The need of the Spanish people overcame all my own personal loss and grief. I have no other desires or ambitions now - certainly much less than I ever had - except to help my gallant comrades; to help them to victory, if possible, or to go down with them in defeat.

I remain in England until the third week in April, when I will return to Spain. Our good friend, Roger Baldwin, is trying hard for a visa to make my second re-entry in America, since my deportation, possible.

-1-

454

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005272

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 19, London [to] Eliot White, Roselle, N.J. / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20254

Mr. Eliot White.

(2)

19-2-1937.

I am not too optimistic about his success. Naturally I want to get back to America if only for a short period. I have tried desperately hard to acclimatise myself in other countries. I am ashamed to say that I have not been able to be a great success. I suppose it is more difficult to take root in alien soil, when one goes on in years, than it might be in one's youth. I have not ceased to be an Internationalist.

Unfortunately, the world since the war has become a Fortress. One feels a prisoner everywhere. Perhaps I would feel the same in The States, were I permitted to return permanently, but for the present I feel that I would have greater success and a more generous hearing for the grand Cause of the Spanish people than I am likely ever to have here.

But whether I have permission to return to the States or not, I am going back to Spain for new impressions and to work with my comrades. I should like to hear from you, dear friend. You are among those of my friends in the United States, and they are not so terribly many, who have remained staunch. This means a great deal in my life. Please remember me kindly to Mrs. White.

Fraternally,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005156

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 19 [London to] Hans Rasmussen, Svendborg, Denmark / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20173

18, Castletown Road, W.14. (England).
19th February, 1937.

Mr. Hans Rasmussen,
Korsgade 16, Svendborg, b,
DENMARK.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of December 22nd reached me on my return from Spain, to England. I was very glad to receive your New Year's wishes, but unable to write you sooner.

The enclosures I am sending you, of a number of (copy) letters, will explain my neglect. You ask where I am now living. Physically, I am in England, but all my thoughts and all my concern are centered round the tragedy enacted in Spain. I am here as the representative of our comrades of the CNT/FAI., trying desperately hard to interpret them and their ideal, to the British Public - but it is like climbing up Mount Blanc!

You will see from the enclosures that I have made a little headway - nothing to boast about. To-morrow we have another Meeting on a larger scale; if the work put into the effort holds out any hopes of success, the attendance to-morrow ought to be overwhelming; but I dare not hope too much.

I suppose I ought not to complain. I have come to this country time on end, and have never before succeeded to break through British reserve and indifference, to the extent I have this time. But it seems to me a mere speck of dust in comparison to the terrible sacrifice in Spain, offered on the altar of freedom, and the new economic venture our comrades are making.

Their plight would not be so terrible if it were only a question of the common enemy, Fascism. But the CNT/FAI., is surrounded by enemies on all sides. Every party allied with our comrades is waiting to stab them in the back!

In this country, the entire Press with the exception of "The News Chronicle" & "The Daily Herald" are of course on the side of Franco; but while "The News Chronicle" and "The Herald" write more or less on behalf of the Anti-Fascist Forces, they have kept a conspiracy of silence about the CNT/FAI; whenever they do have something, it is only disparaging, and insinuating all kinds of misdeeds. It is exasperating, but there is nothing to be done, except to grind away. A very good paper is being published here by a young comrade, with the support of whomever we have in

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Mr. Hans Rasmussen. -2-

19/2/1937.

our ranks. I am sending you a copy. I hope you can afford to subscribe for it, because the comrade who is responsible for the get-up of the paper is only 21 years of age; he works for his living in an Engineering office; he studies for an Engineering examination, and he yet finds time to edit the paper! He deserves all the support we can give him. Perhaps you can order a few copies of every issue and try and get subscribers among those of the Danish advanced people who read English.

I think your questions as regards Spain (and every thing else) you will find answered in the enclosures. I really can add nothing except to emphasise once more the marvellous constructive effort on the part of our Spanish comrades. Their experiment has to be seen, to be fully appreciated. There is certainly nothing in the history of such magnificent attempt to build the new society in the midst of war and of Revolution.

You probably know that I was permitted to go back to The States three years ago, on a visa for three months. During that time I wrote several articles for American Magazines; in addition, I have written two long essays, one on Anarchist Communism, and Bolshevik Communism, and the other, on "The place of the Individual in Society". The former was to appear in our monthly American paper called "The Vanguard" but has not, so far. The second essay has been published. I will send you a copy, with "Spain & the World". "The Road to Freedom" has long been out of existence. Instead there is a weekly paper called "The Spanish Revolution", a Monthly, published by an Individualist Anarchist, called Mann; and - "The Vanguard".

The latter is very encouraging because it is being issued by a group of young people. I will send you addresses of these publications. Perhaps you will subscribe to them, or at any rate get into touch with the comrades. I am sorry to hear of the end of comrade Ipsen, but, after all, he did reach a high age, did he not? We all have to go that way; life demands its own, often when we fight against it. I am not sure whether you know that we lost our comrade Alexander Berkman. He ended his own life after a severe illness. He died, June 28th of last year. But, as I said, life demands its own. We go on often after the greatest loss. I hope you are keeping well. Let me hear from you again, at your convenience.

Fraternally,

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Barcelona, 21 de febrero de 1937.

Comité Regional
CNT-FAI

Queridos camaradas. Os he escrito tantas veces sin obtener respuesta que ya había abandonado la esperanza de tener noticias vuestras, pero la oportunidad de enviar otra carta con el camarada Vidal y la confianza que él me traerá una contestación a todas las preguntas y sugerencias que os tengo hechas, me hace escribiros otra vez.

Recordareis que os dije que trataría levantar interés entre los obreros ingleses y aquellos en simpatía con nuestra lucha en contra del fascismo, en un periodo de dos meses, y que si no podía conseguirlo en este tiempo no abusaría de vuestra ayuda material más allá del indicado periodo, y si bien no puedo decir que he conseguido todo lo que yo hubiese querido, me parece que los resultados durante mis dos meses de actividades han sido muy provechosos.

Ya he dado cuenta a vosotros y a los camaradas en la sección extranjera, Bouchy y Gudell, del resultado de nuestro primer mitin del 18 de Enero. Fue la primera vez en que vuestra heroica batalla desde el 19 de Julio fue puesta ante el público inglés, cuando se le enseño algo de la parte que nuestros bravos camaradas de la CNT-FAI habían tomado en la lucha. Hasta dicha fecha todo lo que se había dicho acerca de nuestros camaradas había sido una serie de patranas en la prensa reaccionaria de este país, o un completo silencio en lo que se llama prensa de izquierdas. Pero el 18 de Enero fue roto este silencio y aquella actitud, habiéndose conseguido hacer una colecta de £57 para las mujeres y niños evacuados y que ahora están al cuidado de vosotros y de otros generosos camaradas de Barcelona y resto de Cataluña. Creo que fue un buen principio.

Luego vino el otro mitin mas importante, organizado para el 19 de este mes. Fue atendido por un público mucho mas numeroso, responsivo y entusiasta que el anterior. El mitin fue celebrado conjuntamente con la Independent Labour Party. Los oradores que hablaron hicieron constar que la CNT-FAI era la mas importante, dominante y revolucionaria organización en Cataluña, habiendo todos arremetido la parte criminal jugada por la iglesia y clero con la sublevación militar y fascista. Esto es de gran valor porque la prensa reaccionaria en Inglaterra, tal vez mas fascista que en otros países, ha mantenido una campaña de calumnia en contra de la CNT-FAI, repitiendo a sus lectores continuamente las "atrocidades" cometidas por la CNT-FAI en contra de la iglesia, curas y monjas. En este mitin conseguí donativos por mas de £79 y se vendieron muchos albums y folletos de Durruti. No es mucho, hay que admitirlo, pero cuando se considera la conspiración deliberada de silencio de la prensa (ni un periodico menciona nuestro mitin) podreis apreciar los resultados obtenidos hasta ahora. Y no es solo la animosidad de

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la prensa capitalista. La hoja comunista "Daily Worker" han rehusado anunciar nuestros mítines y han dado una orden a sus partidarias para que saboteen toda empresa de la CNT-FAI. Así, pues, no podré realizar la dificultad que confronta a todo relacionado con vuestra lucha. Así y todo, he organizado un movimiento en pro de España que creo dejará su marca en vuestra gran batalla al mismo tiempo que levantará el espíritu anarquista en Inglaterra. Esto era muy necesario porque la última guerra y el mito del blochevismo había puesto completamente en la sombra al movimiento anarquista. Sinceramente confío que la campaña empezada monte las bases para seguir fomentando nuestras ideas en este país.

Desde luego, Londres no ha sido el único lugar en donde me ha sido posible propagar nuestras ideas. He hablado en las principales ciudades. En Plymouth, Glasgow y Paisley, en Escocia. El próximo domingo hablaré en Bristol, el 7 de Marzo en el Sur de Gales, y luego en otros sitios. El resultado material en Plymouth fue pequeño, solo cuatro libras, en Glasgow 227. Por otra parte el efecto moral, la enseñanza dada al auditorio acerca de la lucha de la CNT-FAI, así son mucho más importantes.

Ya os he escrito acerca de la Exposición que se iba a abrir. Se inauguró ayer. Incluyo un cartel para que podáis daros cuenta de ella. He de confesar que siento no haber podido organizarla independientemente como era mi deseo. La Exposición actual no da a la lucha de la CNT-FAI el espacio que me habían ofrecido. En un principio se iba a celebrar en un edificio bastante grande, que se perdió por mala organización y también debido al sabotaje de parte de varios miembros del comité. La mayoría de ellos son comunistas o simpatizan con ellos y se oponían furiosamente a que yo formase parte del comité de la Exposición. El único miembro decente es Fenner Brockway, secretario general de la I.L.P. Precisamente él fue el que me invitó a que formase parte de tal comité y que aportase el material que yo había traído conmigo. Por otra parte una Exposición independiente hubiese costado lo menos £100, que yo no poseía. Y también aquí no contamos con suficientes camaradas que hubiesen hecho un éxito de la Exposición. Sin embargo la CNT-FAI sacará algo de su participación en el Comité. Asistire al salón todos los días a fin de explicar la lucha y el trabajo constructivo de nuestras camaradas en España. Además asistirá mas público que si yo la hubiese organizado sola. Además, parte de la recaudación será asignada para la Sanidad de Barcelona. Para conseguir este arreglo fue preciso sostener una gran batalla con los comunistas, pero después de semanas de discusiones se acordó lo que yo había propuesto, es decir, que se hicieran tres partes para ser divididas entre la Sanidad de Barcelona, Valencia y Bilbao.

Tengo otros planes para la CNT-FAI de los que os escribiré a su tiempo. Ahora quiero concentrar sobre las cosas de que os escrito varias veces y también a Martin y Bouchy, como sigue:

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Primero hay que tratar de la marcha a casa de varios camaradas. Yo no contaba con los fondos para pagar el viaje de ellos hasta París, conforme me fue sugerido por Martín, ni tampoco sabía definitivamente si vosotros estabais conforme con que partiesen. No sé si ahora será ya demasiado tarde con motivo del vergonzoso control e interferencia con que se quiere ahogar a vuestra causa. Si aun opináis que pueden entrar en España decíme si podéis enviarme el dinero para el transporte de estos camaradas, y de otros que aunque no son anarquistas sienten grandes simpatías por la lucha anti-fascista.

Segundo, la ayuda a la única publicación en inglés que vale la pena, Spain and the World. Escribí a Mouchy y me contestó que podríais contribuir 1000 francos mensuales durante tres meses. Vosotros no os dais cuenta de la cantidad que la Tercer Internacional se gasta en propaganda extranjera. No pretendo que la CNT-FAI haga lo mismo, aun si tuviera grandes cantidades a su disposición. Ello solo ha servido para corromper a miles de individuos, pero en vista de la campaña de silencio de la prensa inglesa en contra de la CNT-FAI, se hace del todo punto necesario un periódico nuestro. Cuando os escribí de Spain and the World se tiraban tres mil ejemplares a un coste de £12. Tenemos esperanzas de sacar bastante para pagar una tirada de las ventas que se hagan en los mítines, pero no creemos poder sacar bastante para cubrir las dos tiradas que se hacen al mes, si bien debería publicarse semanalmente. Haced el favor de decirme si vosotros podríais ayudar a esta publicación. Ya sé que no contáis con fondos ilimitados, pero también es verdad que una tirada semanal enteramente consagrada a la lucha en contra del fascismo y el espléndido trabajo constructivo de la CNT-FAI sería de gran utilidad y de un gran valor moral. Si no podéis hacerlo, tal vez os sería posible contribuir por seis meses la mitad de los gastos que suman £18, ahora es más que la última vez cuando escribí, pero es que ahora se publican mas ejemplares, unos seis mil. Haced todo lo posible por enviarme una contestación con Vidal, y si posible vuestra contribución.

Tercero. Os he preguntado que que deseáis haga con el dinero en mi poder y que he conseguido para las mujeres y niños evacuados de los diferentes frentes. Hasta ahora no he recibido contestación alguna. Vosotros podríais hacer con el dinero lo que os plazca, pero los recibos que yo preciso tienen que indicar el objeto para el cual fue recaudado, que es para las mujeres y niños evacuados, pues tengo que guardarme contra cualquiera insinuación de los comunistas de que no os he girado el dinero o que lo envío para otra cosa que la indicada en mis peticiones. Espero que comprenderéis lo importante que para mí y el trabajo que aquí realizo el que se me acuse recibo del dinero en la forma indicada por vuestra parte o por parte de aquellos a quienes sea enviado. Actualmente tengo en mi poder unas £105 y el 80% de lo recaudado el día 19, que fueron unas £80. El 20% de lo recaudado en el último mitin del viernes pasado es para la CNT-FAI.

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ad Barcelona y los demás grandes y bravos camaradas. Debéis enviar la cantidad de los que os piden para la Aduana.

terminare de arreglar las cuentas y hare el giro adonde vosotros me indiquéis.

Nunca he recibido una carta de Carbo. Ni aun Darling que represente a la Generalidad aquí me ha traído noticias de Barcelona, de donde acaba de llegar. He escrito a Carbo muchas veces acerca de mi posición en la Oficina de Londres, pero no he recibido instrucciones sobre cual ha de ser mi posición. Hasta que no reciba dichas instrucciones no puedo colaborar en la Oficina aquí de la Generalidad. Mas bien, preferiría devolver mi mandato. Todo mi tiempo está ocupado por mi trabajo por la CNT-FAI y así no puedo que podría ser de gran utilidad a la Oficina. Ved si podéis arreglar el asunto con Carbo. Darling y su compañero hacen todo lo que pueden para la representación de la Generalidad y yo prefiero seguir consagrándome enteramente a la CNT-FAI.

Las cien libras que me disteis para la campaña casi están agotadas ya. £30 fueron gastados en la Exposición. El resto ha sido utilizado para el pago del alquiler de la Oficina de la CNT-FAI, alumbrado, teléfono, gastos de correo, los gastos del camarada Barr por su ayuda, el sueldo del secretario y otras muchas cosas necesarias en la campaña. Ni yo ni Barr ha tocado un centimo para nuestros gustos personales, lo que no me parece justo para el camarada Barr que ha trabajado intensamente y con devoción desde mi llegada a Londres. Vidal os dirá que la vida en Londres es muy cara y todavía me quedan diez semanas mas de propaganda. Durante este tiempo tengo pensado organizar una interesante función de teatro, que atraera a mucha gente que no viene a nuestros mítines, y que produzca una suma para contribuir algo hacia el asunto que lleva ahí al camarada Vidal, según el mismo os explicara. La organización de esta función tomara alrededor de un mes, pero prometo un buen resultado moral y material. Mi otro plan es una gran demostración en Hyde Park y ante la Casa de los Comunes para protestar en contra del embargo e instar a los obreros a acción directa. Empezaría con esto inmediatamente, pero el tiempo en Londres ahora es infame, así es que habra que esperar a que se ponga mejor. Por ultimo estoy trabajando en la confección de un manifiesto, seguramente en compañía con la Independent Labour Party, llamando a todos los obreros a la acción directa para forzar la execrable actitud del Gobierno inglés y su infame política para obstaculizar la lucha antifascista mientras que Franco y sus carniceros siguen recibiendo toda la ayuda que precisa de Hitler y Mussolini.

Podéis ver, queridos camaradas, que tengo grandes ambiciones para mis amados compañeros de España. Desgraciadamente no puedo llevarlas a efecto sin fondos. Haced el favor de arreglar con el camarada Vidal que es lo que intentais hacer para que me lo diga a su regreso.

Saludos fraternales a todos los camaradas,

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Misses

Chine Drive
Scarboro Bluffs
Ontario.

20064

Feb. 21st. 1937

Emma Dearest,

I am not offering any excuses or reasons for not writing to you. I will try to make this letter as full as possible. I received your letter from Paris and Thorberg let me have copies of those you sent to him. Your letters always have the effect on me of a breath of sweet clean air after being in a close room. I do wish that I could be nearer to you. But your field of action now is England. You are badly needed there. And in, Oh, such a small way I have my work here. We are not losing ground, but it is so little we can do being handicapped, by lack of money and of comrades. However I do not intend to grumble or lament all the time about what we cannot do; rather will I tell what we have done and intend to do.

The A.B.C. fund is rather at a standstill for the simple reason that everybody's resources are going to Spain. Arthur recently wrote to a group of Italian comrades in the States (they publish an Anarchist paper in Italian) about the fund, and they have promised to help. Up to the present we have the plates in New York and about \$50.00 here in the bank.

I am not sure how many copies of "Prison Memoirs" we have sold, but we have paid back the \$15.00 we borrowed, and we are square with Mr. Seltzer. However there seems to be trouble with the copies Langbord had. When the copies first came to all of us I understood from Mr. Langbord that he had his 9 copies. We asked him to let us have them, but he always said, and still does, that he was responsible to you for them and not to us. Now last week, when we asked again about them, he says that he only received three copies, two of which he loaned to other groups and one he has given us. So of the nine copies you sent to him we have 1 copy and no money. We are still selling them, but not very quickly.

I received the posters from Mollie Steimer and also pictures and papers. She also sent the French album of photographs. I have written to her and she has answered. We are sending for more copies of the album.

I have also written direct to Spain about English literature. If I get no reply I shall write to Perpignan. The correspondence from the Iberian youth congress came from there. Mollie has given me the name of a Spanish comrade who knows English. By the way the only one here, as far as I know to receive a CNT pin is Joe Desser.

Since receiving those Subscription lists from you for the CNT-FAI, we have sent \$61.00 dollars on them to Paris. The lists are still here and we continue to collect on them. Then from a affair on Jan 16. we sent another \$50.00. The Italian group has sent about twice as much. Arthur sends his funds to Perpignan. The Jan 16th. concert was a great success. We had music and singing and four pantomime scenes arranged by Arthur, depicting scenes in Spanish life leading up to and during the present revolution. I wrote a short script for each scene, which I read off stage. They were really very good and the audience received them most enthusiastically. Some of the Italian girls have made two large black and red CNT-FAI flags. After the concert we had a dance.

Arthur is putting on another affair soon with an Italian play and then we are going to have a joint concert and dance with some IWW Finnish people. In connection with these plays ~~I have~~ I have a little item of interest for you. Arthur has tried for some time to obtain a copy of "War Brides" a one-act play in which Nazimova acted the lead. Nazimova was in Toronto this last week playing in Ibsen's "Ghosts", so

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I wrote to her (trading on our mutual friendship) asking if she could tell us where we could get a copy of "An Brides". She telephoned and gave us a New York address and asked me to send greetings to you from her.

Besides collecting money for Spain we still sell copies of Vanguard and 200 of every issue of "Spanish Revolution". We have also sold nearly 500 copies of the "Truth about Spain". Joe, Ahme and Arthur do most of the selling the rest of us do what we can, but there aren't enough of us to get round to the meetings quickly enough. So you will understand that we really cannot dispose of more than 50 copies of "Spain & the World". We do not ^{sell} all the copies of the American paper but we pay for them, and we know that some of the English ones will be given away too. The Canadian workers are not overly generous and the resources of the comrades are strained beyond the limits. I think that most of us prefer ~~KKK~~ "Spain and the World", but we have created a demand for "Spanish Revolution" and then we can get it more quickly.

We ~~II~~ have held one or two propaganda meetings in Toronto and are definitely planning a series of such meetings for Sunday afternoons. The IWW has at last obtained a suitable room for meetings and we are trying to help with the rent so that we can have a down town meeting place. The room is in a building two doors from the Labour Temple on Church Street.

Then Last Sunday I arranged a meeting on Spain and the CNT-FAI at a little hall on Kingston Road, here at the Bluffs. I spoke on the Truth about Spain, and McPhee of the IWW spoke on the CNT-FAI and industrial unionism. We had a question and discussion period in which Thorn and Arthur rounded what we had left unsaid. It was a very good meeting. Everybody was enthusiastic about Thorn and Arthur, and have asked for another meeting. We are already planning it. I want to have a talk about Collectivization in Spain as a first Topic and then a talk on Anarchism taken most likely by Thorn. His English is very good now and only he himself is conscious of his small slips in pronunciation. He is a good speaker too. Arthur is trying to overcome his shyness of English. He shines in the discussion periods. The meeting last Sunday was the first socialist meeting to be held in Scarboro Township. We made the hall look very attractive with our Spanish posters and pictures. We had a literature table and sold some. A collection paid the rent of the hall and put a contribution on the CNT-FAI list.

We received a letter from the IAMB in Holland asking for our stand re the militarization of the Spanish struggle. An enclosing copy of our reply. It was good that we received the letter for it led to a discussion that clarified our position for ourselves. Then your letters helped. We are trying to understand everything that goes on in Spain. Here the Roman Catholic Church is carrying on a terrific campaign against the Loyalists. A "Father" Lanphier broadcasts a radio talk mostly about Spain. When there has been a report in the Star such as the one I enclose by Dr. Bethune he always shouts a great deal of denial of such and gives incidents of such beastly doings by the Spanish as do not at all run true. Today I tuned in to his talk in time to hear him say "If it is atrocities you want, read the catholic papers". I suppose they go in for better and bigger horrors than anyone else can tell. And yet another minister has been put off the air for talking birth control. The Canadian Radio Commission says that the subject is not a fit one for Radio talks.

Yes we have received copies of the call to the International conference in English, German, and in Spanish and Esperanto. The letter from the group is going this week. We have discussed the matter fully.

We are also arranging a debate with a Trotskyite group for which we may have a comrade from New York, if not Thorn will take it. We communicated with Jacob Margolis about the debate, but he wrote that he is absolutely opposed to the "whole Spanish mess" and the "inexcusable slaughter". He was very frank in telling us his views to save mutual embarrassment. Of course we

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were equally frank in replying that since our views were so divergent we could hardly ask him to speak for us in a debate.

Mr. Anderson was at the bluffs meeting last Sunday. He asked for news of you and bought a copy of your latest pamphlet. He is one of the most loyal followers you have.

We are so happy to hear that your present stay in England promises to be easier and more pleasant than previous visits have been. But the Spanish situation is a burning one, and the interest in the CNT-FAI is growing. They are rapidly becoming a force in the world. It remains to be seen whether this Blockade of volunteers and supplies is designed to exclude all help except to Franco. They are giving Italy and Germany plenty of time to rush men and supplies to the Fascists.

And this huge armament expenditure in England, and at the same time a proposed large loan by Britain, France and the USA to Germany seems but another act of madness in this lunatic world. Even Canada with her poor little defence program is striving to join the hectic race to the shambles.

Greetings from all of us to you dear. I will write again soon. My husband is going to Philadelphia and New York to put exhibits in the respective spring flower shows. He leaves on Saturday and will be gone about a month. So I shall have time and peace for my correspondence.

Love to you,

Dorothy

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871005291

[Letter, 1937] Feb. 21, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Karin [Michaelis]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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New Rochelle Remington Place 135
New York

February 21

Dearest sweetest Emma—

I wonder, why you with only one thought could believe that anything in the world could make me to love you less... When I once gave my friendship I gave it for life. Please remember this now and allways. It is possible more than possible that we do not agree on different things, still I allways know that you have the cleanest soul and that you are the outstanding woman among women. I think it best before writing about other things to straighten one of your questions out. Russia.

Yes Emma, dear, I was over there, and what I saw, most of what I saw, was to me good, so that I really and true could hope, that after some few years a new new and strong world would come instead of the Russia of your childhood. Still, as you easily

may understand I cannot say, that I have seen everything, I could not speak the language, I know that the people would not open their heart for me a stranger to them. But, as a whole, I liked what I saw. I was some few days in Leningrad, some three weeks in Moskau and all over I could go where I pleased, It was not, that they showed me false things or places. Really I had my freedom to see for myself and make my opinion. This is my opinion: The younger set is happy and hard working and going upwards. But the older people have a very hard time. And it was my idea to mix myself up with this and write for them how we in Denmark are behaving towards old people. But

when last year it happened the terrible thing that they executed all these men and now again I was very sad and for a while I have stopped my connections with Russia. I never met

Stalin. I met Molotov but got no picture of the inside of him. I was for a long time alone with Krupskaya and I liked her tremendously. Most of them all I liked Bucharin. He and I made out that sometime we would fly over Russia and he would tell me and show me the whole thing. And now... What about him. I cannot figure out who is telling the lies, Trotsky or the other. And it makes me uncertain and sad.

Now you know, more there is not to this.

The other day I had lunch with Roger Baldwin, and I feel we are going to be friends. He just loves you, but also he loves Agnes, and he loves Mooney, we have the same feelings about the same people. I have not had words from Agnes since she two or is it three years ago told me she was coming to me, and then suddenly had to go to America immediately instead. But very soon I am going to write her a long letter. I do not know if she feels lonesome, or if she has made herself quite at home over in China. She is doing remarkable good work there I believe.

Now I have been here at my sister for two months. Herdis went over with me and stayed her for six weeks. She went back the third of February and we miss her exceedingly. My sister has been very ill. It came suddenly and for some days we feared the worst. It was terrible days. And believe me, Emma I can understand how you feel about Sasha.

But there is one thing with Sasha. He was so beloved, that he belongs to those very few people who will live long after they have passed away. For me, in spite of the fact, that I only know him as I did, it is as if I allways see and feel his presence. I get warm inside when my thoughts seek to him. I would have been much more unhappy if you did not miss him as you do. Life is short, and for all of us it comes the time when

we have more under the ground that going around among us. It is seldom, very very seldom that we have the great thing out of life to meet the one who for ever is the

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005291

[Letter, 1937] Feb. 21, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Karin [Michaelis].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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20212

One. Sasha was more than half of you. He was the youth, he was the lifework, he gave you the greatest happiness and the greatest sorrows. He was love itself in the purest way.

And this I now tell you, because now the time have passed; that if had met him before ~~and~~ came into his life, I had taken her place. Sasha was not the man choosing himself, he was chosen. While at my home I got to like him exceedingly much. It was not the man, but the human being. And as most of the time for a woman those things go together.

I loved Charlie, but I was unhappy with him. He was not the man a woman with heart and feelings for humanity could live with. Sasha had all what I adore. Still I am very glad that nothing happened. You would perhaps not have interfered, but I then could never look into your eyes. I always felt it that Sasha belonged to you. Belonged to you for life and after life.

And now Spain... Your letter is so hopeful for Spain. But just in these days I have great fear. And if Spain goes to pieces, we all in Europe will have to face terrible time. I like to stay here for some months. The people are friendly, more so than in Europe, but I feel that their friendship is not strong enough to stand some proof.

My whole family is most conservative. Still I do not fight them. They are just as they are, and in their way the best people one can find. Clean, whole, honest, and good.

Ardis is like me what the inside concerns, but she is a woman who likes to sit quiet and have good days. So now she is close friend to the richest woman in Denmark. She does not love her, and cannot make herself free. It is a frightfully double way of life.

This woman, I like rather very much, and I find that if you are often with people, you have to like them or to leave them. Ardis is terrible to criticize, and there we do not agree. But it was so good to have her here and the way over with a freightboat in heavy storms was most enjoyable for both of us. Ardis is living for the children of her sister in Stockholm. She herself has, as you know never a child, but a real mother cannot love more than she loves these two girls of her sisters. She went straight to Stockholm and stays there for some few weeks.

I am writing some few articles over here, trying to make some money. I am pretty hard of just now, because of Germany and my different publishers who all of them seem to go to pieces. And what follows cannot pay their debt to me. But I always can manage to make money enough for me. I only so should like to give my niece one year off in Europe. She is working too hard for the family. She has had no youth at all, no husband no children and is not interested in humanity in the way I find the right one.

So my dear, dear Emma, I have to stop, But I think you have got a pretty fair view of my life. Where are you going? What after England and again Spain? There always is awaiting you. But this you know. If Mooney get out, I so hope to have him for a long time and give him some sun and happiness after those long long years. Through Sasha's Book I know what prison means for human beings. I embrace you and stay forever your friend

Karin

Forgive my poor English -

Many thanks for your letter and the enclosed letter. Now I do know about Sablos, only I do not know the name of his witnesses. ??

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929034

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 21, Mundesley [England to] Emma Goldman, London / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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17545

RILLBANK,
MUNDESLEY,
NORFOLK.

21st Fenruary 1937

Miss Emma Golaman,
18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington.W.14.

Dear Miss Golaman,

If you have any criticism or comments to make on that letter ^{by John Humphreys} on the Spanish situation, the influence of the electoral system on Civil War and you have time to send them to me, I shall be very pleased to have them.

If you are disengaged and not too busy and could come to lunch again with me and John Humphreys, the Secretary of the P.R.S. (who has already accepted the invitation-I wanted to meet him to talk about one or two matters) I shall be very pleased to entertain you. The luncheon is at 1-20 at the New Continental Restaurant, 43 Wilton Road (at the side of Victoria Station). I am writing by this same post to invite Fenner Brockway.

We all thoroughly enjoyed and were inspired by our meeting at the Russell Hotel yesterday. We were lucky to bring this off I think knowing how busy you are. I promised to send you a list of the names and addresses of those who were there and I append the list separately.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

S. V. Pearson

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005295

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 22, London [to] Mollie Steimer and] Sen[y]a [Fleishin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20219

London Feb. 22nd 37

Mollitchka, dearest senia.

I feel like a dog to keep you waiting for a line from me for so long. But really my darlings I have been working like a galley slave, 18 hours out of twenty four. It is exasperating to get anything done or people moved to action. I do not think there are another people on earth so cold and indifferent to ~~the~~ the suffering of others than the English. I told our audience Friday that the English get very excited when they witness cruelty to an animal. But they pass by indifferently when they see destitute and hungry children. Imagine at this late date they actually have corporal punishment in school. They still ~~have~~ birch children and prisoners. You will therefore appreciate the odds in the way of the campaign I have undertaken. In addition is a solid wall of silence on the part of the press. Not one paper reported our two meetings. The Right press is full of lies and columny of our people. The Left while writing for "the legitimate government", never mentions the CNT-FAI. In fact the News Chronicle the only so called large Left Daily had an article a week ago last Saturday attacking our people ferociously. The Daily Worker refused an ad to our meeting on the 18th of Jan. You can see what I am up against.

And yet we succeeded to organize a large meeting held on Friday. We had an audience of a thousand and the response to my appeal was for the evacuated women and children brought £80. It is a large sum considering that there are dozens of societies, groups and organizations who have collected an awful lot of money for Spain though none of it went to our people or Catalonia. I also had a good meeting in Glasgow and raised £27 there. In all I have already raised about \$175 ~~which is a good deal of money~~. The coming Saturday I go to Bristol to speak. The 7th of March to South Wales, the 14th maybe to Edinburgh, possibly to Southampton to speak before students March 28th. April 4th the comrades in the East End will have a big meeting. All this besides a new undertaking I am planning for Spain, and an attempt to organize a group of young people on the basis of Anarchist Syndicalism. I did not know such young intelligent people, actually understanding our ideas existed in London. They were gotten together by a very fine German Anarchist and his English sweetheart whom I met in one of the villages near Durrutis Column. I will tell you about them later. They were with me last night. And I found them very clear on Anarchism. We are to meet in a larger number a week from Wed to try to organize a group and begin action at once. My idea is to organize a demonstration in Hyde Park ~~demonstrating~~ calling on the workers to use direct action against the damnable embargo of our people. The trouble is the uncertainty of the weather. I have no idea how soon it will be possible to have such a thing. Meanwhile we are working on a manifesto urging direct action. ~~Here is from the~~ This is from the London Committee of the CNT-FAI which I organized when I arrived. Over and above this I am working on a scheme to have a theatre evening to raise a larger sum for the women and children. If I can get known people to sponsor this venture we will force the press to break

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 22, London [to] Mollie Steimer and] Sen[ya] [Fleishin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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cowardly silence. Well, you can see my beloved children I am not losing sight of anything. But it all seems so little compared with the struggle of our comrades, with their suffering, their danger and their sacrifice.

About the German comrade I told you before. He was given a months leave of absence from the front because he was ill. Since his arrival here he has tried desperately hard to get a transit visa through France. He was refused. It occurred to me that Volin maybe able to do something for him. His name is Werner Schroeder and he has appealed for a visa as a business man who has ~~all~~ his business in Spain and in fact all his possessions. He is a resident of Barcelona. Will you please see Volin and urge him to take up his case and get a transit visa for him. The man is nearly crazy with anxiety because he is afraid the comrades will think he has deserted. It is very urgent. Ask dear Volin for me to do his utmost.

Alas, Emmy is already in Paris. I dread her presence for you my Mollitchka. She wants to work. Can Volin get her permission I have asked this before but I suppose you were disgusted with me for not writing you. So you too did not write. Please, please darling speak to Volin about E. and beg him to help her. I cannot understand how she is going to live in Paris. I have an idea she will not remain long there. She seems to be bent on returning to the South. The poor foolish child does not realize that not one of the Venice people, or her Nice friends want her. And it is impossible to make her see it. I tried to hint at a suggestion that since every body has his own troubles ~~than~~ her friends in Nice and Venice too cannot take on her complaints. You should see her reply. I don't give a damn because I know she is utterly irresponsible. Besides she will have to take her medicine when the people finally tell her to her face that they are tired hearing of her illness. You will laugh when I tell you I had to write very sternly to Michael not to pester me with his antagonism to Emmy. You see, no one tells her anything to her face. And the poor fool gets the idea that I am merely saying things. Our own Sasha never realised what it will mean to leave E. on my hands. Worse luck I am so dead broke I cannot help her financially. I am not touching a penny from the fund for Spain for myself. I certainly have no right even if I wanted to do so to take money from that for Emmy. So what is going to become of her? It is ~~so~~ sad. Anyway, do prevail on Volin to try for a working card for her.

Our exhibition opened Saturday, the vernissage was Friday. Unfortunately it is far from complete. The two artists who prepared the whole thing wasted an awful lot of time. In addition the house we had promised for the exhibition was refused at the last moment. So we had to rent a ~~store~~ which is very small and only half our stuff could be used. However, it is in one of the busiest industrial districts and great crowds have already been there.

Dearest children please write me and tell me how you are. With my old love.

Give my greetings to Sania and tell him I will write him tomorrow.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001205

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22, London [to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen [Wales] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19754

COPY

18, Castletown Road, London, W14.
22nd February, 1937.

Mr John Cowper Powys,
7, Cae Coed,
Corwen, Merioneth:

Dear John Powys,

I know I do not have to give explanations for the neglect of your letter of January 9th. It is the old story - a tremendous amount of work and very few people to help.

You will be glad to know however that my efforts are not in vain. True I should have liked bigger results than I have had so far, but considering the rigidity of the British public I think I have achieved very considerably. The first meeting of January 18th was attended by a large audience - in fact we turned away quite a number of people. My appeal for the evacuated women and children brought £57. I have added a sum at my meetings for Glasgow and Plymouth by a few personal subscriptions. One friend was good enough to guarantee part of the expense of another meeting which after a month's intensive drive took place in Friends' House last night. It is a very large place and was unfortunately not entirely filled, though there must have been 1,000 people present; but it was a very enthusiastic and responsible audience. £80 were collected at this meeting for the same purpose so you see that I have been successful.

In comparison with the cost it seems little enough but in view of the number of people who are collecting funds for medical aid and relief, and also the poverty amongst the workers themselves, I do not think I have done so badly. The one thing in which I have failed so far is to break through the press. The "Tory" papers are of course waxing hot over the "Christianity of Franco". The so-called "Left" press has a ban on it. Would you believe it, a paper like the Daily Herald refused an advertisement for our meeting of 18th January and neither The News Chronicle or The Herald have reported the meeting or mentioned my name.

I understand that The Herald this morning has a report of last night. I have not yet seen it but am glad to know it has changed its ways. One must never cease to give the devil his due but actually The Chronicle and The Herald - while writing in a lukewarm tone about the struggle of the "Left" Government, fight shy of saying anything for the CNT-FAI, and yet these are the dominant organizations that keep up the morale of the Catalan and Aragonian people and they are the ones whose

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19755

profound faith in Liberty conditions their willingness to sacrifice everything and even die in the attempt rather than save their skin.

Not even the people of Russia in the early flaming Revolutionary years of 1917/21 have demonstrated such profound devotion to Liberty and such capacity for constructive efforts. Without exaggeration I can say that the CNT-FAI., represent the first real Crusaders in modern times, for the principles of Freedom. If for no other reasons this should rally to their support the people of the whole world who have shouted Liberty from the housetops and who have never done anything for it.

Verily Spain is fighting not only for its own emancipation and its own freedom but for the freedom of the rest of the world. I feel this so intensely that the most strenuous efforts I am making seem like nothing at all for so great and gallant a Cause.

I now have a more auspicious idea for Spain. I want to organise a theatre affair for some Sunday night at the latter part of March or beginning of April. I already have the promise of support of the man at the head of the Actors Equity Association, and of a friend in the theatre world who like you has spent many years in the United States. You may know him, his name is Maurice Brown. He was active in Chicago where he organised the Little Theatre in the Fine Arts' Building. On his return to England he produced "Journey's End" which no Manager wanted to accept. It was a colossal success. He is an Englishman and has remained in England ever since the "Journey's End" venture. He is trying to get a theatre. I have also had a very kind letter from Sybil Thorndike. In her case it is unfortunate that she may not be back from her tour in time to participate in the affair.

I have in mind a mixture of things, possibly one or two one-act plays and some rendering of poetry by well-known artists. It is indeed a very ambitious scheme; I am not so sure that I will succeed. But I am going to try very hard. I must raise a more substantial sum for the Spanish struggle, but more than that I want to reach larger and various sections of the London Committee, people who would not go to a meeting but would to a theatre entertainment.

Since everything here must have the blessings of well-known sponsors, I can see my difficulties in getting these good people. You will laugh if I tell you how very much my name still affects people like a red cloth to the bull! Even in the Spanish

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22, London [to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen [Wales] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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1975

Exhibition Committee I felt the atmosphere surcharged with antagonism on the part of such people as Lady Hastings and some other typical British snobs. I did not think I could have endured it for two months had it not been for my consecration to my Spanish comrades. I know therefore that I will have a hard task to get some outstanding people - outstanding not by their merits or personality but by their publicity value. Of course I also mean to approach people of real value and worth, like Rebecca West and a few others of her kind.

I want you dear friend to permit me to use your name among the sponsors. If you could also induce your brother to join I would be delighted indeed. I am continuing my work in England until the end of April. I am then going back to Spain.

While I have been here physically all my concern and all my thoughts have been with my people in the stricken country. I must get back for new impressions and to saturate myself with their courage and their fortitude. I may remain there all through the summer, fighting with them to the bitter end. However, the friends in America are trying hard to procure a visa for me for 6 months; if they can succeed, without any strings on me as to what I am to say, I will go to the States. I am at home there and in my own soil I am sure that I could have far greater success than I have in England. But as I said, I will remain here until the end of April so you can write me here.

I hope that you have not suffered from the miserable weather and the terrible scourge of 'flu. No doubt the warmer Spring will have a salutary effect on your health. I wish it with all my heart.

Affectionately,

Accredited representative of the CLT-FAI.

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870929033

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22 [London to] S[idney] Vere Pearson, [Mundesely, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17544

----- 22nd February 1937.

Dr. S. Vere PEARSON,
s/o The ATHENAEUM Club,
Pall Mall, S. W. 1.

18, Castletown Road, W.14.

Dear Dr. Pearson,

Thanks very much for your letter of the 21st inst, and enclosures.

I am frightfully occupied now, with all sorts of undertakings for SPAIN. I could not possibly make time to comment on Mr. John Humphreys' article, which you sent me. In addition I have the utmost indifference to the Electoral system in Spain! As an anarchist, I feel that whatever Electoral system there may be it is only for the purpose of putting people in power; and since I am opposed to political power I do not see what difference it makes to the workers whether they all have the right of voting, or only a limited number have it.

My main reason for not complying with your request is simply lack of time. That is also the reason why I cannot accept an invitation to luncheon - at least not this week. I am already booked up every day with people whose names and assistance I want to enlist, for a theatrical venture I have in mind, for the unfortunate ~~SPANISH~~ Victims of Fascism. Perhaps next week some day I might accept your kind invitation to meet Mr. Humphreys; I am glad you wish me to meet during the luncheon hour. I'd like what day next week it would be agreeable. I am going to Madrid on Saturday and will not be back until Monday; most likely, also, too busy and tired to do anything on that day. So you had better decide on a definite day and let me know by 'phone or letter. Thank you very much for list of names and addresses of friends who were present at the Luncheon on Saturday. I liked especially Mr. Grant; perhaps because I had a chance to be longer with him and his daughter than with the others. They kindly took me to the Spanish Exhibition came in to see it and then took me back to West Kensington. We talked a great deal during that time.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005002

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22, London [to] Ann Lord, New York / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 19 cm.

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18, Castletown Road, W. 14. (England).
22nd February, 1937.

19879

Miss Ann Lord,
11-B, 32nd Street,
New York, City, U.S.A.

My dear dear Ann,

I was very glad to hear from you after such a long silence. I knew of your great loss and I never had you out of my mind for very long, but I have been so taken up with my work in Spain while I was there, and with the heroic Spanish struggle since I came out, that I have been not able to keep up with correspondence. In fact, only two weeks ago I had no-one to help with letters. I am glad to say I have now found a Secretary. That relieves me a great deal of the grind of typing every letter myself, but even her help has not reduced the accumulated mail to any great extent.

It is entirely my fault because I have to rush about meeting people, who might be of help in my campaign, to arouse intelligent English opinion in the Spanish struggle.

I wish my dear that you were anywhere near enough for me to reach you in person. An hour's talk would give us more than dozens of letters but that not being the case I can only send you a lot of enclosures - copies of letters I have written during the last few weeks. They will tell you of the difficulties I am meeting here and the energy necessary to go on. Nevertheless, I have succeeded in organizing two large meetings, the second one last Friday, that brought our large audiences and also helped me to raise some money for the evacuation of women and children from the different fronts. I am now engaged on a bigger scheme - a theatrical benefit affair. Heaven knows it is not easy to get support in America but it is infinitely harder to enlist the interest and the sympathy of people in this country. However, no amount of effort on my part is comparable with the truly heroic sacrifices my comrades are making in Spain, so I must grind down without complaint.

I did not really expect American papers or magazines to do articles on Spain from me. The opposition of the Revolutionary forces is too great and the misrepresentation of the gallant people too outrageous to expect much humanity from that source. It can be helped. Perhaps some day I might be able to return to America for a short visit. Then it will not be hard to dispose of articles but to-day I have not the patience to write in the void, nor the time. So I must let it go.

On Friday I was called up by your stepdaughter, asking who seats to the Meeting were available. I had some reserved in the

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22, London [to] Ann Lord, New York / [Emma Goldman].—
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Miss Ann Lord,

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name. She came to greet me after the Meeting was over,
but I was surrounded with people and could not talk to her.

Perhaps she will 'phone me again one of these days, when
I can have a talk. Yes, she visited me in San Tropez. In
fact she was going to take my cottage for a month but nothing
came of it.

As regards Cliffe, I think you are wasting your time. The
man has acted outrageously in using up money which he had
collected, supposedly, for me. I should not have minded so much
had it not been that at the time he had inherited a lot of money
but he has always been irresponsible and I am really too absorbed
in Spain to bother about Cliffe's doings. I would suggest that
you two do not waste your time with him.

My Dear, my Dear! - perhaps it is well that you came to
"A sudden misunderstanding with God and Mrs Eddie." (!) It may
help you to find yourself, to find strength to stand on your own
feet and not to lean on a prop which is so ephemeral as Christian
Science. You will bear me out that I never tried to influence
you one way or another but I consider it a great pity - espec-
ially as regards the illness of your son. But that is a thing
which cannot be recalled. I can only hope fervently that you may
find your mooring in an Ideal for Humanity. Something that
will fill the void left by your son. I wish that with all my heart.

I cannot make plans now as to what I will do after April,
but if it is at all possible I intend to go back to Spain.
Actually I have been here only in a physical sense - mentally and
spiritually I live in the midst of the gallant fight the Spanish
people are making; so I intend to go back and be there until about
August. Then, if a vice is obtained for me for my return to The
States, I will be very happy indeed. But if that is impossible I
may go to Palestine in behalf of the Anti-Fascist forces. But
that is all in the lap of conditions over which one has very little
control. Now less than ever!

My Dear, I hope you have completely pulled yourself together.
You still have so much to give and an Ideal for you should be found.
Some day soon I hope we may meet again. I can only repeat what I
have so often told you - that two months with you as my Manager
and General Cook and bottle-washer were the only bright period of
my life last visit in The States.

With a great deal of love,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22, London [to Max Nettlau, Amsterdam] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.



18, Castletown Road,
W. 14. (England). London.
22nd February, 1937.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of 1st February reached me safely.

I am sure you misunderstood what I said, about some material regarding the part the Church in Spain had played all through its existence. I did not mean that any one of us intended to go into a history or discussion of Catholicism. Naturally that is not impossible as a separate *topic* *accept*

I thought you knew that my attitude towards Catholicism is exactly the same as to all other Denominations. But you know yourself the tremendous propaganda the Fascists in Spain and in the rest of the world are making, and the lies they are spreading about the destruction of the Churches and the annihilation of Priests. Surely you understand the imperative necessity of showing up the sinister part played by the Church in Spain, at all times when the masses attempted to break their chains. That way alone can the Public be made to understand the deep-seated hatred and revulsion of the workers and the peasants in Spain, against their hated enemies. That was the reason which induced me to ask you for historic material. Of course I did not know you are so burdened, or I would not have bothered you.

You will be glad to know that the Meeting last night was a tremendous success - not only in the material response to my appeal (which was about £80, and a pledge of £1 a month for 12 months); but it was also the support of the audience in regard to some concerted protest and Demonstration against the dastardly pact of the Powers, to encircle Spain. We will now begin to work for a Demonstration in Hyde Park, and for other ways and means that may be beneficial to our heroic Spanish comrades.

about
Press
inquiries

I will keep you posted, of course, with what results. I also have a venture in my mind on a large scale, which may help to rouse people and also raise more substantial funds. Yes, you are right, time is too *short* to stress only the ethical and human side of the struggle. Unfortunately that is necessary to counteract the prejudice and the lies in The Daily Express and even in the "Left" *papers*. It is hardly necessary for me to tell you how I feel about the struggle of our people, but on the other hand I know perfectly well that people can be

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22, London [to Max Nettlau, Amsterdam] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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22/2/1937.

reached quickly and more profitably with appeals
for the evacuated women and children, than for arms.

inconsistent

After all, the comrades in Spain realise that
and know what to do. I am enclosing copies of recent
letters which will interest you. I have read your
comments on Fredrica's Speech. While I agree, with you
and with her in the main, I find her arguments an explana-
tion of the steps taken by the comrades, but certainly
nevertheless ~~insistent~~ I have maintained all along that
while the entry into Ministries was imposed upon our com-
rades, it is unfortunately true that it has not gained them
very much.

On the contrary, they have lost ground and have
only paved the way for the growth of the Communists and
the Socialists in Catalonia. That may have been unavoidable,
but it is deplorable none the less. However, all that in no
way checks my faith in the comrades, my enthusiasm over their
heroism and my complete consecration to help them to the
utmost to slay the common Enemy.

Should you see Comrade Müller-Lehning, give him my
fraternal greetings.

Affectionately,

Emma Goldman

(Enclosures-)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22, London [to Max Nettlau, Amsterdam] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15133

18, Castletown Road,
W. 14. (England). London.
22nd February, 1937.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of 1st February reached me safely.

I am sure you misunderstood what I said, about some material regarding the part the Church in Spain had played all through its existence. I did not mean that any one of us intended to go into a history or discussion of Catholicism. Naturally that is not impossible as a separate issue.

I thought you knew that my attitude towards Catholicism is exactly the same as to all other Denominations. But you know yourself the tremendous propaganda the Fascists in Spain and in the rest of the world are making, and the lies they are spreading about the destruction of the Churches and the annihilation of Priests. Surely you understand the imperative necessity of showing up the sinister part played by the Church in Spain, at all times when the masses attempted to break their chains. That way alone can the Public be made to understand the deep-seated hatred and revulsion of the workers and the peasants in Spain, against their hated enemies. That was the reason which induced me to ask you for historic material. Of course I did not know you are so burdened, or I would not have bothered you.

You will be glad to know that the Meeting last night was a tremendous success - not only in the material response to my appeal (which was about £80, and a pledge of £1 a month for 12 months); but it was also the support of the audience in regard to some concerted protest and demonstration against the dastardly pact of the Powers, to encircle Spain. We will now begin to work for a Demonstration in Hyde Park, and for other ways and means that may be beneficial to our heroic Spanish comrades.

I will keep you posted, of course, with what results. I also have a venture in my mind on a large scale, which may help to rouse people and also raise more substantial funds. Yes, you are right, time is too fresh to stress only the ethical and human side of the struggle. Unfortunately that is necessary to counteract the prejudice and the lies in The Daily Express and even in the "Left" elements. It is hardly necessary for me to tell you how I feel about the struggle of our people, but on the other hand I know perfectly well that people can be

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15134

22/2/1937.

reached quickly and more profitably with appeals for the evacuated women and children, than for arms.

After all, the comrades in Spain realise that and know what to do. I am enclosing copies of recent letters which will interest you. I have read your comments on Fredrica's Speech. While I agree, with you and with her in the main, I find her arguments an explanation of the steps taken by the comrades, but certainly nevertheless insistent. I have maintained all along that while the entry into Ministries was imposed upon our comrades, it is unfortunately true that it has not gained them very much.

On the contrary, they have lost ground and have only paved the way for the growth of the Communists and the Socialists in Catalonia. That may have been unavoidable, but it is deplorable none the less. However, all that in no way checks my faith in the comrades, my enthusiasm over their heroism and my complete consecration to help them to the utmost to slay the common Enemy.

Should you see Comrade Muller-Lehning, give him my fraternal greetings.

Affectionately,

(Enclosures-)

479

The Emma Goldman Papers

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18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington, W.11, (LONDON).
22nd February, 1937.

Mrs. Willy W. Rucker,
c/o Mr. C. V. Cooke,
1,038, Alhambra Street,
LOS ANGELES, California.

Dear Willy,

As I am not sure how long you remain in Los Angeles, I am sending this letter c/o C.V. Cooke. He will surely know how to reach you should you have left for Mexico when this arrives in Los Angeles. It will be quicker than sending it to New York.

I was very happy indeed to get your letter after such a long silence. You say that Rudolf has written me; if it is the letter I received from him before I left Spain, then I have answered it; I do not know of any other letters having come from Rudolf. They mean so much to me and they are usually so interesting that I reply without delay. In other words, Rudolf owes me a letter in answer to the one I wrote to him some time ago - but then I know how difficult it is for him to keep up a correspondence while he is on tour.

Before your letter arrived, I heard from our dear Ben Capes. He told me of Rudolf's illness, which shocked me very much. He must have been very sick indeed if he had to be taken to a hospital. Was it influenza? This terrible disease has been raging in England; so far, I have escaped it. Actually I have gone along without a cold, which is the first time in many years of my coming to this country. Of course, I have my annual winter's cold - but even that has not been so violent as last year; so I am "knocking wood"! I am delighted to know that our dear Rudolf is himself again. I hope fervently that his stay in The States may have been extended.

It seems to me that the people who worked so hard to give Rudolf another four years in the White House could and should try to get you a prolonged stay in America. Rudolf is so needed there; but of course if you have to go to Mexico to be able to return in the ordinary quota routine, perhaps it is just as well. When I saw Abrams in Paris, he seemed to be certain of a most successful tour for Rudolf in Mexico. I hope it will materialize. I am enclosing copies of letters I have written, to save myself repetition about my attitude towards the Spanish situation and their needs, as well as about my work here. I quite understand the unwillingness of our

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Mrs. Willy W. Rooker.

-2-

2/2-1937.



Spanish comrades in America to discuss the actions of the C.N.T.-P.A.I.; they know the terrific struggle their comrades and their country are making, the sacrifices of the best in the ranks; their feeling is not unlike that of a mother towards her child, whose supreme effort is to concentrate against defeat. I am not Spanish, but I myself feel intensely with our people in Spain. Perhaps I would be more impatient if I had not been there and had not seen with my own eyes, on one side the conspiracy against the C.N.T.-P.A.I., on the part of their so-called 'Allies'; on the other hand, the truly superhuman effort made in the constructive work in the beginnings of the ideas and ideals we have propagated all our lives. At the same time, I consider it necessary not to swallow everything without a murmur. It is necessary to be critical. True friendship and comradeship never stand for blindness or fanatical adherence to the things contrary to what our comrades have proclaimed and fought for, for so many years.

I don't know whether you have read Santillan's speech of a few weeks ago? You will see that he and others have finally realized the necessity of admitting mistakes. This is the more necessary since our people have so generously submitted to the encroachment of their allies the Communists, as well as the Government of Caballero, on their rights. A recent arrival from Barcelona (one of our finest men) has brought the news that Catalonia is almost denuded of arms of defence & of everything else, in order to supply Madrid. Now I realize that concentration on the defence of Madrid is imperative, but, on the other hand, Catalonia is in equal measure in equal danger, especially from the sea. It is therefore nothing short of a crime to leave Catalonia bare of everything it needs to protect itself against the possible attack of the Franco-German Italian forces. Actually the latter have already bombarded Port Moya; they have proved therefore what their plans are as far as Barcelona is concerned. Fortunately, our people in Barcelona are realizing that they cannot go on indefinitely pouring men, arms and provisions into Madrid, not only because they must prepare themselves to meet the dreadful enemy, but also because of the Communist force. Thanks to the generosity of our people, they have become stronger and are now dominating Madrid. Thus they have stopped the C.N.T.-P.A.I. paper (not for long, to be sure), and they have now suppressed the paper of the P.O.V.M., which merely goes to show what they are likely to put forward should they be unable to do so by the C.N.T.-P.A.I. As I said, you will gather from the enclosures what I am doing here. Our first meeting (18th January) in Conway Hall, was very successful indeed, 700 people in the Hall and thousands turned away. The enthusiasm for more knowledge of the Spanish situation was great enough to decide us on a more auspicious venture on the 19th of this month. We have taken the Friends' House, holding 1,300, and we charge for admission from 2/6d to 6d. I am glad to say that the Independent Labour Party has offered co-operation.

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Mrs. Milly W. Rooker.

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9/2/1937.

I hesitated to accept it because I was afraid that it would insist on speaking in the name of the so-called "United" Front. Fortunately, Fenner Brockway - the General Secretary of the I.L.P., - has assured me that his Party has retained its independence as regards Spain and other important issues, and it will be speaking in its own behalf at the meeting of the 19th. I was glad therefore to consent, because we have so few efficient people in our own ranks. I am therefore hopeful that the meeting of the 19th will be successful.

In addition, will be the Exhibition which we are preparing for the 20th. That, too, is jointly with the I.L.P. I could not carry out the original plan, owing to the Exhibition costs it would have involved.

I also have a very ambitious scheme of some kind of a concert, of a combination of music and perhaps one-act plays, on behalf of the women and children evacuated from the different fronts. I don't know whether I will succeed but I am certainly going to try. In addition to this, I am speaking in some of the provinces. I was in Plymouth a week ago, and I am going to Glasgow next Saturday, and possibly to Bristol for the 28th. You see I am busy, but I don't mind it because I feel Spain more intensely than I have for any issue in many years. I think I shall be through with my work here by the latter part of April. I mean to go back to Spain even if a visa to The States will be granted, which I doubt very much. I will need new impressions but am not at all sure that a visa will be forthcoming.

You will be interested to learn that I met some people yesterday who assured me I would have a great success for Spain, in Palestine; in fact, they mean to get me an invitation to go there. Naturally, if America falls through, I would be only too glad to go because of the economic experiment made there - which seems to be very interesting; and also because I am assured that the response would be much more enthusiastic and generous than it has been here so far. Anyway, I am determined to give all my remaining years and all my energy to our heroic comrades in Spain.

I am delighted to know of the translation of Rudolf's book when finally in shape for publication. If I had received your letter in time, I could have spoken to Knopf, who was here and whom I saw on Saturday. He should be approached again; You will remember I let him read the German script; he was not averse to considering it for publication but insisted on very considerable cuts. He was sure a very large book would not meet with success. Anyway, if there are no others, luck should certainly be tried again.

With love to Rudolf and yourself and fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Affectionately,

*Accredited Representative
of the CNT/FAI*

The Emma Goldman Papers

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18 N.

18, Castletown Road, W. Kensington W1
17th February, 1937. (LONDON, W.14).

Mr. Harry Kelly,
c/o Mrs. Ralph Barr,
106, Conningham Road, W. 12.

Dear Harry,

You know our saying - "it's a long way between drinks" - I just possibly could not write you sooner in answer to yours of January 4th; I am simply swamped with work; there is hardly any need to tell you, after the years you have lived in England, how very difficult it is to get people interested and things moving.

True, there is more interest in Spain than there ever was in anything I tried to present before, to the British public. But it is nevertheless a very hard job for one person to organise big affairs. You will be interested to know that I have succeeded somewhat. How far, you will know from the enclosures - as indeed also, you will be able to gather about my attitude towards our comrades and towards the situation in Catalonia.

I quite agree with you that every nerve should be strained to keep the unit front intact; certainly our people have shown tremendous patience and tolerance; but the other side is insidious. Not only the Communists - the "Left" Republicans are also trying to get hold of the ship of state. Sometimes I fear that our people are making too many concessions; I dread the day when they might find themselves frozen out. Evidently they themselves are realising it - because they have begun an intense campaign in the way of meetings, broadcasting and literature, before the Catalonian masses. They have neglected that for quite a number of months. When I spoke to them, pointing out that their allies are working day and night to spread their ideas, our comrades assured me that they did not need such mumery. Well, better late than never!

The taking of Malaga has been a terrible shock to me, but from the latest news from Barcelona I can gather that the papers in this city have been, as usual, very premature in their announcement that the road to Madrid is now occupied by Franco's gang. It is not - and as far as superhuman effort and tremendous courage can go, it will not be. But of course the enemies consist of an overwhelming number of trained soldiers and an equally overwhelming quantity of arms. It will be a miracle indeed if our side will win! It is reasonably certain, however, that if the workers and peasants of Catalonia and Aragon will be forced down, it will not be without a most heroic and supreme resistance ever offered by the

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(P.B.O.)

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Mr. Harry Kelly,

17th February, 1937.

masses.

For the rest, we must go on in our work for Spain. I am doing that here, to the best of my strength and ability.

As I said, the enclosures will give you an idea of the work so far carried on, and the results achieved.

Remember me to Leah, Elsie and her family, and all the comrades.

Affectionately,

Accredited representative of the
C.N.T/F.A.I.,

P.S.

Regarding Real Volunteers, our people in Barcelona want only men not tied with families - these who are either non-political or understand our ideas. They cannot afford to pack the ranks with mere adventurers or with members of the party which has done and is doing its utmost to undermine our position.

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[Envelope] 1937 [Feb. 22] London [to] Max Nettlau, Amsterdam / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

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E. G. Colton
18 Castletown Rd.
London W.14
England.

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C.N.I.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

COOPERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
COOPERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

19950

N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA DIAGONAL 638, 23 Y 24 - BARCELONA

CINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

[illegible]

Barcelona 22 de febrero 1937

Idete Emma, noch ein ganz konkretes Anliegen. Ich schrieb auf dem Briefblatt schon, dass wir (Beschluss von Soucky und mir) Green entlassen als Radiogesprecher und Bulletinredakteur, und zwar mit der Begründung, dass er kein Radiomann gewesen.

Er wendet sich heute an die CNT und protestiert dagegen. Nun gilt, wie
uns beweisen, was wir als Grund vorgebracht haben, und er wird nicht
englische Arbeiten fuer uns uebernehmen.

Es bleibt aber die Frage: ist er berechtigt, hier als Vertreter der englischen oder amerikanischen der IAA nahestehenden oder der am reichsten, dann die zur Laender zu arbeiten, diese englischen und amerikanischen Laender zu vertreten, muessen wir ihn zum Beispiel in dem Vertreterskomitee annehmen, das ich hier gegruendet habe, der Delegacion Permanente de la AIT (die die CVF angereicht)?

Bitte setze Dich mit den englischen Genossen in Verbindung und antworte auf diese Frage. Mark Mrotechny bitte ich um Auskunft ueber dieselbe. Ich werde sogar anregen, dass man von Newyork einen offiziellen Vertreter sendet.

Answernd bitte doch die englischen Genossen, eine staendige Verbindung mit dem IAA-Sekretariat in Barcelona aufzunehmen.

Helmer +

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005045

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 22, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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INTERNATIONAL
ANARCHIST
ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONAL
DE
ANARCHISTES

INTERNATIONAL ARBEITER ASSOCIATION

ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORATORI

Barcelona, el 22 de febrero de 1937

Liebe Emma!

Dein Brief vom 16.I. hat ziemlich lange gebraucht, um hierherzukommen, und ich war ca. 12 Tage verreist, sodass die Korrespondenz etwas vernachlässigt wurde.

Beachte beiliegendes Rundschreiben und richte bitte die Korrespondenz betr. den Servicio de Informacion Exterior kuenftig an das Secretariado de la AIT, Via Durruti 32/34, 4º, dep. 78. Ebendahin auch regelmässig alle Zeitungen. Die von Dir erwachten beiden Blaetter habe ich noch nicht bekommen.

Die Genossin, die das englische Bulletin macht (Green ist abgebaut), versichert mir, dass man Dir dieses Bulletin regelmässig schickt.

Auf dem Plenum der CNT in Valencia, das neulich stattfand, wurde Deine Anregung einer Unterstuetzung fuer Euer Blatt besprochen und dem Nationalkomitee freie Ermächtigung erteilt. Ich nehme an, dass Genosse Vazquez inzwischen schon affirmativ geantwortet hat.

Wenn Du meine Broschuere english herausbringst, sende mir bitte sinige Ex..

An Kirchen, aus denen auf das Volk geschossen wurde, nenne ich Dir: den Convento de Pompeya und die Kirche Santa Maria del Carmen (Rambla).

Liebe Emma, ich moechte wann ich nur koennte, mehr direkte Informationsarbeit fuer unsere eigenen Genossen im Auslande machen, ich muss se eigentlich sogar tun, seitdem ich das IAA-Sekretariat in Barcelona uebernommen habe. Ich bereite vor einen Sonderpresseendienst in Spanisch fuer die Presse der CNT-FAI, ferner im Auftrag Bernards eine dreisprachige Revue der IAA, ferner einen speziellen, intimen Presseedienst der IAA fuer unsere eigenen anarchistischen und syndikalistischen Genossen der anderen Laender, die mehr haben wollen als die jetzigen Boletins... Bei alledem mache ich aber das jetzige deutsche Bulletin und die Zeitung ein, ich habe nur einen Uebersetzer zur Hilfe, Mitarbeiter hat die Zeitung; (alle 10 Tage acht Seiten) nicht.. Dazu die tausend anderen Beschaeftigungen, Du weisst, ... es ist katastrophal.

Hoffen wir, dass es mir gelingt, einiges von den Plaenen zu verwirklichen. Was macht Rudolf? Ich habe wochenlang nichts von ihm gehoert. Ich beauftragte ihn (im Einverstaendnis mit dem Nationalkomitee) zur Abfassung

The Emma Goldman Papers

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der ersten Broschüre einer Reihe die heissen soll "Publicaciones de la IAA" unter dem Titel "Die IAA, ihr Ursprung, ihre Geschichte und ihre Aufgabe". Ich bat ihn um Artikel fuer die Zeitung, doch bekam ich nichts, keine Antwort. Da Rudolf bisher regelmässig in kurzen Abständen an mich beunruhigt mich sein Schweigen etwas. Weisst Du von ihm?

Ja, das Basimaterial. Du weisst, dass sich seierseit die Zusammenarbeit zerschlug, aus Gründen, die ich verstehe. Der deutsche Genosse Buch nun fertigmacht, ist so ueberlastet, dass es nur langsam jetzt geht die Arbeit aber dem Ende entgegen. Das Buch wird nun in der Umstände nicht deutsch, sondern französisch und spanisch im Verlag Tierra y Libertad.

Kirstein ist unter Marxens ernannt worden zum Inspektor des Bureau an der ganzen Front der Kolonne Durruti. Er arbeitet viel, ihn hoch. Jetzt will er einmal fuer einige Zeit in Urlaub kommen.

Von Du meinst mit dem Kameraden "who brought down some of the boys" weisse ich nicht..... ??

Desgleichen weisse ich nicht, nach welcher Kameradin ander Front. Ich weisse, ist bei unserer Internationalen Gruppe Durruti. Drei Krankenschwestern, die dabei waren, wurden vor einiger Zeit mit einem Teil ausländischer Kameraden gefangengenommen und verwundet. Es stand darunter eine Notiz im Bulletin, unter der Namen eine junge Deutsche vom POUM.

In unseren Bulletins vom 14. und 21. Februar und in der BR Nr. 1 verschiedene kritische Artikel finden. Ich habe jetzt hier endlich das alte Archiv der CNT-FAI-Presse zusammen, was mir erlauben wird, an mehr Quellen zu arbeiten.

Ich habe Dir wohl auf alle konkreten Fragen geantwortet. Ich hoffe, es ist genug sein.

Allen Dir bekannten Kameraden geht es persönlich "normal" und man behält trotz vieler Schwierigkeiten doch immer den Kopf oben.

Hoffentlich kannst Du auch weiter viel fuer unsere Sache tun in England.

Herzliche Gruesse und alle guten Wunsche.

Helmut

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005080

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 22, London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Donald Darling.—
1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA

COMISSARIAT D'INFORMACIÓ A L'ESTRANGER

Spanish People's Front
London Information Bureau

3, Victoria Street (4th Floor)
LONDON S. W. 1.

20020

22.2.37.

Dear Emma,

There is no "Soli" today so I cannot send it to you. Have you received it? I suppose they are tampering with the mails again.

This morning I advised the film companies about the presence of the S.U.E.C. representative in Paris this week. I believe that two of them will send people over to see ~~the~~ the films. I have also written to Paris urging the despatch of all the material they have there for us.

Regarding the secretary, I think that when (and if) the money comes we shall have to take a full time person, providing we can find one who is efficient, speaks ~~French~~ French, and does not want too much money. In this way you could have your own. I don't know if you would need her as much as that. According to the present arrangement she is using one of the machines for which we pay and we are not able to use it all that time. She says she has work for tomorrow morning as well, which means that one of our machines is being used for 1½ days without our being able to use it. She says she will be able to take dictation tomorrow afternoon. I will see if I can be here. I personally think that a full-time person would be most desirable as one could dictate first thing in the morning and afternoon. What do you say? I feel it must be somebody who can speak French and take charge of the office when both Kavanagh and myself are out. As K. now runs all the increasing press business (photos, news, etc) he is often out and there must be somebody in the office. The boy who comes only gets his expenses and we can't very well leave him in charge. This all depends upon the cheque, of course.

Miss Peeble leaves on Wednesday for Spain, if you have any messages you want to send, she will do this with pleasure. She will stay in Barcelona for some time, I think. I have already asked her to see Carbo and to chase him all the time to get him to do what we want for this office. A perpetual "nagger" should be useful there.

I am trying to arrange for coal and petrol to be sent thru the National Joint Committee - there are possibilities. I have seen Transport House today. They struck me as being more alive than a month ago. Can they be waking up? At least they were not rude;

Yours sincerely,

PS. I have today answered Father Woodlock, at length. He has a terrible attack in the "Telegraph" upon the Spanish people.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23 [London to] S. Gleiser, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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18, Castletown Road, W.14.

23rd February, 1937.

Mr. S. Gleiser,
104, Princes Park Avenue,
Golders Green, N. W. 11.-

Dear Mr. Gleiser,

Thank you so much for your letter and for your tribute to my talk. I am sure that you cannot know my activities in the United States over a period of thirty-five years, because if you were aware of them you would not lament the fact that I am doing nothing for our people, or for the starving children in Poland!

Actually, I have given such time to placing the persecution of Jews before the American Public, and have raised funds for all kinds of undertakings in their behalf. After the deadly approach of Hitler, I toured Canada and the United States, talking about nothing else but the barbarous treatment of the Jews in Germany, and for the boycott, which was then inaugurated against the country now ridden by Hitler and his gang.

In other words, while I am neither a Zionist nor a Nationalist, I have worked for the rights of the Jews and against every attempt to hinder their life and development. I do not say that in any spirit of boastfulness. It is merely to acquaint you with my stand in the labour and cultural life of the countries I have lived in--and especially the United States.

There is one thing, however, on which we probably may not agree, that the indifference of the Jews who have enriched themselves at the expense of their own people. I insist that they are to a large extent as much responsible for the misery of Jews in most countries as the Gentiles belonging to the same class - because they are exploiting them, and then they return a few crumbs off their rich table, for destitute Jews in Poland or other places. I have had occasion to participate in strikes of Jewish workers in America against their Jewish employers who had time on end called in Irish police to club the strikers down.

When I see such indifference and injustice on the part of the wealthy Jews, or when I see Jewish bankers who had contributed to the Nazi Movement and are still dealing with Hitler, I feel that the greatest enemies of our people are these Jews of wealth.

I find it impossible to concentrate solely on the Jewish issue to the exclusion of all other people oppressed by their own countries under Gentile Government. That does not mean, however, that I am not deeply in sympathy with the starving children in Poland and that I would not, if necessary, appeal for them as I do for the starving children in Spain.

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23rd February, 1937.

Asked whether an International Workers' Organisation would push out "personalities such as yourself", to appeal and collect money for that Cause, — I do not know anything about the workers of England, but I do know that the Workers' Organisations have raised their voice in behalf of Jews in America wherever they were mistreated or denied the rights to which they were entitled.

You referred in your letter to the "Only Workers' Republic in the world." I hope that you actually do not believe that Russia represents a Workers' Republic. That has been my quarrel with the Soviet Government — that it no more represents the workers of Socialism than does England, France or any other so-called 'Democratic' country. I am therefore not surprised to learn that the "only Communist M.P. in England" is supporting England, "and clerical, mufti and feudal offends!" Stalin is now much more eager for the support of the Powers, no matter how reactionary they may be, than for the support of Labour.

The order from Moscow is to hang on to the coat-tails of all sorts of parties diametrically opposed to the teachings of Marx or Lenin.

Again thanking you for your letter.

Sincerely,

Accredited Representative for the CNT/FAI.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005025

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23, London [to] Frank Leech, Glasgow, Scotland / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19919

18, Castletown Road,
W. 14.
23rd February, 1937.

Mr. Frank Leech,
287, Wetherton Road,
Glasgow, W. 3. (Scotland).

Dear Comrade,

I have not had a minute between my return to London last night - else I would have written you to tell you of my safe arrival.

I shall, I hope, have a little bit more time, although I am already involved in a new venture for our brave Spanish comrades. But before I engross myself in that, I want to tell you, first of all, that our Meeting last night was a great success; aside from the enthusiasm of the audience, their response was most generous. Nearly £80 and the promise of a man to contribute £1 each month for twelve months.

I have not yet seen the comrades but I rather think that considerable literature was sold. So all of us who have worked so hard have reasons to be satisfied.

The second thing is that I have given young Tom Keall Wolfe, Sunday (March 14th) for Edinburgh. I could not yet have an answer whether he can undertake a successful Meeting. I cautioned him against a small affair, as that would hardly be worth the long, tedious and expensive journey.

What I want to know is this :- Will your group be willing to arrange a Meeting in Glasgow in connection with my going to Edinburgh? - if this should come about. Naturally it will not be possible to have two Meetings on Sunday. This is too exhausting, as I found last time, in Glasgow and Paisley - and it takes more time to travel from Edinburgh to Glasgow.

It would therefore have to be a week-end. Could you manage that? - I mean of course if you and the comrades contemplate such a thing at all. In this case, it would necessitate postponing White's visit until some time after my return, in the middle of March. Mark you, dear Comrade, I have no desire to interfere with the decision of the Group, to have White. Indeed, I cannot urge it enough. More and more he is developing into a brilliant speaker. He did marvellously well last night. It is merely that I am uncertain regarding my return because I may be so near Glasgow and you might care to avail yourself of this opportunity.

-1-

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005025

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23, London [to] Frank Leech, Glasgow, Scotland / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Mr. Frank Leech. -2-

23/2/1937.

19920

However, I must make it clear that the travelling expenses next time will have to be divided between you and Edinburgh. I say that because - much to my surprise - I found that you had not added the amount of my Trip to Glasgow, and return, on the collection money you gave me. You will remember, dear Comrade, that when you were here, and also in my letters, I stressed that not a penny from collections for Spain should be used for any other purpose. I also stressed that I want no fee for myself, but travelling expenses will have to be paid. I hope that you have reported that to the Comrades and that there will be no misunderstanding regarding this matter. I wish I had an independent income! Nothing would please me more than to give my time and energy to our people in Spain and also to pay my fares. But I have not - so there is nothing to be done about it. I hope the comrades will understand.

I am somewhat uncertain as to whether you paid for the record Barr sent you and for the things you took from me, - the one album, and handkerchiefs, and whatever else it was? Better send me a list of these things. Of course the Dufutti pamphlets I have for sale, so it will be all right for you to account for them after you have disposed of them.

Dear Comrade, your stuff about the Stalin and Trotsky fight has caused quite a rumpus in the London Group! Frankly, I do not think that "The Fighting Call" you should mix in this washing of the Bolshevik soiled family--linen! In the last analysis, Trotsky in power has done no less than Stalin. He not only urged but participated in the extermination of the Kronstadt sailors whom he so often called "The Red Pride of the Revolution". And he it was who helped to send our own comrades in Russia and thousands of "Left" Revolutionaries to the remotest parts of Siberia; they are still there, so what reason have we to take sides with either one of the men who believe and practice Dictatorship? I rather think you ought to discuss that very seriously and, I hope, decide to leave such matters out of "The Fighting Call". I know the efforts you and the comrades are making to publish the little paper but I cannot help feeling you would do much better by getting out such leaflets as the Address of our comrade Montseney - or similar important things, rather than to put in so much money into "The Fighting Call". The material you bring is usually out of date and it certainly has nothing of current importance, that would warrant its publication. You understand this is only my own feeling on the matter. I have no desire to impose myself on anything the Comrades do. I see by yours of Feb. 10, you speak of Jn. Blair Smith & comrade Duff. Where were they during my visit; I should like to have met them. I wonder why they have not shown up? Remember me fraternally to them & all the comrades. Also thank Mrs. Leech for

-P.t.o-

Fraternally,
sending my little necklace and my file.
I have an unfortunate habit of leaving
part of my things behind wherever I go!

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005043

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 23, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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19952

London Feb. 23rd 37

Dear Augustine. There is an English saying "better late than ever". But in the case of stuff from Barcelona the late far surpasses the never. I ordered the handkerchieves more than a month ago. I wanted them for our big meeting in the FRIENDS HOUSE. Your information in your letter of the 16th that the handkerchieves were all packed and ready for shipment horrified me. For there is no chance any more or very little for the sales of them. I therefore sent you a wire to stop the shipment. I hope it reached you. It is not only the delay which makes the handkerchieves use less to me. It is also the cost of freightage and the duty. If they were sent the way you sent the albums the charges for ~~freight~~ freightage will be so heavy in addition to the duty that far from realizing anything on the sales we would lose. And this because we cannot sell them for more than 1/ for the small handkerchieves and 1/6 for the larger one. You can figure out yourself that the loss would be considerable.

Besides when I ordered a thousand handkerchieves I naturally thought Darling would bring them along as baggage. That would at least have saved the expence for shipment. Anyhow, if my wire is too late I don't know what I will do. I simply haven't the money to advance on the cost of shipment and high duty. ~~Yamox~~ Especially as there are so few chances left to sell them. Really Augustine the inefficiency at your end in attending to requests for stuff is most exasperating. Fancy any business house taking a month to fill an order and heaven only knows how long to have them delivered. It is paralysing. Nor is this all handkerchieves were sent to Barr without an invoice or the number given. We wried Barcelona to send us an invoice at once as the Customs will not release the package unless we have the invoice. That is two weeks ago. No answer. In other words we still have handkerchieves lying around at the Customs which we cannot get out. So what is the use of sending me more I am relying on the slowness at your end that the thousand were not yet shipped and that my telegram sent yesterday has stopped. For as I already said I will not be in a position to pay heavy charges for the shipment and the Customs, nor have I many more chances to sell them. Please see about the matter at once.

I have received all the inclosures you sent including Vaques letter. I am seeing our Spanish comrade who translates for me this evening. I will then know the exact meaning of the letter. I myself can gather only a few sentences.

I have never received the small Album that ~~Bruno~~ Bruno was supposed to send me. He wrote that he does not remember whether he

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005043

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 23, London [to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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2.

I see that Vasque misspelled Rose ~~Emmanuel~~ Pesetto's name. He has her as Rose Peralto. Please write him at once and get him. Tell him I will attend to the points in his letter as regards the Labor delegation just as soon as I have the translation of his letter which I will receive this evening.

I inclose a line for Sutton and a phot of the boy lured to Spain by the damned Communists. It was taken two years ago. But his mother tells me he still looks like this, a mere child. I have asked Sutton to try his best to locate the boy and take him back to England. Our cause is misrepresented enough to have the press get hold of the idea that children are being lured to fight on the anti Fascist side. We must keep clear of that. So I hope Sutton will find the boy and bring him back. Give him whatever help you can.

I will rite again just as soon as I know the complete contents of Vasques letter. Meanwhile please stop the shipment of the handkerchives as well as the records. I wanted them a month or more ago. Not now.

I am now engaged on a large theatre undertaking to raise a substantial sum for our comrades. We are also considering a manifesto to the British workers calling on them to use direct action in demonstration and possibly strikes against the embargo. And before I have finished my campaign at the end of April I mean to organize a large demonstration in Hyde Park and possibly a march to the House of Commons to force publicity on the part of the CNT-FAI in the struggle. One thing is certain I will have to go back to Spain to get some new impressions and see for myself the changes that have taken place. One cannot go on with propaganda unless one has fresh impressions and outhentic material. I desperately need both.

If there is anything new that you can send me through Sutton please do. It will be better than to burden V. But you might give him some verbal messages for me and whatever else ~~you~~ important you want to communicate.

Affectionately.

Give my love to Ilse and tell her I will write her soon.

891127119

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London Feb. 23rd 37.

1 2 2 3 3

"Dear Sania. I had no idea you were in an hurry for the copy of your letter to Borghi. Naturally, I should have returned it after the first reading. As it was I postponed answering it from day to day in the hope I might find time to do what you asked, "comment" on your letter. But though I tried my utmost for a free morning or afternoon, I just had to give up in despair. You will admit one will have to write almost as much as you have written to do justice to your letter. If at least I might dictate my comments. But the secretary I finally got is so woe begotten it would take her a day to take dictation and six transcribe her notes. Besides I would rather not that a perfect stranger should know what I have to say to you. "As to day too I can not spread myself out much as I would like to. So I am forced to return the letter to you without much commentary. Perhaps you will let me have it again later on when I may not be so frightly swamped with work.

However, your letter brought back to me my first meeting with you in Moscow when Sasha and I were there. How you explained the necessity of all the compromises, blunders and criminal mistakes the Bolsheviks made as inevitable in the revolutionary struggle. And how you approved of your own position in the foreign office as well as the cooperation Shatoff and others of our comrades were giving the Soviet regime. ~~As~~ late as Oct. 20 when we returned from the Ukraine you thought I was ~~right~~ in finding fault with Lenin's steps. In other words you made every possible allowance and excuse for the machinery that was throttling the Revolution, oppressing the workers, ~~and~~ coercing the peasantry and crushing every breath of freedom because of revolutionary inevitability. And how willing you are to condemn on block every step taking by our Spanish comrades. Is it that you have learned from your Russian experience. For that one is so often apt to be less tolerant understanding of one's own and less tolerant?

Mark you dear Sania most of your charges against our people are only too true and I agree with you. Where I differ is ~~that~~ in the starting point of the blunders. It was not only the declaration of lack of strength ~~tax~~ of the CNT-FAI to carry the Revolution through. ~~It was~~ The first dismal mistake was the lack of participation with the masses in the Asturias, and in 34. It was again when the CNT-FAI rallied to the elections to put the rotten Azano and Caballero in power. ~~From~~ These wrong step inevitably led to all the ~~others~~ unfortunate ones like a stone rolling down a precipices. Why have you not faulted this then That was the time and not now. With Franco at the throat of Spain, with all the so called allies against the CNT-FAI and the whole Socialist pack outside of Spain deady opposed to our people it seems cruel to condon as you are doing their wrong steps while saying nothing of the constructive work they have done, and are no doubt continuing even now.

constructive work they have done, and are no doubt continuing even now.
It seems very easy indeed, my dear, to find fault with the CNT-FAI
when one is safe in Paris, or any other country while our people are
facing daily dangers and death and are straining every ~~nervous~~ nerve
to fight back the enemy. But is it fair? Is it fair to do it with your
~~own Russia, and when your teachers will also go to develop friendship?~~
I don't think it is. Especially since you did not find it necessary to
go to Spain directly after the 19th to help in the actual battle. You
who have been associated with the Spanish comrades for so long.

The Emma Goldman Papers

891127119

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 23, London [to Alexander Schapiro, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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2

1 2 2 3 4

Your presence might have effected the actions of the CIT-R.I. But since you kept aloof you cannot justly condemn every act in such sweeping manner as your letter contains.

Now I said that I agree with much of what you have written. But I feel that our people had but one of two other things to choose either dictatorship or their ~~maximum~~ participation in the government. I think both reprehensible for Anarchists. But between the two dictatorship is the greater evil. One can withdraw from Ministries when they are proven useless and idiotic. But once a group of people begin with dictatorship there is no halting on the way. The tolerance the CIT-R.I. have and are showing to their allies may cost them much. But it will cost them less than ~~being~~ putting everybody against the wall as they have in Russia, and are doing to this day.

The one thing that certainly deserves the severest criticism and condemnation is the foolish overtures to the Stalin gang. The CIT-R.I. seem to have realized that already. But you are wrong when that the comrade was withdrawn, he acted as ~~an~~ ^{an} commercial attaché for Spain. Roca is back at his job. Evidently he is there to see that Stalin does not gather ~~headquarters~~ loot ^{that I leave the steering to} on our ground.

I think you are also wrong in your sweeping statement about censorship in re the ~~Esquerra~~ ^{Esquerra} and other such issues. I have written Mollie some time ago that it seems very queer that the CIT-R.I. should have suppressed the Es. anti Roca because of what Mollie has written and yet at the same time permit such criticism as appeared in Fragua, the anarchist paper in ~~Barcelona~~ ^{Barcelona}. Or that they should stand for the criticism of Santillan. There must be some other reason, something rather absurd to me though I can not say what it is.

You have always been antagonistic, unreasonably so to Santillan. If I mistake not you have expressed yourself even before the revolution that he and a few others will have to be shot before the CIT can hope to succeed. In your letter you are positively vindictive against Santillan. True he is no economist. But were the men in Russia economists who were placed in all sorts of councils? Did they not have to learn through experience by trial and error? Of one thing I am certain even if I am not about Santillan's fitness in the economic council and that is his stern honesty and consecration. I lived in his house and I saw his devotion. For the rest he will have to learn as we all do when the psychological moment ~~breaks~~ comes. He should at least be willing to give Santillan a chance and not to ~~make~~ make him the butt of scorn.

You are also unfair to the R.I. But you have always been to those who did not swear completely to the syndicalist side. You refused to help me to a credential when I went to Canada and offered to raise funds for our Russian politicals because you ~~thought~~ doubted my 100 percent syndicalism. Now I did not mind it for myself. I only minded the loss of large sums of money I could have raised because of your sectarianism. You justly say that the Conference of the R.I. will not be representative of the anarchist movement since we have none. But let's be honest Julia dear, just how many bonifide organizations did the

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891127119

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 23, London [to Alexander Schapiro, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. —
3 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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(3)

3

12235

I.A.A. ever have at its conferences. Actually it existed only on paper did it not? You are right in saying we have no movement. No one can be more aware of it than I. But it is necessary for the Anarchists as individuals to be at such a conference as planned, if they will be able to get into Spain in order to see the masses of the CNT-FAI. It might teach them how to organize. At any rate I think it wrong to throw cold water on every attempt to get the comrades together. Well, as I said if I had time I would take up each point in your letter for commentary analysis. But I have not so I must content myself to reply at random.

There is one point however I cannot let pass and that is your reference to my representing the Generalitat. My dear you were premature. True I did accept a credential from the Generalitat. But I have so far represented it as much as you have. Fact is, I have not been near the office nor have I even once spoke in the name of the Generalitat. And what is more I do not intend to. I have written the comrades to that effect. But even if I had actually spoken in the name of the Generalitat it would not have prevented me from criticism of the wrong steps of our comrades. Nor should it prevent Carbo unless as ~~an~~ a Spaniard he is blind to the mistakes. Perhaps he cannot detach himself sufficiently as we outsiders might especially as our lives are not in daily danger and we are not in the thicket of the struggle.

Now to something else. Has the 'aris exhibition material already gone to the States. Or where do you intend to send it when the time comes? Is it New York or Chicago? I would like to know because I would like to send mine to one of the two cities. Let me know please.

The exhibition here opened when it was half finished. In addition we lost the large place for which the committee had been working. We were forced to get a small place. And as our material was is very large only a small part could be used which makes the effect of the whole rather too crowded. Its advantage over yours is the industrial part where tens of thousands of workers stream out into the streets and passed Ludgate Hill. Thus the exhibition will be seen by large numbers of workers. Also we may continue the exhibition for another month in the East end.

Our second meeting last Friday was very well attended by a most responsive audience. The due given to the CNT-FAI by Fenner Brockway, Ethel Mannin, Mc Govern and another chap ~~is~~ ^{was} by far more gratifying than what they get from their own comrades outside of Spain. It appeal brought £80. We are now working on a manifesto to the workers here urging the ~~works~~ to force their unions to protest against the wretched embargo. and if the weather becomes a little more bearable I we ourselves will organize a demonstration in Hyde Park and a march on the House of Commons. We are straining every muscle to force publicity on the conspiracy of silence and the sabotage of the struggle of the CNT-FAI. Besides all that I am working my head off for a theatre venture some Sunday night on a large scale and with first rate talent to raise a substantial fund for Spain. I already have the cooperation of several important people in the theatre world. So you see I am busy.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001071

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Ilse Jueneman. —
2 p. ; 16 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Barcelona, 23. February 1937.

Dear Emma Goldman,

today I received your letter of January 18th. I found it on my desk. A nice long time it took, almost 4 weeks. Meanwhile Jarling had been given me a long list of things you wanted, - to which I replied about a week ago - and as he was long left, I can not send you a letter with him. But there is another of our friends going to London, and he will kindly take this to you.

S. went to Paris for a few days. He took the cases with the handkerchieves you wanted - I posted the bill yesterday - and also the little albums with postcards (Martin had given 250 I believe to Bruno for you, but as we did not know if they have arrived he will send you 250 more from Paris. A parcel with badges as you ordered, has been sent about a week ago, from France.

I am glad you are satisfied with the broadcasting as it is. Ethel is doing it, and I think she likes it very much.

I am also glad you found the speech of Santillan useful. I was quite enthusiastic over it, and found it a joy to translate it. It makes such a difference when thoughts are really clearly expressed. I will try to do some more translations for you this week while S. is away. Usually I have no time left whatever for such work. I am trying to establish some relations with the Mujeres Libres. I think it is really important to work with them.

There are some new posters, which I will send you also. In answer to your last letter to Goumy, I want to tell you that the shipping of the albums and pamphlets to the Socialist Bookshop was done by McNeil, or at least according to his suggestions. So if it resulted rather expensive, not

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Ilse Jueneman. — 2 p. ; 16 x 22 cm.

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WE are to blame. But I believe it could not very well have been done otherwise.

The address of Frank in New York is either c/o Freie Arbeiter or c/o American Express Headoffice. I have not heard from him since he arrived. I am sure he will be glad to have some introductions of yours. He went on a special mission of economic nature and will also do something in the way of propaganda.

Please tell me if all the posters I sent as printed matter have arrived. I enclose a leaflet, but have no time to translate it now. Maybe someone there can do it.

I have no idea where Bruno has gone. He went once but came back here. He has left again, but where to I do not know.

With much love and salute

yours

Just received another letter of yours of February 16th. Thanks for the invitation to your meeting you enclosed. Sorry I could not be there. I hope it was a success. It sounds funny to have Ethel again speak along with you. — I went to Rosa about the bill, she was not there, but — will look after it. Bulletins have been delayed because the printing machine was broken. It is a shame I know. I shall speak to Wediger about the German things. Have you anyone capable of translating from Spanish. I could of course send you interesting things more often in Spanish. — There has been no other bombardment of Barcelona. The effect on the population was to the contrary of what the fascists expected. I believe they will not bother us again. Better for them not to mobilise the whole of Catalonia. Greetings again.

Ilse Jueneman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005008

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner [Brockway]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT LABOURERS

Chairman: J. MAXTON, M.P.

Telephone: Central 3116
Telegrams: Emp, Lond, London



23rd February, 1937

Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road, W.14

Dear Emma,

I believe you are to be at Bristol on Sunday with Ethel Mannin as Chairman. Might I suggest that Reg Berryman who spoke so well at The Friends' House, might also speak. He would be very acceptable to the local I.L.P. which is strong. If you agree, drop a note to our Secretary, Fred Berryman, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol.

Yours as ever,

Fenner

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Roger Baldwin. —
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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MORRIS L. ERNST, *Counsel* • LUCILLE B. MELNER, *Secretary*

February 23, 1937

Emma Goldman Colton,
18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington, London, W. 14,

Dear Emma:

I am ever so grateful to you for your letter of the 12th, with its moving enclosure to Jong. You have said to the pacifists exactly what should be said on the vast difference between defense of a peaceful régime doing its job without warfare, and wars between nations.

I have no further news about the prospects of your coming here. No commissioner of immigration has as yet been appointed. You are right that efforts should be postponed until Congress is over, particularly if the Labor Department gets its discretionary powers.

Warmest good luck to you and all that you are so valiantly doing for Spain.

Ever yours,

Affectionately,

RNB:mm

503

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / [Roger Baldwin]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

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February 23, 1937

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18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington, London, W. 14,

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Ever yours,

Affectionately,

RNB:em

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23 [London to Anita and] H[anns-]E[rich] Kaminski, Paris? / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20015

18, Caetletown Road, W. 14.
23rd February, 1937. (England).

Mr. and Mrs. H.E.Kaminski.

Dear Friends,

You may not think it, but I feel perfectly rotten that I have always to keep you waiting to hear from me, but you have no idea the difficulties I meet here on every side, in my work for our suffering people in Spain. Often I grow terribly discouraged. I want to drop everything and fly back to Barcelona; no matter what hardships one endures there, and some disagreeable phases of the life, it was Paradise compared with the rigid indifference and aloofness one meets here. But of course I must not give up, and I will continue the struggle until the last hour of my stay in England - which will most likely be the end of April.

I have actually succeeded in organising a large Meeting, which took place last Friday and at which nearly another £80 were raised for the evacuated women and children. It is so little compared with what is being done for the Franco side. Still, it is a little better than nothing.

I am now engaged in a new venture, which will probably be harder than what I have done so far. I won't bother you with it now. When it has taken shape I will write you.

You ask about my plans. As far as I can make sure, I will go on with the campaign I have started two months ago, until the 3rd week of April, and then go back to Barcelona. I must have new impressions and see things with my own eyes. I have already written you that friends are trying to get me a visa to the States. If they are successful, I hope to go to America in August. If they are not, I hope to go to Palestine for a trip; that is another thing which takes up a good deal of my time now, seeing people who are connected with the Labor organisations in Palestine, and who might consent to arrange Meetings for me, in behalf of Spain. But chiefly I must go back. I have felt thousands of miles removed from the scene of battle. Our people there are hopeless when it comes to keeping me posted about things. True, I do get "The Soli" now and Bulletins. I am beginning to understand considerably, in reading, owing to a course of Spanish, by means of 'linguaphone' records, and definite phrases are translated for me by a Spanish comrade., who knows English well. But that is not like the living human contact, which one can have only when one is on the spot.

I agree with you that the CNT/FAI., is in danger of completely losing their ground.

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[Letter] 1937 Feb. 23 [London to Anita and] H[anns]-E[rich] Kaminski, Paris? / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Mr. and Mrs. Kaminski.

-2-

23rd February 1937.

They are making concessions right and left - one of them being the transfer of their right of decision from the Committee Regional, to the National Confederation of Labour, in Valencia.

You know yourself you how grave this move is, and how it is likely to take away considerable of the influence of the Catalan CNT/FAI. All this, however, cannot be judged from a distance, one must be there, to know the reasons for the move. Of one thing I am certain, that nothing but the gravest danger confronting the comrades is dictating their actions.

The enclosed letter from my friend, A.L. Ross, will show you that he lost no time in taking your M.S., to Simon & Shuster. He will keep after them, you can rest assured, not to delay the reading, and if they refuse the publication, Mr. Ross will take it to "The Viking."

I have not yet heard from Peter Davies. I will wait until the end of this week and then telephone him. That is just the trouble about your M.S. If it were in English, we would get quick decisions; but, unless publishers have German readers, it is always a delay.

I am frightfully sorry to keep you in suspense, but I have unfortunately not the way to speed up the Publishers. I wonder whether you have finished the French translation and whether it is already in the hands of the Publishers? ----

---- I am up against a solid wall of a conspiracy of silence, of the Press!

Not one paper - not even the so-called 'Liberal sympathisers with Spain' - have reported either of the Meetings we have held. Although I was not the only speaker. The "Daily Worker" has even refused an advertisement for our Meetings. You can see that I can hope for no help or publicity from that source, but we must go on!

With love,

(Enclosure).

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880126002

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be congratulated for
what you is doing
already even here where
the dice are so loaded
by prejudice, and
perhaps still more
by inertia.

yes I do indeed see that
the work being done by
the C.N.T. & F.A.I. is
something completely new
in the history of the world
and closer to the ^{definite} ~~substantive~~ ^{truth} ~~about~~
the ^{truth} ~~about~~
Liberty; than anything
that has ever been
tried before or realistically
done before in any land or
any age.

I expect the exert of oranges
etc etc in time of war must
be one of the great practical
difficulties.

I pray you have ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~
wages have
created the ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~
any sort of

Li
I get myself always ^{to my} ~~to my~~
old ^{in my} ~~in my~~
new ^{to my} ~~to my~~
all in ^{to my} ~~to my~~
good ^{to my} ~~to my~~
old ^{to my} ~~to my~~
new ^{to my} ~~to my~~
all in ^{to my} ~~to my~~
good ^{to my} ~~to my~~

Feb 23
1937
Corwen
Merionethshire
N. Wales

Dear Emma Goldman
You were good
in the midst of
full your work to
kind time is
write me such a
full letter. I do
indeed congratulate
you all all you is
done; for the one
could wish the
money you is raised
is have been more
still it does sound
a pretty good sum

Don't bother 19750
to congratulate
this now:
but let's hear
more later
as time
goes
on.

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under all the difficulties
& I know how pleased
your friends in
Spain will be.

Of course that story
extended by the
sympathetic Emma Goldman
must cut both ways
"dividing the heart"
but I am sure
the weight of it
is on the good
side, in spite of
the shock to some!

Yes, I've long been
a close friend of
Maurice Browne &
I rejoice to learn

1937 Feb 23 1978
that you have his
support over this
fine idea of yours
for a Theatre. night
in the later Spring.
Proud indeed shall I
be for you to use
my name in your
list of "Sponsors" for
what it may be
worth. But oh dear

I do indeed realize
how much more
you could achieve
for the cause if only
they'd let you
into the United States
for a few months!

But I think most
serious you are to

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Barcelona, 23 Febrero 1937.

A EMMA GOLDMAN.

Querida Emma:

Hace ya unos días que están en mi poder dos cartas de Vd. y me sabe muy mal que hasta hoy no haya podido contestarle, pero ahora le diré dos palabras sobre el motivo que me ha impedido hacerlo antes.

Al regresar de Rusia, los compañeros españoles me encomendaron un trabajo que ellos consideraban que debía yo realizar el cual consistía en encargarme de los voluntarios que llegaban a España. En aquella temporada, la situación en el frente exigía de que vinieran unos cuantos compañeros nuestros para poder contrarrestar el trabajo de nuestro enemigo. Yo me dediqué a éste trabajo con todo mi corazón y con todas mis energías. Es muy posible que ahora termine éste trabajo, no solamente porque ya se ha realizado lo que deseábamos, sino también porque las potencias europeas han prohibido la entrada en España de voluntarios y como ahora tendré otra vez un poquito más de tiempo y si de nuevo vuelvo a la propaganda, estaré en contacto continuo con Vd.

Voy a contestarle a todas las preguntas que me hace en sus cartas; pero desde luego, hoy solamente podré contestarle a aquellos asuntos que dependen de mí. Los que dependen del Comité o de otras personas, procuraré resolverlos lo más rápidamente posible y después de los comunicaré.

1º - Souchy ha salido ayer para Paris y le ha llevado muchos paquetes de material de propaganda y muchos pañuelos y espero que él mismo ya le habrá manifestado la clase de propaganda que lleva y la cantidad de la misma. Según los informes que yo tengo, le habrá llevado muchos folletos de Durruti, así como de otros.

2º - Yo también considero muy lógico de que toda la propaganda que se hace en Inglaterra, debia tener una central y una persona responsable, que en éste caso es Vd. Yo mismo lo he advertido así al Administrador, lo mismo que a Souchy, de que todo el material que envíe la C.N.T. debe pasar por sus manos, aunque vaya destinado a otras personas o agrupaciones sociales. Vd. debe estar siempre al corriente de todo lo que se relaciona con Inglaterra. El otro día he visto por aquí a Mac Govern, el diputado de I.L.P., el cual quiere estar ahora en buenas relaciones con la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. Todo esto está muy bien, pero Vd. también debia saber, en todo lo que se relaciona con Inglaterra, lo que hay entre unos

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Emma Goldman

23/2/37.

Hoja 2ª.

.....

y otros y si la gente quiere alguna cosa de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., en Inglaterra tiene su representante y allí pueden dirigirse.

3ª - No puedo comunicarle ninguna opinión autorizada del comité de Propaganda, referente al dinero que está Vd. recaudando por los pañuelos e insignias. Por la contabilidad que ellos han introducido, seguramente querrán que todo el dinero que se obtiene por los pañuelos sea devuelto, mientras que el dinero que recauda Vd. en las colectas es muy posible que quieran dejarlo para los gastos del Bureau. Esta es mi opinión personal y no es ninguna decisión del Comité; pero en la primera reunión que tengamos, procuraré que se tome éste acuerdo y luego ya se lo comunicaré a Vd. como una cosa oficialmente aceptada.

4ª - He leído los periódicos "Spain and the World" y "Fighting Call". El primero me ha producido muy buena impresión, mientras que el segundo no tiene la seriedad necesaria y creo que no será aceptado por los lectores. Yo creo que hay que hacer todo lo posible para que no cese de salir el primer periódico y en el Comité procuraré favorecer ésta idea.

5ª - Darling ha venido al Comité Regional y me ha entregado su carta. Me ha hablado sobre la documentación que Vd. necesita del Comisariado de Propaganda de la Generalidad y enseguida me puse en relación con Carbó, el cual me prometió hacer el documento que Vd. pide. Hablé con Carbó por teléfono y más tarde lo encontré en el Comité Regional y le repetí lo mismo. Este me dijo que hasta ahora no ha podido poner más atención en los asuntos de Vd. porque estaba muy ocupado, pero que de hoy en adelante procuraría cumplir todo lo que Vd. pide. También me prometió Carbó que entregaría el documento a Darling y nos pusimos de acuerdo con éste para que vendría una vez más al Comité Regional antes de marcharse, pero hasta la fecha, Darling no ha aparecido y yo no he tenido ocasión ni de entregarle la carta ni otras cosas. Seguramente que a estas horas Darling estará ya en Londres.

6ª - En lo que se refiere a la gente joven de la cual le hablaba en mi anterior, he de decirle que por ahora no me envíe a nadie y le digo esto no por que deje de interesarnos, sino porque ellos no podrían entrar en España. Desde el domingo pasado, la frontera francesa está tan vigilada, que es imposible de que pase ningún extranjero. No sé si vigilarán tan bien por la parte de Portugal y por la parte de los fascistas, pero en lo que se refiere a las fronteras catalanas, no puede pasar nadie por ellas. Sería muy

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23/2/37.

Hoja 3ª.

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triste que las personas que vinieran de Inglaterra tuvieran que regresar por no poder pasar la frontera. De todas maneras, puede Vd. hacer una lista de toda la gente que está dispuesta a venir por aquí, pues no creo que las últimas ordenes del Comité de No-Intervención vayan a continuar mucho tiempo y creo que llegará el día en que podamos llamar a nuestros compañeros. En caso de que los llamáramos, por nuestra parte procuraríamos suvencionar los gastos de viaje.

7º - Desde luego, en todos los asuntos que se refieran a Inglaterra, ya sean de algunas personas o grupos sociales, deben dirigirse siempre a Vd., por lo que Vd. debe estar bien enterada de todo lo que acontece y poder darles información directa desde Inglaterra y de ésta manera evitaríamos la correspondencia y ganariamos tiempo. Por mi parte, a toda la gente de Inglaterra que se dirija aquí en lo sucesivo, les diré que deben dirigirse a Vd. que podrá darles toda clase de informes.

8º - Souchy me ha dicho que ha llamado a Paris a una persona que debe preocuparse de los cines y dice que lo ha llamado desde Londres y seguramente mañana o pasado, Souchy, en unión del representante cuyo nombre desconozco, resolverán de una vez el problema de los cines.

9º - Le agradezco mucho por haberme enviado la dirección de Steinberg, el cual me ha escrito ya una carta. Es verdad que en mi vida hubo una época en que los escritos de Steinberg sobre la revolución rusa, me impresionaron mucho. La obra social "La Tierra" no se me borrará nunca de la memoria. Pero en lo que se refiere a su punto de vista político y gubernamental, no estoy hoy de acuerdo con las exposiciones de él; aunque a decir verdad, la C.N.T. está obrando hoy según el programa de Steinberg, aunque todos sabemos que la C.N.T. está haciéndolo contra su propia voluntad.

10º - Le agradezco mucho su envío del "Poslednie Novosti", así como por los otros periódicos. Si los compra para Vd., puede enviármelos después que los haya leído, pero no quiero que haga estos gastos expresamente por mí. Cuando tenga ocasión, también hay posibilidad de adquirirlos en Barcelona mismo.

11º - Estoy al corriente de la carta que ha escrito Vd. a la Comisión organizadora del Congreso. Todos creemos de que dicho Congreso será fructífero y dará un empuje al movimiento revolucionario internacionalmente, aunque los últimos acontecimientos nos ponen en un aprieto muy grande. No sé donde podremos organizarlo. Nuestro deseo era de realizar este Congreso aquí en Barcelona,

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Hoja 4a.

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pero por ahora me parece que habrá dificultades. El Gobierno francés ha adoptado unas medidas tan severas para no dejar entrar en España a ningún extranjero, que es de suponer que tampoco dejará pasar a los delegados que vengan al congreso. Uno de estos días tendrá que resolver la F.A.I. éste asunto y tomar acuerdos sobre el particular. Yo no quisiera que el Congreso tuviera que celebrarse en Francia en lugar de en España, aunque se oyen rumores de que éste Congreso se celebrará después de la guerra con los fascistas.

12º — He recibido 5 £ y 75 Ptas., las cuales entregaré a la comisi encargada de esto y si ellos me dicen que hay que pagar más, en mi próxima carta se lo comunicaré a Vd. y si no me dicen nada, es que todo está ya en regla.

13º — En lo que se refiere al boletín y propaganda inglesa, puedo decirle que ahora lo hace una compañera de Inglaterra que se llama Macdonald. Ella no solamente habla por la radio sino que también hace el boletín. Yo creo que el inglés de ella debe ser mejor que el de Green. Este ya no trabaja más en las oficinas de propaganda de la C.N.T., sino que solamente se ha quedado en la Generalidad. Según las últimas declaraciones del mismo, parece que ya no quiere quedarse en España y dice que los compañeros no saben aprovechar sus capacidades y que no le dan un trabajo donde pudiera desarrollarlas y en vista de esto deja España. Su compañera también estaba por aquí y tampoco está muy contenta de las cosas de España y por eso ha hecho todo lo posible para que Green se marchara.

14º — El tiempo que tengo libre lo empleo para poner en orden todas las impresiones de la U.R.S.S.. Ya tengo ordenadas la mitad de las mismas. Es un asunto de mucho interés que merece la pena de darlo a la publicidad; pero si las cosas continúan tal como van hasta ahora en España, será bastante difícil de hacerlo. Es muy probable que iría mucho mejor el hacerlo en el extranjero; cree Vd. que podríamos encontrar algún editor en Inglaterra que quisiera hacerlo? Si Vd. cree que sí, entonces pondría un poco más de atención en éste asunto para poder terminarlo más de prisa. Espero que en su próxima carta me contestará sobre éste asunto.

Hoy mismo le envío 1.000 tarjetas postales que Vd. podrá aprovechar para venderlas en los mítines y en las reuniones. Estas tarjetas no han sido editadas por las oficinas de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., sino por la F.A.I. solamente. Quisiera que el dinero que le produzca la venta de éstas tarjetas no lo mezcle con el que se recaude por los pañuelos y demás literatura..
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Hoja 5ª.

.....
Con esto voy a terminar la carta y le prometo que desde hoy en adelante le escribiré más a menudo y tendré una contestación detallada sobre todos los asuntos que le interesa.

Sin más de particular, me despido de Vd. quedando suyo de todo corazón,

Вам мне говорю что интерес
хорошо испанского перевода
ка, так я Вам и написал
на испанском. Мне это
нравится.
Сердечный Вам при-
вет от мамы и Марты

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1

12353

I have now several times since the time of your
letter written to me and I am sorry that only
today have I been able to reply to them.

Our men from Galicia, the Spanish
comrades entrusted me with some work, which
they considered should be done by me, and
consisted in me taking charge of the
volunteers coming to Spain. At that time,
the position at the front required that a few
of our comrades should come in order to
counteract the activities of our enemy. I
dedicated myself to this work with all my
heart and energy, but it is very possible that
it may now come to an end, that only
because the desired object has been realized,
but also because the European powers have
prohibited volunteers entering Spain. I shall,
therefore, have a little more time at my
disposal, and if I again return to propaganda
work, I will be in continuous contact with
you. I am going to answer all the
questions which you put to me in your
letter, but, of course, to-day I shall only
be able to reply to those matters pertaining
immediately. Those coming under the Committee
or under other persons, I will try to solve

G.T.O.

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12354
as soon as possible and then let you know the result.

Louché left yesterday for Paris and took with him a lot of propaganda material and handkerchiefs. He will no doubt have told you himself the class of propaganda carried by him and its quantity. I understand that he has taken quite a lot of Ducoux's pamphlets as well as others.

I entirely agree with the contention that all the propaganda which is undertaken in England should be centralized and carried on under a responsible person: yourself in this case. I myself have pointed this out to the Administrator, as well as to Louché, remarking that that all the material sent by the C. N. T. should pass through your hands, although its final destination be other persons or social organizations. You should be acquainted at all times with everything concerning England. The other day I saw here André Gouven, the I. L. R. member, who now wishes to be on good terms with the C. N. T. - F. A. I. This is all very well, but you should also know, as it belongs to

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IV

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the English side, and if anyone wants to know anything about the L.B.T.-F.A.I. in England they should apply to its representative there.

I cannot give you an authorised opinion from the Propaganda Committee with reference to the money which you are collecting for the handkerchief and budgets. By the system introduced by them, I should imagine that they want all the money obtained for handkerchief returned, while the money collected by you on appeals, it is likely that they should want to leave it for the expenses of the Bureau. This is my personal opinion and it is not a decision of the Comite. At the next meeting I shall propose that this decision be taken, and then I will communicate it to you officially.

I have read "Spain and the World" and "Fighting Ball". The former has given me a very good impression while the latter is not serious enough and might not be accepted by readers. My opinion is that everything possible should be done in order that the former continues to come

G.T.O.

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out and in the Comité I will propose
this idea.

Barling called at the Comité Regional and
handed me some letters. He mentioned the
document you needed from the Propaganda
Comité of the Generalidad and I got
in touch with Barbo, who promised to
prepare the document required by you.
I also spoke to Barbo on the phone and
later on I saw him at the Comité
Regional, when I repeated your request.
Barbo told me that up to now he has
been unable to pay more attention to your
affairs because he has been very busy, but
that from now on he will do his best
to attend to you. At the same time Barbo
promised me that he would give the
document to Barling, whom we asked to
call, before leaving, at the Comité Regional,
but up to now Barling has not put
an appearance. Very possible he is already
back in London, and therefore I have been
unable to give him the letters and other
things.

As regards the young people referred to
in my previous letter, I have to ask you

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III

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not to send anybody at present, not because they do not interest us, but because they will not be able to enter Spain. Since last Sunday the French frontier is being closely watched and it is impossible for any foreigner to get through. I don't know if they watch so well the Portuguese and fascist sides, but as far as the Catalan frontier is concerned, nobody can pass. It would be a pity if people came from England and were then turned back. Nevertheless, you can make a list of all those who wish to come, as I believe that the latest decisions of the Non Intervention Committee will not last long and the day will come when we shall be able to recall our comrades. Should this happen, we would endeavour to defray their traveling expenses.

Of course, in all matters relating to England, enquiries should be addressed to you, and for this reason it is imperative that you should be well informed so that you may be in the position to give direct information in England, thus saving time and correspondence. On my part,

G.T.O.

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I will refer to you all enquiries from England, explaining that you will be able to furnish all the necessary information.

Souchy tells me that somebody rang him up (he thinks from London) saying that he was interested in films. Probably tomorrow, or the day after, Souchy and the representative, whose name I don't know, will solve this problem of the films.

I thank you very much for the address of Steinberg, from whom I have heard already. There was a time when the writings of Steinberg on the Russian revolution impressed me very much. The work "The Land" I will never forget. But as regards his ruling and political point of view, I am today not in agreement with him, although it must be said that the C. R. T. is acting today in accordance with Steinberg's program. Of course, we all know that the C. R. T. is doing this against its own will.

Thanks also for sending the "Postednie Novosti" and all the other papers.

I have seen the letter written by you

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IV

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to the organizing committee of the Congress. We are all of the opinion that the said Congress will bear fruit and will give impetus internationally to the revolutionary movement. On the other hand latest developments are a great hindrance to us. We don't know where to organize it. Our wish would be that the Congress should be held in Barcelona, but so far I think there will be difficulties. The French Government has adopted such stringent measures in order to stop all foreigners entering Spain, that it is to be expected that they will also stop the delegates coming to the Congress. One of these days this matter will have to be solved by the F. A. I. I should not like that the Congress were held in France, though there are rumors that it will take place after the war with the fascists.

I have received £5 and Pts. 75.- which I will hand over to the corresponding committee, and if they tell me that more should be paid, I will let you know in my next letter.

Regarding the propaganda Bulletin in

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english, it is done now by a comrade from England, named Macdonald. She speaks on the radio and also does the Bulletin. I think that her English must be better than Green's, who is not working anymore in the propaganda office of the C. P. U., but only in the Generacidad. From his latest declarations it appears that he does not want to remain in Spain, saying that the comrades do not know how to appreciate his capabilities, since they have not given him work where he could develop them. His wife is also here and not being pleased either with things in Spain, she has done everything to get Green to leave.

The time I have free I employ to put in order all my impressions of the U. S. S. R., half of which are now ready. It is a very interesting matter, worth while publishing, but if things continue as they are in Spain it will be very difficult. Perhaps it would be much better to do it abroad. Do you think we could find a publisher in England who would be prepared to do it?

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918176

[Letter, 1937 Feb. 23, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London] / [Martin Gudell]. —
9 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I

12361

If you think it feasible I would dedicate
more time to this matter in order to
finish it sooner. I trust that in your next
letter you will let me know something
on the subject.

To-day I am sending you 1000 post-
cards, which you can sell at meetings.
These cards have not been printed by the
C. B. T., but only by the F. A. I. I should
like you not to mix the money collected
for these cards with the money for
handkerchiefs and other literature.

I am now going to end this letter
with the promise that from now on
I will write to you more often (Shoot
him - Shoot from the translator)

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010254

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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25252

Londres,
~~xxxxxxxx~~ 24 de Febrero de 1937.

Queridos camaradas. Salud.

Gran alegría me ha producido vuestra grata carta del 14 del actual, llegada a mis manos el lunes pasado. Confío que ahora que damos comienzo a nuestras relaciones directas no tarde tanto en ser recibida nuestra correspondencia, que igualmente confío se des-envuelva con mas holgura, pues a ninguna de las cartas escritas al Comité Regional he recibido contestación. Ciertamente he recibido unas pequeñas notas del camarada Bouchy, y también de Martín y Gudell, pero esto no es bastante.

Antes de recibir vuestra carta había escrito nuevamente al Comité Regional, siendo portador de mi comunicación el camarada A. Vidal i Arabi, que se encontraba accidentalmente en Londres. Espero que esta carta llegará oportunamente a poder de vosotros, muchos puntos de la cual han quedado contestados por la vuestra a que hago referencia. No obstante, acompaña a la presente una copia.

Mucho me satisface conocer que estais de acuerdo con mis actividades en Londres. Muy poco es lo que hago si se compara con la heroica lucha y sacrificios que realizan ahí los camaradas de la CNT-FAI en particular y trabajadores españoles en general. Pero es muy difícil poder llegar hasta las masas en Inglaterra: Primero debido al conservatismo de los directivos de los Sindicatos: Segundo por el boicot de los comunistas a todo lo que se emprende en nombre de la CNT-FAI, y, finalmente, la conspiración de silencio a optada por toda la prensa inglesa. Todos los periodicos de la reacción no publican sino bulos que desvirtuan por completo la lucha en contra del fascismo y el grandioso trabajo constructivo que realiza la CNT-FAI, mientras que los llamados periodicos de izquierdas, si bien escriben mucho con respecto al Gobierno "legítimo", observan cerrado silencio en todo cuanto a la CNT-FAI atane. Así el Daily Worker, organo del partido comunista, se negó a publicar el anuncio de nuestro mitin del 18 de Enero ppdo., no habiendo aludido tampoco al mismo en su edición, despues de celebrado. Igualmente ocurrió con nuestro mitin del 19 del actual. Ningun periodico se dio por entendido. Como vereis, queridos camaradas, resulta bastante arduo poder llegar a las masas en esta atmosfera. Sin embargo, se han conseguido mejores resultados que los que yo esperaba.

Ya habreis oido del mitin celebrado en 18 de Enero y de las 150 que se recibieron en donativos dedicados a socorrer a las mujeres y niños evacuados de los diferentes frentes. Además de esta cantidad he recibido otra suma de £11. Luego el 19 de este mes celebramos otro mitin de mayor envergadura, y como resultado de mis apelaciones por ayuda economica se recaudaron £80. De este importe hay que dar el 20% a la Independent Labour Party por su cooperación y labor en la

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No es necesario que se asegure que hasta la fecha, los
han tomado parte activa en la campaña empezada por el
...

524

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010254

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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*Copia de la autografía
anterior*

(21 de)

23234

do tomar nada para mis propios gastos. Por otra parte, se precisa dinero, de forma que pueda realizarse una campaña intensiva y provechosa. Yo indiqué la suma de £50 mensuales como suficiente para cubrir los gastos relacionados con mi misión en Inglaterra, encontrándome ahora que hace falta más, en vista del manifiesto que tenemos planeado, del que es necesario imprimir unos 50.000 ejemplares. También es necesario publicar un folleto que demuestre al proletariado inglés su posición ante los problemas que la guerra y la Revolución han planteado a la CNT - FAI. Tenemos el folleto, "Lo que es la CNT-FAI", de Rugider, el cual pienso hacer traducir del alemán. Si pudierais enviarme el dinero suficiente para cubrir los gastos de todas estas cosas sería provechoso. Con £ 150 más o menos me parece que se podría hacer todo. Naturalmente que si no podéis enviarme tanto habrá que conformarse con lo que buenamente este a vuestro alcance.

A Souchy lo he puesto al corriente de todo el dinero que hasta ahora he recibido en donativos. Mis solicitudes de ayuda económica las he hecho siempre bajo la consigna de que son para socorrer a las mujeres y niños evacuados de los frentes. Así, pues, aparte de lo que vosotros decidáis hacer con el dinero finalmente, los recibos para mí deben indicar claramente el objeto indicado, pues es lo que siempre recalco en mis peticiones y mítines. Tenemos muchos enemigos sin contar a los fascistas, de modo que es imprescindible obtener recibos y probar que el dinero recaudado ha llegado a vuestras manos. Agradeceré, por tanto, me indiquéis a dónde debo enviar el dinero actualmente en mi poder, sin olvidaros de mandarme los recibos tan pronto como llegue a vosotros.

Por lo que se refiere a la representación de la Generalidad, es cierto que se me ha otorgado un mandato que yo pensaba ejercer en la oficina de la Generalidad, al mismo tiempo que representaba a la CNT - FAI, pero a mi llegada a Londres me encontré con un desbarajuste enorme en la oficina de la Generalidad y con que uno de los funcionarios, comunista, se había marchado, malversando la suma de £106 y dejando deudas por valor de unas £90. Con las cosas en tal estado no podía yo hacerme cargo de la oficina hasta que todo se pudiese en orden. Mientras tanto, se ha presentado tanto trabajo a que atender en nombre de la CNT-FAI, que verdaderamente no he dispuesto de un momento que dedicar a la oficina de la Generalidad. Otra razón por la cual no me he decidido a ejercer cargo alguno en la oficina es porque Carbó no me ha enviado la carta que le tengo solicitada, indicando claramente cual será la posición y papel que yo ostente allí. Donald Darling quien actualmente representa a la Generalidad, hace todo lo que puede, pero hasta ahora yo no he pasado por la oficina, ni tampoco he tocado un céntimo del dinero recibido por Darling de la Generalidad. Siendo así que, por otra parte, todo el tiempo de que dispongo está ocupado por mis actividades encaminadas a aumentar el interés en la lucha contra el fascismo de la CNT-FAI, me gustaría ser relevada del mandato otorgado a mi favor por la Generalidad. He escrito ya sobre este particular a Carbó y también al Comité Regional, sin que hasta la fecha haya recibido respuesta, por lo que reitero a vosotros mis deseos de dedicarme pura y exclusivamente a representar a la CNT-FAI, pues no creo poder hacer nada de provecho en la oficina de la Generalidad, mientras que, por otra parte, prefiero concentrar todo el tiempo y energías en la campaña por vuestra causa.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010254

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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La prensa de esta ciudad, en sus ediciones, el periódico
contiene una gran cantidad de artículos sobre la Delegación de España
Libre. Algunos de los que se han publicado y publicarán.
Analizando, vemos que se hace a fin de influir a otras delegaciones
españolas inglesas y otras más.

En cuanto a Rosa Pesotto, no habéis escrito bien su nombre
y contendría enviarle otra invitación, incluyendo otra para Emma
Haggood y otros que ella pueda invitar a que visiten a España.
Vosotros y la causa ganareis ya si estos compañeros visitan España
que con todas las Delegaciones inglesas.

Supero tener noticias vuestras pronto, así como vuestras
instrucciones acerca del dinero en el poder.

Enviadme todo el material que podáis, demostrativo de vuestra
heroica lucha contra el fascismo y que yo pueda utilizar aquí.

Un cariñoso y fraternal saludo de,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24 [London to] Jeanne Levey, Chicago / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20324

18, Castletown Road, W.14. (England)
24th February, 1937.

Mrs. Jeanne Levey,
1,534, Merchandise Mart,
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

Dearest Jeanne,

I received your letter before you left for Mexico.
Yesterday, yours of the 11th inst., arrived.

I did not see the necessity of pestering you while you were away on your holiday. Besides, I was so rushed with work that I had not time to do much with my accumulated American mail. You will see from the enclosures the amount of work that had to be done here, to break through the utter indifference and aloofness of most people in this country. That I have succeeded even a little is almost a miracle - especially as I am up against a solid wall of silence on the part of the Press, and a complete boycott on the part of the Communists. I do not know how well the latter have succeeded in penetrating every social crevice, but I do know that nearly all Committees begging for help for Spain consist either of party members or those who are flirting with Moscow.

Even in a small Group like the Spanish Exhibition Committee, I find the air surcharged with poisonous antagonism. Often and often I wanted to tell these impossible people what I thought of them and to withdraw from the whole business. Actually I have regretted a thousand times of ever having consented to throw in my material and my time, as well as £30 blood money of the CNT/FAI., in the joint Exhibition. But once you begin with a compromise you have to carry it to the bitter end - worse luck! The result is, so far, that it makes my compromise look much higher. The Committee was negotiating for weeks for a large house for the Exhibition, and was refused at the eleventh hour. Thereupon, we were forced to take a store far too small for the vast amount of material collected in Spain.

The result is a jumbling of photographs that fairly swamp the rich material of the CNT/FAI. The Committee had 4 weeks to prepare the Exhibition. When it opened for the Press and invited guests, last Friday, it was half finished. It will take at least another week or ten days to have completed. In addition, the most essential things were neglected, such as the licence to charge admission, and to keep the place open on Sunday.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24 [London to] Jeanne Levey, Chicago / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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20325

Mrs. Jeanne Levey. -2-

24/2/1937.

All this deliberate Sabotage at an expenditure of £500! True I contributed for the CNT., only £30, but even that is a complete waste - not to speak of the agony I went through, the last 2 months.

The moral of this is - never compromise. Better small results, in keeping with one's principles and ideals, than so-called 'large' results in denying them. I shall not soon forget this lesson. From this you will see why I have not written you. There was no time. Without exaggeration I can tell you that I have kept at the work for Spain, 18 hours a day! There are times when I feel I cannot go on, but my abiding faith in our people and their gallant fight whips me up again and again. We have had 2 large Meetings of very enthusiastic and responsive audiences. I have made appeals for the women and children evacuated from Madrid, and other fronts, and have so far raised about £175. It may seem little measured by the efforts made, but such a sum in England is equivalent to \$5,000 in The States, or more. Most people who are willing to give are infinitely poorer than the same class in The States, and the majority don't 'give a hang' how many victims Fascism will yet slay, and whether or not the struggle for freedom and a new social venture will succeed.

Do not think I am discouraged. I knew beforehand what I was going to, when I returned to England and I am not in the habit of giving anything up I once undertake - so I mean to persevere. I have a new scheme, to arouse larger crowds and, if possible, break through the Press. That is, a theatrical Benefit some Sunday in March, for the women and children. I have already enlisted the co-operation of the man at the head of the Actors Equity Association - the man who once had the little theatre in Fine Arts Building in Chicago, and who has made a phenomenal success with "Journey's End", - A great friend of Stella's, now holding an important position in Paramount, and a number of other people. They have promised to help with a theatre and with the artists. I know it will be a exhausting job; I mean to carry it through.

Besides this, I am speaking in the Provinces and we also are to have another Meeting in the East End. Last but not least, we are preparing a Manifesto to the Workers, urging them to demand from their Trade Unions some direct action against the embargo of the Powers - an embargo which is to help drown in the blood of the Spanish people their valiant struggle and to assist France in this very Christian and Humanitarian job. Oh there is so much I want to do but I have not the necessary means and the necessary help from our own ranks. We have so few - most of them terribly poor and, even more, so inefficient.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24 [London to] Jeanne Levey, Chicago / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Mrs. Jeanne Levey.

-3-

24-2-1937.

To come back to the Exhibition - the one that was held in Paris was to go to America. I am writing Alexander Chapiro to-day to find out what city the material of that Exhibition went. If it has gone to New York, I will send mine to Chicago, of course, or vice-versa. But it will be necessary that you immediately get into touch with someone connected with the Customs, to make sure that the posters and photographs will be permitted to enter the country. I sent a short Durrutti film to the Fr.ARB.Stimme; that was before Xmas. The recent letter from our comrades in New York contained the pleasing news that the film has not yet been released. Whether it finally has been by this time, I do not know. You will therefore understand how necessary it is to make sure about the entry of our material. Otherwise there is hardly any need to send it.

By the time I hear from you in response to this, I will know whether to send my material, and I will also send instructions which a very great artist friend of mine will write out, of how the photographs are to be mounted and arranged for the purpose of an exhibition.

While Roger Baldwin is working on a visa for me I am not at all optimistic about it. The last I heard from him was to the effect there is a terrific Catholic campaign against our people in Spain. Roger thinks I will not be permitted to enter if I come on behalf of our struggle. He is good enough to say that if I can talk on Catalan Art it might facilitate obtaining the visa. In the 1st place, I cannot pose as an authority on that subject. In the 2nd place, I would consider it absurd to talk about that when the fields of Spain are being drenched in blood. So if I am again to be restricted in the subjects I may place before the American Public, I would rather not accept the "kind hospitality" of Washington. While I can make no definite plans for anything, I am determined to return to Spain the latter part of April. I must get new impressions and soak myself in the heroic atmosphere and I must take up a number of questions with the comrades and that cannot be done unless. Lastly, I want to attend the Anarchist Conference which the FAI., are organising. You can reach me here until then.

I am delighted to hear that the M.S. of R.R., is already in the hands of a Publisher. \$2500 for 1,000 copies is a terrible price but perhaps it will then be possible to get out a popular edition.

As to the pamphlet, naturally you must first get your own expenses. I hope you will succeed in having a large sale. I wish I could help you but I cannot have my own things sold, at Meetings for Spain. I am sure it would be interpreted as my making capital of the campaign in behalf of our comrades.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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100-100000-100000
 100-100000-100000
 100-100000-100000

Yes, I have received the 50 copies. They were sold among comrades in a private way. I have put aside the \$5. They are at your disposal. I feel that not a penny should go for anything, until you have cleared your expenditure.

Give my love to J, and remember me kindly
to all the comrades and our friends.

With love.

...
- ...
...
...

[illegible]

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 24, London [to W. Winifred] Evans, [Halifax, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19902

London Feb. 24th 37

Dear Miss Evans.

I have just talked to Fanner Brockway and he told me he has heard from you in regard to the possibility of my speaking in Yorkshire for our Spanish comrades. I should indeed be delighted to come if I can fit in a date or two. Unfortunately there are only 4 Sundays in a month and every body seems to want a Sunday. I cannot at this writing give you a definite Sunday in March. But the one most likely to be free would be March 14th though even that is doubtful because I may have to go to Edinburgh for that Sunday. I have just written my comrades there to let me know by return mail whether they had booked anything for the 14th. If not and the date would be alright for you I will come. I ought to have an answer Friday. Perhaps you will let me know by Friday as well, or I will write you again.

I have just given Norwich Sunday March 28th. But am not sure it will suite the L.L.P. of that city who have also asked for a date. Directly I write hear from them I will let you know. But in case March 14th is booked in Edinburgh, and the 28th in Norwich would early April do. You see I speak in Heath the 7th of March and the 21st in the East End of London. Perhaps it will be best if you will write me about these dates in April. And I will write you just as soon as I hear from the two above mentioned cities.

I do not know whether Fanner Brockway has informed you that I am here to raise funds for the evacuated women and children from the different fronts now being taken care of almost entirely by Catalonia, especially Mexico Barcelona. I have made it a rule to ask nothing for myself in the way of a fee, except travelling expenses and hospitality. I have done that so that not a penny of the contributions to my appeal should go for any other purpose except the fund for the women and children. Naturally the collections will have to be shared adequately by your organisation and my fund. But nothing should go out of it to the expense of the meeting and the fare. I hope this arrangement will be satisfactory to your comrades.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24 [London to] H.G. Wells, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 25 x 22 cm.

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18, Castletown Road, W.14.
24th February, 1937.

Mr. H. G. WELLS,
13, Hanover Terrace,
N. W. 1.

Dear Mr. Wells,

Our first and only meeting, some years ago, was so fleeting that I dare not hope you remember me!

Yet I am taking the liberty of writing you. I am in England as the representative of the C.N.T./F.A.I., to place all their remarkable constructive work and their heroic struggle against Fascism, before the British Public.

I have already succeeded in a measure, though not as much as I should have liked. I am now planning rather a large Undertaking in the way of a theatrical event on behalf of the unfortunate women and children evacuated from Madrid and other fronts.

It is to be entirely a non-political affair, appealing to the Public on purely Humanitarian grounds. I would like to speak to you about the matter if you will be good enough to let me know when you could see me?

My telephone number is, 'Fulham 6829'. May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

Emma Goldman

Accredited Representative of the
C.N.T./F.A.I.,

*Maryme says
Mr. W. is my friend
at hand. Will she
be down to you*

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925595

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24 [London to] Havelock Ellis, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17475

THIS LETTER SENT ALSO TO MR. HAVELOCK ELLIS, with Postscript
as below.

18, Castletown Road, W.14.
24th February, 1937.

Mr. H. G. WELLS,
13, Hanover Terrace,
N. W. 1.

Dear Mr. Wells,

Our first and only meeting, some years ago, was
so fleeting that I dare not hope you remember me!

Yet I am taking the liberty of writing you.
I am in England as the representative of the C.N.T./FAI.,
to place all their remarkable constructive work and their
heroic struggle against Fascism, before the British Public,

I have already succeeded in a measure, though not as
much as I should have liked. I am now planning rather a
large Undertaking in the way of a theatrical event on
behalf of the unfortunate women and children evacuated from
Madrid and other fronts.

It is to be entirely a non-political affair, appealing
to the Public on purely Humanitarian grounds. I would like
to speak to you about the matter if you will be good enough
to let me know when you could see me?

My telephone number is, 'Fulham 6829'. May I hear from
you soon?

Sincerely,

Postscript added for
Mr. Havelock Ellis. Accredited Representative of the
C.N.T./FAI.,

I am trying to get sponsors for the theatrical undertaking. They are not in
any way to be burdened with financial responsibilities. It is only the name
I want. I have already written to Mr. H.G. Wells and a number of others
and am seeing my old friend Rebecca West, on Friday. If you should be too
far away from London to see me, would you permit me to use your name?

533

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 24, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12365

London Feb. 24th 37.

Dear Comrades.

I feel very much relieved with your letter of the 14th of this month which reached me only last Monday. Perhaps now that we are in direct connection it will not take so long for our correspondence to reach you and me, and that it will be more satisfactory than ~~it has~~ my correspondence with the Comité Regional. Not one of my many letters has been answered. True comrade Soucy wrote short notes and comrade Martin Cudell. But they were not very satisfactory. Not knowing I would hear from you I sent a ~~one~~ more letter to the Comité through our comrade Vidal. No doubt it will reach you in due time. In a measure you have already answered some of my questions. Still I inclose a copy in this letter.

I am very happy indeed that you are satisfied with my work in London. I feel it is very little indeed compared with the heroic struggle and sacrifice of all the comrades of the CNT and the FAI and the Spanish workers at large. But it is most difficult to reach the mass in England. First because of the conservatism of the British Labor and Trade Union leaders. ~~And~~ Secondly because of the boycott ~~against~~ ~~everything that comes from~~ from the Communists of everything under taken ~~by~~ in behalf of the CNT, and finally because of the conspiracy of silence on the part of the British press. Of course the reactionary papers are filled with lies about the anti Fascist struggle and the wonderful constructive work carried on by the CNT-FAI, and the so-called Left papers ~~also~~ while writing much about the "legitimate" government remain silent on the part of the CNT. Thus the Daily Worker Communist paper refused to take an advertisement of our great meeting Jan. 18th nor did it report that affair or the one last Friday the 19th. In fact that one paper reported the meeting. You can see dear comrades what a hard task it is to reach the masses. However, we have succeeded better than I had hoped.

You know already of our meeting Jan. 18th and the £57 raised for the care of the evacuated women and children from the various fronts. In addition to this sum I received another eleven pounds. Then we held a much larger meeting the 19th. My appeal brought £80. Of this the I.L.P. will have to get 20/00 for their hard work to help make the meeting a success. I must say for the I.L.P. that it has been the only labor body that has been helpful ~~in~~ in everything I have undertaken for Spain. Fenner Brockway the general secretary spoke Jan. 18th and presided at our meeting the 19th. Thel Mannin a well known writer spoke at both affairs. John McGovern M.P. for Scotland spoke the 19th. Besides all this the I.L.P. cooperated in selling tickets and in every other way for the meeting the 19th. In addition the I.L.P. branches in a number of provincial towns are helping our few comrades with the arrangements of meeting for me.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870918178

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 24, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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The most gratifying contribution of the I.L.P. is the understanding and and appreciation of the importance of the CNT in the Spanish revolution. All the speakers at our meeting emphasized this point and paid warm tribute to your struggle dear comrades.

From the copy inclosed herewith of my new letter to the Comité you will see that I have a lot of other ventures for Spain and by means of which we hope to reach many more people. Last night at our small committee meeting we also decided on another large meeting in the workers district, and we are also working on a manifesto to rouse British Labor to action against the damnable invasion of the ~~Spanish Republic~~ Spain by the so-called democratic countries. Anyway, you can rest assured dear comrades that I will leave nothing undone to place your gallant cause and your great courage before the British public.

I am very glad you consent to support SPAIN AND THE WORLD and the FIGHTING CALL. I had written the comrades in Glasgow Scotland who are printing the paper advising against its further publication because the group here is frightfully poor and cannot finance it any longer and because its present shape is not satisfactory. But now that you will help I will get together a few comrades able to write and try to make something worth while of THE FIGHTING CALL. We also will do our best to make SPAIN AND THE WORLD more lively and realistic.

You say in the last paragraph of your letter "when you require some money for the expenses connected with ~~your activities~~ your activities please let us know and we will send it at once". I am surprised Soucy did not tell you that the £100 originally given me by the Comité Regional are all gone. You see I had to contribute £30 to the expense of the Exhibition, and also cover all expenses, bureau, secretary, lights heat telephone for the bureau, stationary and postage a lot of printing, and all the extra work connected with our meetings during the last ten weeks. I had told the comrades in Barcelona that if two months labors for Spain will not bring results I would discontinue my activities. But while I am not entirely satisfied with what I have achieved I feel the effort was worth while and some grounds were gained. Need I assure you dear comrade that no one so far connected with the campaign I have begun ten weeks ago has received a penny for living expenses. Neither have I felt justified to use anything for myself. But it does require considerable to carry on an intensive campaign especially as we are facing so many enemies and so much underhand and insidious opposition on the part of the Communists. As I already said I had thought fifty pounds a month would cover all expenses connected with my campaign. But I find it will require more now because of the manifesto we are planning to print, at least fifty thousand copies of that. Then we must have something in the way of a brochure that will acquaint the Britishers workers with the aims and struggle of the CNT. We have the pamphlet by comrade Rudiger in German on WHAT IS THE CNT/FAI. I ~~do not know what that is~~ £250 \$6 is due and send me a check much more than I have so far.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870918178

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 24, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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xxxxxxxxxxxx

12367

"Naturally if you can not send as much send what you are able to do.

I have explained to Souchy which I hope he has reported about the money I have raised so far. ~~xxxxxx~~ I hope he has reported I made appeals for the evacuated women and children. Whatever you will do with the amount I MUST HAVE RECEIPTS FOR THE MONEY AS STATED AT THE MEETINGS AND IN MY APPEALS. We have enough enemies outside of the Fascists so I really must have receipts to prove that the money collected has been acknowledged by you. Will you therefore let me know by return mail where to send that money I have on hand, and will you also send me receipts when the money reaches you. Or what do you want me to do?

About my representation of the Generalitat. True I have been given a mandat and I had fully intended to represent the CNT in the Generalitat in London. But on my arrival here I found the bureau in confusion one of its members, a Communist departed with £106 and another ninety pounds debts I felt I could not consistently go into the bureau until everything will be cleared away. Meanwhile I found so much work to do for the CNT/F.I. I really had not a moments time to also ~~xxx~~ take part in the bureau of the Generalitat. But mainly it was because Carbo failed to send me the letter he had promised giving me the necessary instructions as to what my position in the bureau is to be. Donald Darling who represents the Generalitat is no doubt doing what he can. But I have neither been near the bureau, nor have I touched a single penny of the amounts sent Darling by the Generalitat. In as much as I have an awful lot to do to increase the interest in the anti Fascist struggle and the CNT I would like to be relieved of the mandat from the Generalitat.

I have written that to Carbo and the Comite Regional. But have had no reply. I must ask you dear comrades to relieve me. I can do no earthly good in the bureau of the Generalitat. I do not know what Darling is doing except to phone to people and to Paris and do other publicity no doubt useful but a waste of time for me. I prefer to concentrate all my time and energy on the campaign for your struggle. So please relieve me of the necessity to also help Darling who is probably not very anxious to have me anyway.

Yes, indeed, we will publish the questionnaire you sent me and the replies to the Labor delegation. And I will see what can be done to induce more Labor people to visit you. About Rose Pesotto, you have spelled her name wrong. So please send her another invitation and also include one for Pow rs Hapgood and anyone she can induce to go to Spain. You will gain more and so will your cause by these friends from A. than all the Labor delegates from England.

I hope to hear from you soon dear comrades and to get your instructions about the money I have collected for the women and children. Also any material you can let me have that shows your valiant struggle against Fascism that I might use for my work here.

Calud.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005304

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24, Mundesley [England to] Emma Goldman, London / S[Sidney]
V[ere] Pearson. — 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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20242

RILLBANK,
MUNDESLEY,
NORFOLK.

24th February 1937

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road,
London.W.14.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I received your two letters this morning. I am so glad that you are able to come on Friday. The address is:- The New Continental Restaurant, 43 Wilton Road (at the side of Victoria Stn) and the time is 1-20. I have sent you a telegram this morning to say I will be delighted to see you and suggested that possibly you might be able to bring Mrs.Gordon-Crotch also.

I received a letter this morning from Fenner Brockway. In this he told me a great deal about the unfortunate experience of your friend, Mrs.Crotch, ^{that she} had after an operation a little time ago. I am making enquiries as to whether there is any possibility of obtaining some financial help for her over this matter. I make no promises, and I hold ^{out} little hope. But I will let you know on Friday what steps I have taken in this direction.

I am sorry you speak as you do about the Electoral System in Spain. I agree with you that any electoral system is at present used for the purpose of putting people in power. You and I agree that we are opposed to political power. At the same time, I think as things are at present bad electoral system^s, wherever practised - and they are widely spread - do encourage strife and contribute even to civil war. You will have the privilege of meeting John Humphreys at lunch on Friday. He is a master of his

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005304

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 24, Mundesley [England to] Emma Goldman, London / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson. — 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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20243

Miss Emma Goldman.

24. II. '37

HILLBANK,
MUNDESLEY,
NORFOLK.

subject and will doubtless dilate on this theme. I hope you will - I think you are likely to ~~do~~^{be} - show him tolerance.

I am very glad you saw more of my friends John E. Grant and his daughter. I caught my train all right on Saturday but not by more than about 60 seconds to spare, as I had to walk up to the far end of the train, and I had first to get a ticket.

I do hope your theatrical venture will be a great success.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

S. V. Pearson

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 25, London [to] Donald [Darling, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20018

London Feb. 25th 37.

Dear Donald.

I received your letter but had not a moment to write you yesterday. Then too I had hoped to see you at the committee meeting. Actually I was already down the street to go to Clifford Inn but the horrid weather and my disgust with the mismanaged exhibition turned me back. I cannot forgive myself to have wasted two months with people of whom the majority neither did a stroke of work or contributed a sou and yet had the presumption to dictate terms. And that I have ever consented to a joint exhibition. The whole thing is a waste of money that should go to the suffering people in Spain and not for fancy prices for perfectly insane posters, an elaborate ~~wood~~ wood work. And what is even more to the point the arrangement is so jumbled the CNT-M.I. is hardly noticed. Any way I do not mean to spend more time on it as I have a lot of work to do that will I hope bring more substantial results to the struggle in Spain than the exhibition will.

Now as to your letter. I confess I am somewhat puzzled by its contents. Surely you cannot have forgotten that I consulted you on a joint secretary and you said it would be satisfactory. What changed your mind? I agree with you that a full time person who knows French would be preferable. But you see to lose sight of the fact that it would mean an additional expense to the bureau of at least £12 a month if not more. In other words more than half of the support from the Generalitat would be swallowed in salaries. Now if I too would have drawn on the income of the bureau there would be precious little left for anything else. Of course I have no intention of drawing a salary though I rather think that my work is surely not worth less than your Mr. Kavanagh's. True it was not directly for the Generalitat. But it was and is for the CNT in the Generalitat. You not only do not seem to appreciate the importance of the work I am doing but you actually lament the fact that my secretary is using ~~the same~~ one of your type writers for half day. What am I to think of that?

You say the machines are needed by you and K. Though I can hardly believe you are both typing at the same time. In fact you yourself disprove this when you say that Kavanagh is out most of the time hence you must have a full time secretary who can speak French to represent you when you have to be away. As I said I am puzzled. However, I have no desire to interfere in anyway with the running of the bureau. In fact I have written to the Comite Regional, and yesterday also to the National Confederation of Labor at Valencia to relieve me of the ~~need~~ to act for them in the bureau of the Generalitat. I explained that I had too much to do in my capacity of their representative to have time for the other job. But between you and me there is also another reason why I wish to be relieved. It is that you have given me the ~~distinct~~ distinct feeling that you would rather not have me in the office. I really do not blame you because I should probably not consent to some of the rather useless waste of money for long distant phines never mind what the Paris

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 25, London [to] Donald [Darling, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20019

2

office desires for messages that can be heard over the radio quicker than by telephone. And also for messenger service when you have Kavanaugh who certainly should be able to attend to all such work as long as you are not away from London. I am afraid I could not close my eyes to these matters. And so it will be best for all of us if I do not take part in the management of the bureau. I hope my comrades will release me. I really have an awful lot to do for the CNT-FAI.

As I have so far not accepted a penny from the support you receive and do not intend to call on you for anything I think it is not asking too much to let my secretary use one of your machines, at least for the present and for half days. That will give you, Kavanaugh and the secretary you seem anxious to get all the time in the world to answer your mail. Don't you think? As to the full time secretary I would advise you to wait until the money from Barcelona will get you and then to consider the extra expense which I should think you could use for publicity work or whatever else you are doing for the Generalitat.

I hope you will not feel offended. I have no desire to hurt you in any way. But on the other hand I do not think it particularly fair or gracious to complain about the use of one typewriter for half days admitting at the same time that your assistant cannot be much in the office because of the other jobs outside he has to do. In other words you are contradicting yourself in your explanations which really do not explain but are mere an excuse.

Sincerely.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870918179

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 25, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / David Antona. —
2 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Barcelona, 25 Febrero 1937.



12368

Querida Emma:

Creo que ya habrá recibido la carta que le he escrito a principios de ésta semana. Dicha carta era bastante extensa y contestaba a varias preguntas que Vd. me hacía y le daban algunas soluciones sobre los asuntos que a Vd. le inquietaban.

He tardado en contestarle por haber tenido que salir por unos días y además estaba muy preocupado por los asuntos de guerra. Ahora respiro otra vez un poquito y le voy a escribir. Primeramente le voy a hablar de Mr. Sutton.

Este Sr. se presentó en Barcelona el martes por la noche en el mismo momento en que Beryl, su Sra., ya estaba fuera de España y por consiguiente no han podido encontrarse. Mientras que él venía en coche con dirección a Barcelona, ella marchaba en tren con dirección a Port-Bou y de ésta manera se cruzaron en el camino. Al Sr. Sutton le he atendido tal como he podido. El quería encontrar un coche el mismo martes para trasladarse a Port-Bou inmediatamente, pero fué imposible hacerlo. Coches ya hemos encontrado, pero lo que nos faltaba era gasolina. Vd. sabrá que ahora nos hace mucha falta la bencina y la poca que tenemos, queremos emplearla solamente para las necesidades de guerra. Sutton quería hasta pagarla él mismo, pero con todo y esto tampoco la hemos podido adquirir y tuvo que salir de Barcelona el miércoles por la mañana. Hasta ahora no tengo ninguna noticia de él y por esto supongo que habrá llegado bien a la frontera y que a estas horas estará en Francia camino de Inglaterra. Sutton me ha hablado de un miliciano que se llama Alfred Capelbaun y he hecho todo lo posible para averiguar su paradero, pero hasta ahora no lo he conseguido todavía. En la Consejería de Defensa me han dicho que desde luego en las milicias no está inscripto porque no tiene 17 años y es muy posible y es muy posible que se encuentre en algún centro comunista o socialista de por aquí. Procuraré ponerme en relación con estos centros *a ver* si averiguo algo. En cuanto obtenga alguna noticia, enseguida se la comunicaré.

He explicado a los compañeros sobre el trabajo que está Vd. realizando en Londres, referente a su propaganda, y todos esperan con ansiedad el resultado de la exposición que están haciendo estos días. Todos están muy contentos de que en el centro del conservadurismo mundial, también se hable de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I.

Darling no le ha llevado ninguna contestación ni de Souchy ni mía, porque no pasó por aquí antes de marcharse. A Darling le he visto una sola vez, aunque él prometió que vendría a verme, pero no ha aparecido más por aquí.

.....

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918179

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 25, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / David Antona. —
2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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12359
La revolución, nuestra revolución, que ha de ~~hacer~~ aparejadas infinitas transformaciones en nuestro suelo, con relación a los pasados sistemas político, social y económico, nadie, empeñese quién se empeñe, no podrá ser desviada de los cauces por los cuales el pueblo en armas la encauzó el día de la gran victoria, que comenzó para nosotros en el momento preciso en que en las calles de las más importantes poblaciones españolas caían los primeros defensores de la libertad luchando contra la bestia fascista.

Sobre esto, podríamos tocar infinitos extremos, querida amiga, no lo hacemos por no molestar demasiado tu atención y por que, a la vez sabemos que te has percatado a tiempo de todos estos detalles y que como nosotros, tienes confianza en nuestro próximo venturoso triunfo y en un pueblo que por la libertad de todos los parias de la tierra, lucha en la hora presente.

Sin otro motivo, quedamos fraternalmente tuyos y de Acracia

Por el Comité Nacional

Oficina de Información y Propaganda

David Antona



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 25, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London (fragment) / [Frank Leech]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

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19921

Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.

Secretary—Frank Leech,

287 Netherton Road,
GLASGOW, W.3.

TELEPHONE NO.

Scotetoun 2610.

Treasurer—J. B. Andrew,

207 Waddell Street, S.S.

Emma Goldman,
18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
LONDON. W.14.

25th. February, 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I also regret not writing you earlier; I remembered after you had gone that I had forgotten your train fare, and I hung on waiting to get the I.O.U's. I have received the 10/- one but I have not yet got the £1. The comrade who volunteered this is a Trotskyist, and appears to be very active for when I have called he has been out; however, I have left a note of my address, and he may possibly send this on. Meantime I am enclosing cheque for 10/- and £3-11-6d. which I think was the amount you mentioned for your expenses, also 5/- for the Gramophone Record and other things I paid you for at the time at my home. The two dozen Durruti Pamphlets I will clear whenever they are sold. We have had further requests for some handkerchiefs; could you send me on 1 doz. or 1 doz. of each.

Referring to John Blair Smith and comrade Duff I don't think they would be at the meeting as I understand they are just rather old to travel much.

Regards to the criticism of Trotsky article we thought the foot note at the bottom was sufficient to explain our attitude, and was merely put in in order to demonstrate the methods used by the Stalinists. We are certainly not too anxious to take sides with either the Trotskyists or the Stalinists, and we also have not forgotten Trotsky's massacre of the sailors in the Kronstad revolution.

I daresay you have seen the attack on you and ourselves/

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 26, London [to Frank Leech, Glasgow, Scotland] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

22217

London Feb. 26th 37

Dear Comrade. I received ~~your~~ your message which you transmitted by phone to my friend. This morning I also received your letter with check and the miserable scribble of Aldred inclosed. I also received a card from Tom Koell Wolfe that he could arrange nothing for the 14th of next month in Edinburgh. Thereupon I phoned Barr to wire you that I will not be within reach of Glasgow for the 14th. Nor do I know when I will have a spare Sunday for either Edinburgh or Glasgo. I am having so many demands for dates from the I.L.P. branches there are not enough Sundays to satisfy them all. Norwich, the branches in Yorkshire, at South End, and some students in Birmingham and Southampton all want dates. Besides we are also planning a meeting in the East End and I am hard at work on a big benefit theatre affair for the evacuated women and children. So you can see I am busy.

At our committee meeting last Tuesday White informed us that he had heard from you and that you want him to come for the 14th. I suggest therefore that you should get busy on a meeting for him. He is developing into a fine speaker and he is also gaining considerable knowledge of and understanding for our ideas.

About the poisonous reptile Aldred I think you will make a greivous mistake to accept his idiotic challenge, or notice him in any way. It is precisely what he is hankering for. Of course you and the comrades must do what you think best. But I promise you that Aldred will never get me to take him seriously or honestly. The man is not only catap up with mad conceit and vainglory he is downright dishonest. But I will do one thing I will send his ~~corrx~~ attack to the comrades in Barcelona. Let them see to it that the mans women friends shut him up. He is using them anyhow as a wedge to break through to Spain and make himself important. He will never succeed.

For the information of you and the comrades I might tell you that I not only have the right to represent the Regional Comite of the CNT-F.I. but day before yesterday I received a special mandate from the National Confederation of Labor from Valencia. I have no time now. But early next week I will send you a copy of a letter from the comrades in Valencia that you may see for yourself that I have full authority to act for them. Not that it matters. But I do want you all to know it. Yes, I will send you the "penitent" letter of of the madman when I find the time to look up all the stuff I brought out with me from Barcelona. Really I considered ~~that~~ it so unimportant I ~~did not~~ put

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 26, London [to Frank Leech, Glasgow, Scotland] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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19910

tossed aside among my papers.

I am not sure we have handkerchieves to spare. But a lot is at the Customs which Barr will collect. And then we will send you more. I will look over the account when I get back from Bristol. I am in a frightful rush now. So please forgive me if I stop right here.

Remember me fraternally to all the comrades.
Greetings to Mrs Leech.

Salud

The rotter and unmitigated fool Aldred in re the 2/6 charges for tickets. Damn it in God's name people are shedding their blood. Why should not some people who can afford it pay 2/6. They actually did. His charge of my having talked under the patronage of Bismarck. It is the same lie as everything else he has charged me with and everyone who ignored him. He is a rotter. I do hope though you will not worry about him any more.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890128023

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 26, London [to Robert Sandström, St. Tropez] / [Emma Goldman]. -- 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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To a French friend

 Gud

Copy

*Her may also
be included*

18, Castletown Road, London, W.14.
26th February, 1937.

Dear Friend,

Believe it or not, I feel very much ashamed of myself, having neglected you for so many months. I don't know what is more difficult - to have people you care about, on your conscience all the time, or to exert yourself to the limit to write to them. I assure you it was harder for me to think of how shamefully I have treated you, than it might have been had I squashed in an extra hour to concoct a letter for you, - not that I had many hours! Actually I have been working on an average of 18 hours a day, using the nights for reading the material directly connected with my efforts for my Spanish people.

Last night I visualised you both in the dismal life of the San Tropez winter, to such an extent that I definitely decided, come what may, to write you to-day, - so here I am!

I am sending you enclosures which will give you an idea (a very limited one) of what I have been doing since I came back to England, and that is only the beginning. The greater the crime grows of the so-called 'democratic' countries in the conspiracy to drown the Spanish people in their blood, the more determined I am that their Cause should become known, at least to the thinking, Liberty-loving people in England; and that means every moment of the day and all my intensity of being.

I do not think the result of my work is much to boast about, but in view of the difficulty I have always met in this country I feel I have broken ground and have succeeded in awakening interest in and sympathy for the heroic Anti-Fascist struggle - and that keeps me going.

I wonder, dear Robert, whether you still cling to your agreement with Non-Intervention? Surely your intelligence and your fair-mindedness must by this time have realised the outrageous treachery of the Blum Government? The treachery to his own conception of Socialism and to the Spanish as well as to the French workers? If the man were a fool or an ignoramus, - one might explain the denial of the right of the Spanish Government to purchase armaments and to enlist the co-operation of real volunteers, and not those driven like sheep by Hitler and Mussolini's whips; but for a man of Blum's intelligence, it is downright treachery to sponsor non-intervention.

The man must know that a political move which condones one side of the struggle to a fight with bare hands, while it permits the other side to be supplied with men in their tens of thousands, and modern machinery of warfare, is nothing

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890128023

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 26, London [to Robert Sandström, St. Tropez] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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-2-

26th February 1937.

Gud

but a fake, a delusion and a snare.

Many people have realised that already. Alas, they are still a small minority compared with the dense masses that never see through the machinations of politicians. But it is certain the conspiracy of France and Great Britain against the supreme effort of the Spanish people, to exterminate Fascism, will stand out in history as one of the greatest crimes ever committed.

Forgive me, dear friend, if I seem too harsh, but the outrageous invasion of Spain by Germany and Italy, now joined by all the Powers, cries to the very heavens to revenge a cruel attitude. Talk about the injustice of the invasion of Belgium! It falls into insignificance compared with the invasion of Spain, on land, and sea and air; and yet the invasion of Belgium rouses millions of people to sacrifice the very flower of its country; to wound and mutilate 20,000,000 who escaped death in that so-called "War to end War", the war for Democracy, while the invasion of Spain leaves some of the most intelligent and generous people, like yourselves, coldly indifferent. I cannot understand that, dear Robert. I can only hope that the injustice of the latest move of the Powers has helped you to change your mind and your attitude.

Surely you must see by this time that the present embargo is not going to end in the tacit acceptance of the Spanish people on one side, nor the avaricious designs of Germany and Italy of planting their heavy heels on the possessions of Spain, as well as England and France? And what else but a new world-conflagration can possibly result out of it? That the Spanish united Fascist forces have no intention to yield easily, they have demonstrated by their defence of Madrid. Think of a people, poorly equipped with arms and with very little experience in warfare, driving back an enemy so formidable in numbers and arms!

Can it be possible that the democratic countries will not only stand by, but actually participate in the slaughter of millions? — For that is actually what is going to happen if the invaders do so conquer Spain; it will mean the slaughter of millions — bear that in mind.

I wonder how you have been? I hope you have not suffered much under the war. For myself, I can say that I have been more lucky, much more so than on my previous visits. I have escaped the 'flu although my annual winter cough has been with me. Do you ever go near "Bon Asprit"? I wonder how it looks? I know my dear comrade, Piccolo and his wife, must have looked after it. I am going back to Spain at the end of April and if I can possibly manage the time I want to go to San Tropez, first — to have one more look at that place which meant so much to me and to Sasha, and to arrange for letting it for the summer, unless

-rto-

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by

كانت في ذلك الوقت في بيتها في القاهرة.

-5-

a buyer is found. . . .

If I cannot manage it, I will write you and arrange with the agent through you, to get the best possible price he can for the summer months. Until the end of April, I remain here. I am very pleased to hear. Won't you please write me soon?
With love to you both.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001231

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 26 [London to] May [Picqueray, St. Tropez] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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18, Castletown Road, W.14.
26th February, 1937.

.9798

Dear May,

I know you will think me a traitor, the way I have treated you, but you are a dear and an understanding spirit!

You will realise that I have not forgotten you or ceased to love you. It was that there are only twenty-four hours in a day. The work for Spain would require double that time and it would still not be enough.

I am sending you a lot of enclosures and also a copy of a letter to Sandrom, which I have just dictated. They will give you a picture of my life and my work here. I really can add nothing.

However, I am sending you English papers, as well as "Spain and the World", "The Fighting Call", the Durrutti pamphlet and several other things. Please translate the contents of my letters, for Piccolo, his wife, and Fernand. Is he still there? I often long to go back to San Tropez, especially now that we have found such splendid comrades as Piccolo and Fernand, as well as Piccolo's wife.

But I know that memories of Sasha would probably increase my misery and rob me of my peace of mind while there. But I am going to try hard to go for a day or two, on my way back to Spain; or, if that will be impossible, perhaps in August, when I shall either have the chance of returning to America or come back to England to resume the work I have started here. I cannot make any plans now. Please write me, dearest May, how you and the children are and how "Bon Spirit" looks. Tell Piccolo that he can make use of the garden according to his own judgment and needs. He can plant anything he likes. I would, however, ask him to give Mme. Sandrom the keys, so that she can help herself to some of the vegetables. She has always been so kind to me; I want her to feel that she can still share whatever will grow in the garden.

Give our dear Comrades my love, and take a great deal for the children and yourself. Please write me soon!

Affectionately,

(Enclosures).

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 26 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Marjorie Wells.—
1 p. ; 14 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17473

19, HAMOVER TERRACE, REGENT'S PARK, N.W.1.
TELEPHONE, WINDINGTON 8804.

Feb. 26th, 1937.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Mr H.G.Wells asks me
to thank you for your letter. Mr
Wells is very much pressed for time
at present, but he would be glad if
you would write and tell him what
you would like him to do.

Yours sincerely,

Marjorie Wells.

(Mrs G.P.Wells.)

Miss Emma Goldman,
18 Castletown Road
W.14.

550

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

we were lucky for we realise how much your time must be taken up. I thought that you would like my daughter who as a young student is eager to understand why the masses of mankind are so moved by hatred, malice and wickedness, & why we are afflicted with war, pestilence and famine - why there is dire poverty in the midst of plenty - why population is heaped into great ant hills where one half is rotting

Here husband
as R. & Oudawite
a time M. P. for
Hamber, Staff:

18264
TELEPHONE, ELMSBRIDGE 3485.

**Straidlands,
3, Catherine Road,
Surbiton.**

26th February 1937.

Dear Miss Goldman,

The name and address
of the lady is

Mrs. Gutherie,

66 Warwick Gardens
W. 14.

Telephone No: Western 4595.

Warwick Gardens is the west
turning off Kensington Road after
Warwick Road approaching from
North End Road side. I shall
give you your message to
mayone & I really enjoyed
our time with you last Saturday

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 26, Surbiton [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / John E. Grant. — 2 p. ; 14 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

in idleness & corruption, & the other half is slaving & striving to preserve an anxious & precarious existence — Why people have such extraordinary beliefs & superstitions of which they are inordinately proud. Are these superstitions the cause of afflictions, or is it that the masses of mankind are really oppressed & enslaved by a smaller set of minorities who must be destroyed before the masses obtain liberty?

Both of us are very skeptical about all the mechanical devices of segregation, of divisions of land & wealth that are put forward as solutions, and we both think that the panorama will become even more intricate until the philosophy of ownership of the earth and its fruits is properly understood. Economic freedom depends upon our aim being in the right direction, and the compass for finding it is not generally recognized as yet, but it must be justice.

kindest regards from us both,
Yours sincerely, John E. Grant.

Both of us are very skeptical

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Feb. 26, Halifax [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / W. Winifred Evans. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY¹⁹⁹¹⁸ NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman : J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer : F. W. JOWETT

Telephone : Central 3196
Telegrams : Iper, Ltd, London



Secretary : A. FENNER BROCKWAY
25 St. Giles Street
London, E.C.4.

37 Newstead Place,
Halifax.
26th February 1937.

Dear Comrade Goldman,

I am very much obliged for your letter of the 24th inst., and regret I was unable to let you have a reply by today, but I did not receive the letter until last night.

I have sent it on to Leeds so that we can make enquiries as to when the Hall they want will be vacant, and immediately I hear anything I will write to you again. I have, however, suggested to my Leeds comrade that it will be better if he fixes it for April, which will give us plenty of time to organise and advertise the meeting.

Sunday, of course, is our best time and the Leeds branch are sure to ask for a Sunday evening, but if you are agreeable I could probably fix up one or two other meetings in the district during the week-end. I always try to do this, if possible, so that the expense is shared out. However, I will mention this again when I write next time.

I am indeed grateful to you for offering to come to this district, and hope we shall be able to arrange something.

Yours sincerely,

W. Winifred Evans
DIVISIONAL SECRETARY.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005023

[Letter, 19]37 Feb. 27, London [to W. Winifred] Evans, [Halifax, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19916

London Feb. 27th 1937

Dear comrade Evans.

Thanks a lot for your letter of the 26th inst. I am quite willing to give your branches dates for several meetings only it will have to be one Sunday. I have so much to do in London that I cannot possibly spare a whole week in one district. Perhaps I could come the latter part of the last week in March. That would also give you Easter Monday. Or is this not a good day for a meeting? I am asking because I shall probably be all booked up for April to come to Yorkshire. If you decide on the week end of ~~the~~ Feb 28th I would ask you to please wire me as soon as possible. ~~Manchester~~ Norwich has asked for a date. I have given the comrades Sunday the 14th of March. But in case they cannot arrange their meeting for that date I ~~would~~ would give them the 28th of March. Provided you do not accept that Sunday.

I forgot to say that April 4th is already booked for a theatre benefit I am arranging for the evacuated women and children in Spain. And I am not sure but what the 11th may also be taken. I will know more definitely next week. I would suggest however that you do arrange to have me the end of March.

Yours sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March? London to Mariano? R? Vázquez?, Barcelona? (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20209

2.
will go for the debts; but I am quite sure very little will remain for a new office, telephone and light, for I am quite determined to have nothing whatever to do with the old office, which by the way is part of the Socialist League, an organization very closely related to the Communist Party. I will have to insist that your Bureau is removed from that office and the influence with which it has been surrounded.

Thank Herrera for me for having having settled the disagreeable money questions so effectually. I dislike keenly to have to discuss money with comrades; but I wish you would tell him that it is necessary to make it very plain to the Bureau of the Generalitat that nothing effective can be done here in the way of propaganda unless the work is guaranteed at least for two months. Now Carbo told me that the Generalitat had decided on a budget of £300 a month. Granted that this is rather a stiff sum, it is essential that the largest part of it should be in England, safely deposited in a bank, and drawn only on the signatures of Darling and myself. ~~and there should be a third party as well~~; but frankly it is impossible to move quickly and decide on important jobs unless money is within reach. I would like to have that matter over and settled upon. I am sure that Herrera will agree with me that in or italist countries where one is compelled to pay for every turn one makes, one must have a secured working capital.

Now if ~~for our own C.N.T.-P.A.I.~~ ^{and} offer to guarantee two months for the propaganda we are to do here, there is no reason why the Generalitat should not be able to do likewise even if the sum for that account will have to be very substantially larger. I hope that I will not have to recur to this matter because it is really trying for me to appear "Mercenary".

As far as our own C.N.T.-P.A.I. is concerned we need material ^{from Spain} more than a great deal of money. No one promised to send me material; but so far no one has kept his word, yet everyday some necessity arises for publicity. For instance the other day the "Daily Telegraph" had an article containing a letter from Carbo stating that Fascism in Spain was a negligible quantity, and was giving life to the C.N.T.-P.A.I. That the C.N.T.-P.A.I. consists of a gang of criminals and that they were leading Spain to rack and ruin. This would give me a splendid opportunity to reply if I only had facts of Carbo's participation and material support in the Fascist conspiracy. Can you send to me as quickly as possible this information and anything else connected with that man. Inasmuch as he was considered the richest man in Spain I should like to know what his source of wealth was and to what extent he was involved with the Catholic Church and any other material that will enable me to counter the scurrilous attack of Carbo. It would mean considerable propaganda for the C.N.T.-P.A.I. It would also be well to have some data on the strength of the Fascists in Barcelona before July 19th. Now be a dear Martin and gather that material. I am sure you must have it. As I have already told you, you can send it in Spanish.

^{flyer} I discover much to my surprise that I have not the name of the ~~airman~~ ^{flyer} who brought down several of Franco's planes and was then killed by one. I mean the one in whose body German bullets were found. I have his photo which I wish to use for the Exhibition. I was given his name when I visited your aerodromes in Barcelona. I have to confess to a very bad memory for names, yet I must have it, so will you please

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555

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March? London to Mariano? R.? Vázquez?, Barcelona? (fragment)] /

[Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20290

3.

need it in your next letter. I have to admit the same failing in regard to the two women malitias who were killed. I have their photographs but not their names, nor do I remember at what fronts they lost their lives. I am sure that you or Souhy or the comrades of the Comité will know. I am not quite clear as to your reference to the Art Exhibition, or rather to Herrera. You say that I should not worry about it any more. Does that mean that I am never to be put in charge of it in London. Herrera is quite right to have confidence in the man on the Generalitat who was handling the matter. I would like to know whether these people are eventually to have an Art Exhibition. In my case it would not only be in London of considerable help; but it would help me considerably to get into America, and in addition aid me in raising a great deal of money for the C.N.T.-I.O.O.F.; but if it is not to be it cannot be helped.

Please ask Puediger to put my name on the list for the German Bulletin. The English edition we have received so far is woefully insufficient. The German edition contains considerable material. We can use it here for two publications. "Spain and The World" published bi-monthly, and the little magazine called "Fighting Call" published by the London Group in conjunction with the comrades in Scotland every month. I am hoping that eventually we can make something worth while out of the magazine, especially if people who promised me original material will actually send it. Such as Puediger, Co., and Berneri. I wish I could also get something once a month from Redica Montseny. Where is she now, and what does her Ministry amount to? Again I must ask your help and co-operation as well to let me have any new posters or photographs you can get hold of. I know that it will take some of your precious time but I will not be able to carry on the work as efficiently unless you will seriously supply me with stuff. You can write me in Spanish now or Russian but write both on the machine. It will be easier reading and transcribing.

The Soviet newspapers cost like the devil but I will try to get one of them over, the Investia or Pravda; but the fact is that to subscribe to both of them for a long time takes a fortune, and I had to give them up. The lies and bumptious tone, I don't know how long I shall be able to stand them; but if I get some numbers I will send them to you.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Fraternally,

(84) Emma

P.S. Get in touch with Rosa of the Spanish propaganda department, ^{girl} that Russian and see whether the album she was preparing is finished. If so I would like some copies. She gave one as a sample to a member of the I.L.P. who was in Barcelona. If she will send me a supply, and put down the lowest possible price to avoid the high custom charges, I think I could dispose of quite a number

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556

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726282

[Letter, 1937 March?] London [to] Paul [and] Es[landa Robeson, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London 18, Castletown Rd.
W.14.

Telephone
Palmer 69 80.

Dear Paul, dear Esie.

Won't you please see me for an hour
for our old friendship sake. I know it is unkind to
bother you when you have but just returned and probably
have many people to see and much to do. But as such old
friends as we have been all these years I feel I might
ask you to make time to let me come. I wouldn't if
it were not very, very urgent.

I will come any time if you will phone me.
I am going to be in until five o'clock tomorrow.

With my old love,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March? Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein].—
1 p.; 26 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23663

My dear Emma,

I would have written before but had an urgent job which is finished now. There is no other work, unfortunately, but I hope there will come some, and this very soon.

I hear that you are very busy in arranging a theatre and that is O.K. One has to be busy and life is passing quicker. It is an art to make the time pass quickly, you know.....

I am satisfied with my room, and I am satisfied with everything that is concerned with the conditions. Senia, Molly, Chapiros, Fanny especially and the same Sania, they ALL are just too lovely. I could be there daily, how often do they tell me, but knowing that Molly has plenty of work and so forth I do not go too often there. They are nearby and I feel very glad for it. I have other friends, plenty of and as far as company is concerned: Plenty.

I do not understand Emma, what Ian wants to say that he gets Sasha's collection IN ORDER? There were the first flight covers, a great number of it, and THAT IS THE COLLECTION I HAVE IN MIND. Write me please, Emma, what is all about that collection.

Will you come to Paris? And when then? Weather is rotten here, and cold. But, somehow, in Paris one is not aware of it. My room is extremely cosy and I can take every day 10 times a bath if I care too, everything included in monthly pay. Of course I iron and wash. That you know, anyway.....

I hope for some more work soon. I hear from Kay Boyle regularly, and will be there in summer. What are your plans, Emma? If you have time and desire write me.

Affectionately



P.S.

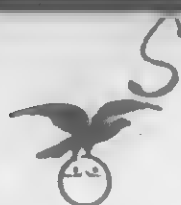
My health is so so. But as long as it stays that way I have to be content.

558

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March?] Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Marie Seton.—
6 p. ; 15 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



HOTEL ASTOR
1, rue d'Antony II
PARIS II

TELEPH. ANJOU 26 11
TELEGR. TELETYPE 17 00 12

18206

Monday

Dear Miss Goldman—
Your letter was
forwarded to me here. I
am so sorry you are hav-
ing so many difficulties..
I shall be back at the
middle of this week, but
please you must not
rely on me so much.
As at the moment I
am up to my eyes in

559

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March?] Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Marie Seton.—
6 p. ; 15 × 11 cm.

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18207
work which has to be
delivered to my editor before
the end of the month.
I suggest that you get
someone with a purchase
manner to go to shops
institutes etc in order to
get the posters put up.
For ideas about Spain etc
are you in touch with
Don Montagu he took
action in Spain & is a
friend of Pauls? I think
Mrs. Charlotte Haldane
her husband Professor
Haldane might help.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March?] Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Marie Seton.—
6 p. ; 15 × 11 cm.

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HOTEL ASTOR
" rue d'astorg " 11
PARIS 11^e

TELEPHONE 01 21
TELEGRAMS 10-10-10-10-10-10

2

18208

I have found that if you
circulate say two thousand
for get- people- probab'ly.
I suggest also that in
getting posters up on
Stren Paul rather than
Spain as shops etc are
afraid of taking sides -
institutions like the Friends
on the other hand are more
interested in causes. Perhaps
you will go yourself & see

561

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March?] Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Marie Seton.—
6 p.; 15 × 11 cm.

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them. They were very help-
ful. You need publicity—
Suggest—
Manchester Guardian.
News Chronicle
Star (A. Wilson, Dramatic
Critics)
Standard?
New Statesman Editor
King's Kingsley Martin
Time + Tide
Referee (Sunday)
Reynolds L.
and can fill any theatre
when he sings—Ash
Hubert Griffith who writes

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March?] Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Marie Seton. — 6 p. ; 15 × 11 cm.

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HOTEL ASTOR
" rue d'astorg "
PARIS. II'

TELEGRAMS: ASTOR 04 21
TELEPHONE: ASTOR 04 22

18210

3

theatre notes for 'Observer'
to mention it next Sunday
Please excuse my
writing — but the
typewriter is out of order!
Have you handbills? —
I had lots distributed
all over the place.
Do not worry, it will
be ok. Best wishes
Marie Seton

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March?] Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Marie Seton. — 6 p. ; 15 × 11 cm.

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Will you phone time on 10211
Thursday morning?

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001219

[Letter, 1937 March?] London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John A. Cowan. —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1977
JOHN A. COWAN,
115 BRECKNOCK ROAD,
LONDON, N 10.
PHONE: GULLIVER 2910.

My dear Emma Goldman

Friday

Dear Miss Goldman,

I have read Dr Stella
Churchill's letter in the "New Statesman".
I am a display manager with a good deal
of photographic experience and I should
be pleased to help you with your
proposed exhibition. Perhaps you will
phone me.

Sal Abraham

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 1937 March, London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19954

Thats all I know. Please stop the shipment of records. That too is too late as we will have only a few more meetings. Tell Ilse I have received some posters. And it will be alright if photos will be sent. But they must be new photos, of new scenes. If possible from Madrid, Valencia and Malaga if such exist. It is wonderful that the Communists can get everything and bring here. Only our people never do. I wonder how they hope to succeed in their struggle lagging behind the other political parties every time.

The exhibition was opened Friday in a half finished condition. The man who had been intrusted with the arrangement of the photos has sabotaged my collection very considerably. In addition is the size of the place. We were to have a large house. That was refused at the last minute and a small store had to be taken instead. The result is everything is so crowded as to be ineffective. I have cursed myself a thousand times for going in with the Committee. I could have had an independent exhibition of the CNT-FAI material even if small but by far more powerful. Outside of Fenner Broadway who has been splendid all along the rest of the members are Communists or flirt with Communism and they hate the CNT-FAI and hate me, hence the antagonism. This experience proves once more the mistake and stupidity of compromise. I will never again be guilt of that.

Vidal left for Barcelona yesterday. Not knowing when I ~~will hear from you~~ I gave him a long letter to the Comité Regional. As I cannot quite make out Vasques letter I am not sure whether it covers all the questions raised in my letter V. took along. I wish you would read the letter and see whether ~~it~~ Vasques letter contains a reply to all the questions I raised, namely the means to continue the CNT-FAI Bureau here, the maintenance of SPAIN AND THE WORLD, and all the other items. Please do it without fail and send along a letter with V. conveying mine. You say from now on I should write to the National Confederation in Valencia. Well, if it takes weeks and months to get answers from Barcelona how long will it take from Valencia. I can tell you the whole business is discouraging.

About the films. What good are they to me when they are being shown in Paris? I certainly have no one and not the means to send someone to Paris to see them or negotiate with the film people. Why have you not instructed some competent comrade in Paris to see the films and try and get one or two for me? I am sorry to seem an incurable grumbler dear Augustine. But I take my work in England for our comrades frightfully serious. I want to give my utmost to help them. But with the system at your head to cooperate with me I have succeeded only half of what I might have had there been some efficiency at Barcelona.

Sutton whom you have no doubt seen will have told you about our meeting in Friends House Friday. The I.L.P. has not done as much as their organiser promised, I mean as regards the sale of tickets etc. And we are up against a solid wall of silence on the part of the press. With

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 1 [London to] Ben [Capes, St. Louis, Mo.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
1st March, 1937.

630289

Dearest Ben,

I have not been able to reply to your letter of January 2nd. I had entirely too much to do for Spain. The result has nevertheless proved worth while (though nothing to boast about), as you will see from the many enclosures of letters recently written.

My Dear, I wonder that you should be so surprised over the ghastly thing that happened in Russia. The last trial was like many other trials, even those that took place while Sasha and I were still in Russia.

They are prepared and staged to the very last comma, within the walls of the Cheka. Naturally this is done at the behest of the modern Torquamodo, Stalin. Not that Lenin differed very much from his ill-conceived son. The only difference between the two is that Lenin exterminated all his opponents outside of the ranks of his own party. Stalin has gone a step further - he is exterminating the Old Guard. The difference is only with some distinction, but fundamentally it is the same frightful Dictatorship which has led Lenin and is leading Stalin, to the butchery of everyone who dares to even breathe opposition.

In the case of the last victims, of whom thirteen were foully murdered and four "given grace" - there is no doubt a modicum of so-called 'guilt'. It is certain that all the men aimed to get rid of Stalin, not because of any fundamental difference so much as because they imagined themselves more fitted to rule the ship of State, than Stalin.

Actually they all did exactly like him when they were in power. Did not Zinoviev, Trotsky and their comrades, condemn to death many of our Comrades, and still many more of the "Left" Revolutionary Group? And did they not send to slow death in Concentration Camps, and Siberia, tens of thousands of Politicals, workers and peasants. And what about Kronstadt?

So what really is the difference that should rouse our feelings on behalf of the victims of a relentless Ideology - and cruel tactics? I certainly do not believe in kicking a dog when he is down and out, but neither do I intend to wax hot over the miserable group of men who crawled in the very dust before their accuser. The dreadful thing to me is their

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 1 [London to] Ben [Capes, St. Louis, Mo.] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20260

-2-

1/3/1937.

cowardice - much more than the brutality of Stalin. Think of it! In the country that has given to the world the most supremely courageous men and women, - Idealists who at the expense of their own safety and life had held their heads high in Court; who defended their position knowing full well that it would meet with torture and death. Think of such a country bringing forth such cringing creatures as the victims of Stalin!

I cannot explain it in any other way except that the deadly Jesuitical ideology of Leninism and the Jesuitic explanation that "the end justifies the means", have broken the backbone of everyone in the present Soviet regime. They have undermined their stamina, their revolutionary past, their manhood and their womanhood. It makes me shudder about the effect this Ideology and these methods must have on the young generation.

I said there is little doubt that the victims of Stalin conspired to get rid of him. Yet I do not believe that the charges against them, of having conspired to turn over parts of Russia to Hitler, and other parts to Japan, are really true, and yet I would not be surprised even at that. - For did not Lenin set them a solitary example when he turned over parts of the Ukraine to Germany for his famous "breeding spell" by means of the Brest-Litovsk Peace? If this was good for Lenin, why is it not equally justified for Zenov, Radek and the rest? It is a ghastly business whichever way one approaches it, and very terrible indeed that such things should be possible in the country of a grand and wonderful Revolution.

You will forgive me, my dear, if I do not repeat all I have written to other Comrades about my work in England for Spain. The enclosures will tell you everything. I always am glad to hear from you but you are a bad boy! You never tell me about Ida, how she is getting along; about Florence, and your grand-child, Nardy. I am interested, as you must know, in everything concerning you and yours, so be a dear and write me about them.

Love to all the Comrades, and a large chunk for yourself.

Affectionately,

(Enclosures)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001142

[Letter, 19]37 March 1, Halifax, England [to Emma Goldman, London] / W. Winifred Evans. — 1 p. ; 22 x 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

37-kenstana Pl. 1937

Halifax
1.3.37.

Dear Comrade.

I'm afraid I
haven't been able to fix up
a meeting for you in Leeds - the
cost of the hall would be so much
that there would be very little left
for room food & as the branch is
in debt they couldn't afford to pay
for the hall themselves.

However, I was
talking to some other members yesterday
& one from Dewsbury might be able
to get a hall free. They are going
to try to get it on March 21st
Sunday evening. They will telephone
me on Tuesday & I will then wire you.
I am also trying to fix for a meeting
at Reigate in the afternoon as they
have their own hall.

I do hope we shall
be able to get this settled out it will
depend on whether Dewsbury can get a
hall free on the 21st

Yours sincerely,

Winifred Evans

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001084

[Letter, 19]37 March 1 [Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest Taylor. — 1 p. ; 15 × 10 cm.

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19535

1.3.37

My dear Emma,

It is with great pleasure to
send you the enclosed cheque,
and hope the receipt of Bristol
will be a great encouragement
in the splendid bit of work you
are doing for the suffering
people of Spain. It was a
real pleasure to us both to
meet you again.

Yours

Ernest Taylor

570

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 2, London [to] Ernest Taylor, Bristol, England / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

19333

18, Castletown Road,
London, W. 14.
2nd March, 1937.

Mr. Ernest Taylor,
Campfield,
Abbots Leigh, Nr. Bristol.

Dear Mr. Taylor,

Your letter and enclosure came this morning. Thank you so much for your generous contribution to the needs of the innocent and unfortunate victims of Fascism. It is not only the money, which is so necessary in the present situation. It is even more your spirit and your friendship which have always made my visits to Bristol a real event. I cannot tell you how much it means to me, in this cold and forbidding country, to have such friends as Mrs. Taylor and yourself. It has helped me tremendously to relieve the difficult task to reach the minds and hearts of the English people.

I hope to see Mrs. Taylor and you again, either when I return to Bristol for another date, or if I succeed in my theatre benefit venture. I spoke to Mrs. Taylor about it and she said that both of you may be up in London for the event, if I can carry it through.

Please remember me affectionately to Mrs. Taylor.

Sincerely yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 2, London [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

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London March 2nd 37.

Believe me very rich with the two letters so close to one another. Prior to these letters you kept me waiting longer than usual and I was sick with anxiety about David. You see I had written you that the kid had the flu. Believe me I fretted. When your letter came I dared not open it. Imagine my relief when you told me I found that David must be alright. I mean or you would have said something.

It is nothing about Amy. I tried and tried to get her to remain with her people. I knew that misery it will be for Lollie and Genie to have her around. But she is homeless. I am sure that her mother must have been worn out with her everlasting complaints and her pathological self center ness. I simply don't know what to do about her except let her go her way. If only she would do that I should not care. But she uses everybody to the bone. In Nice, Venice and now in Paris everybody dreads her appearance. and she is so thick skinned she simply does not notice ~~xxx~~ that people have grown tired listening to the everlasting story of her illness. It is really pitiful. However, it is mainly Lollie I care about. You will see by the enclosed how she feels in regard to it. And how ill she is. Of course she will not find a job nor be able to work if she does. But Volin will try to get her a working card. I am sure of that. Well, the tragedy of Spain is too great to worry about Amy. I simply can no longer do it. Nor have I the means to help her. Actually I have been living partly on the sales of the Spanish stuff which should by right also go to the fund I am raising for the suffering women and children. I would rather starve than touch a penny of that. So I cannot use a farthing for Amy.

I inclose a copy of a letter I received from our comrades in Valencia, they represent the National Federation of labor. They are so appreciative of everything I do it makes me ashamed that I have succeeded so little. True I have already raised £275 pounds. hundred of that I raised last Sunday in Bristol. The actual collection from the audience was only £24 But old friends of mine the Taylors of whom I must have told you contributed £60 between them which made the amount £84. Then Ethel Mannin ~~xxx~~ who was one of the speakers made it up to one hundred pounds. Believe me I was happy. The meeting was very spirited and I have been asked for another date. It is the first time in all the years I have come to Bristol to have met with such a response.

Our own meeting Feb. 19th in THE FRIENDS HOUSE was splendid. We covered expenses by the sale of tickets of which I alone sold nearly £17. We still have not all the tickets accounted for so I am unable to say how much was sold. But rather think it will cover all expenses which were about fifty pounds. The collection was nearly eighty of which the I.L.P. will get 20/00 We are to have a large meeting in the East End this month. and all the other Sundays are almost booked. Southend, Neath S.W. Norwich and some towns in Yorkshire. It is of course Spain that

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2.

that has given me such an opening, an opening I never before succeeded in obtaining. Still it seems so little compared with the suffering, the sacrifice and the struggle of the Spanish people. Fact is I could have done more if only Souchy had been more helpful. For months I have been trying to get films. I could have raised an enormous amount of money had I one and also have carried on a wide spread propaganda. But no film or any other material was forthcoming. Yet here is Frank who actually was given a film, though Souchy told me they had not been finished. I am really disgusted with such treatment. I am not blaming Frank of course not. I am delighted to know he did get a film to take to A. But it made me furious to see that Souchy had not told me the truth about the films. Not only that but he was in Paris last week where some films from Spain were being shown in a private studio. Souchy not only failed to arrange for one for England but he did not even write me a line from there. Under such circumstances it is damned hard to work here with all the odds and difficulties in my way. And last but not least with a complete conspiracy of silence against the CNT-R.I. Fortunately we have a comrade here Spanish who translates for me so I can be in direct touch with the CNT-R.I. in Barcelona and Valencia. So I will waste no more time on Souchy.

The exhibition is most disappointing. I have regretted a thousand times that I did not go ahead independently as I had planned. The exhibition committee has spent a fortune nearly five hundred pounds for the arrangement which could have been done for less than half and no amount of protest save a break with the outfit did any good. They dillyed for two months about a house that would have enabled us to have all our material exhibited. They lost the place and were forced to rent a small store and basement. True it is in a very good part of London Luttgate Hill. But the place holds so few and the material had to be compressed. But there is nothing more to do about it. The one thing is that nothing will come from it for relief. Perhaps when the exhibition is sent to the provinces it might bring material results. It will not in London. Nor does it make much propaganda. We had agreed on lettering for every photograph. That was also not done. It is a mess and I have already worried so much I have to let it drift. It is only that even the few photos are so impressive that one can hardly escape their appeal. That is a god send.

I think I have already written you to please get Arthur or some other lawyer to make sure about material in the way of photos and posters will be admitted into the States. I must know before I send my stuff. Senia Chapiro is going to send the exhibition that Senia and others had prepared for Paris. I don't know whether he will send it to New York or Chicago. I will then know where to send my stuff. But of course if you move to Bearsville so early the comrades themselves will have to arrange the show in New York.

I am still in the air in re my theatre venture. I have a few sponsors, Rebecca West, Ethel Mannin, Sybil Thorndike,

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573

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3

Maurice Brown, John Cowper Powys, and Dr Stell Churchill. and I have written Wells, Shaw, Granville Barker and Havelock Ellis. But have not yet heard from them. You simply can undertake nothing in England unless you have the backing of titles, money or creative people. I have ~~appealed~~ appealed to the latter. The trouble is Covelly and Maurice Brown, (I got them together) have not yet secured a theatre. and before we have that we cannot look for talent to participate in the entertainment. I have the promise of support from the man at the head of the Actors Equity Ass. He was sure he could get outstanding men and women in the profession to participate. and I also have the cooperation of a friend of the Searchingers—who knows the music world. anyhow I am not going to give up you bet. But I am not deceived as to the difficulties.

Indeed dearest I am not worrying about the stockings. I dare say they will prop up some day. Covelly took me out again and we had a very nice evening. We saw Ann Harding in *Candida*. I did not like her much in that but the play is still the best of Shaw's works. You will never guess who appeared on the scene. It was Dorothy Miller. She has evidently arrived is doing something through dancing what ever that may be. She looks quite well and has remained the same likeable creature.

Poor Moe, poor Babsie. It will be frightful for them to be dependent. I suppose she will have to do nursing sick as she is. for how long can Saxe and Hayman support them. Jesus I wish I could get rid of St Tropez. I would be so glad to help my own Moishe and Babsie who have helped me so long. I never want to live in St Tropez again. I could not stand all the memories. But I suppose it will be difficult to find a buyer. I mean to rent it for the summer. I won't get a terrible lot but I can may two thousand francs for the season. That will be something.

darling mine I have only this minute discovered that I might not reach you on your birthday if I were to write the 10th when the Queen Marys sails. Now I wish I could send you some gift. But all I can inclose in this letter is my dear abiding love for you and my innermost wishes that the year may bring you health and some joy. It is so little to send isn't it? Yet it is the one thing that keeps one alive, the thought of our mutual love and devotion. May you be happy dearest mine. I hope Teddy will give you a little party. I will certainly be with you in thought and with all my heart. I have not a moment left to day to write Fitz I have to be off to a committee meeting. But I will write her this week a few cheering birthday lines.

Love to Teddy, Ian and Davy. Is Ian likely to realize anything from the stamps?

I embrace you my child and hold you close to my heart.

no time to reread it Emma

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574

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19795

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It is mading about Erry. I tried and tried to get her to remain with her people. I know what misery it will be for Mollie and Genia to have her around. But she is hopeless. I am sure that her mother must have been worn out with her everylast~~ing~~ ing complaints and her pathological soft centerness. I simply don't know what to do about her except let her go her way. If only she would do that I should not care. But she uses everybody to the bone. In Nice, Venice and now in Paris everybody dreads her appearance. and she is so thick skinned she simple does not notice ~~that~~ that people have grown tired listening to the everlast ing story of her illness. It is really pitiful. However, it is mainly Mollie I care about. You will see by the inclosed how she feels in regard to E. and how ill she is. Of course she will neith find a job nor be able to work if she does. But Volin will try to get her a working card. I am sure of that. Well, the tragedy of Spain is too great to worry about Erry. I simply ca no longer do it. Nor have I the means to help her. Actually I have been living partly on the sales of the Spanish stuff which should by right also go to the fund I am raising for the suffering women and children. I would rather starve than touch a penny of that. So I cannot use a farthing for Erry.

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2

19796

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19797

3

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Love to Teddy, Ian and Davy. Is Ian likely to realize anything from the stamps?

I embrace you my child and hold you close to my heart.

577

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[Letter] 1937 March 2 [London to] George Bernard Shaw, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

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17477

18, Outletown Road, W.14.

----- 2nd March, 1937.

George Bernard Shaw, Esq.,
4, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.

Dear Mr. Shaw,

Our first and only Meeting with Frank and Nellie Harris in their apartment was no doubt as unsatisfactory to you as it was to me. Perhaps it left no impression at all on you, you may therefore not remember it at all. Nevertheless, I am taking the liberty to write you in a matter in which you have played a generous part. I refer to the Chicago anarchists who had been murdered by the State of Illinois in 1887.

I knew little of anarchism at the time but when I myself entered the anarchist ranks and made my first Lecture Tour through England, I learned that you had been the Initiator in collecting signatures of outstanding men and women for a protest against the judicial crime in Chicago. Whatever objections I have entertained through all the years, to your interpretation of anarchism, I have never ceased to be grateful to you for the sympathy you had expressed during the Haymarket Tragedy.

It will be fifty years on the 11th of November of this year since that judicial crime. My comrades in America in co-operation with a number of Labour organisations are planning a country-wide campaign to commemorate the anniversary. They have written to me, asking that I see you and other men and women who might have signed the protest in 1887, to ask for a few lines about the event. I am not sure you want to see me, so am writing to ask if you will be good enough to let me have a few words about the historic event that ended in the heroic death of the Chicago anarchists.

While I am writing you on this matter, I also want to broach another: it concerns the anti-Fascist struggle in Spain. I am

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-17478

(Continued)

-Page 2-

in England to place the actual situation in Spain before the British Public and to raise funds for the innocent victims of Fascism, especially the evacuated women and children from Madrid and the other Fronts. I cannot boast of my success although I have succeeded in raising some money and also in interesting a number of people in the heroic resistance of the Spanish workers and peasants. I now have in mind a theatre entertainment benefit for the suffering women and children, early in April. I already have as sponsors Miss Rebecca West, Miss Sybil Thorndike, Miss Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill and Mr. John Cowper Powys. And, I have written to Mr. Havelock Ellis, Mr. Grenville Barker and several others known in the world of Letters and Music. May I say here that the sponsors are in no way to be burdened with any financial responsibilities. It is only that I have found it impossible to rouse people in this country unless I could boast of the backing of titled people, those with money or men and women known in the creative world. I prefer to address myself to the latter rather than to those who represent real or pseudo nobility, or who have fat Bank accounts. That is why I am also asking you to please add your name to the list I already have.

Yours sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 2, London [to] H.G. Wells, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Institutional Location: Wells Collection, Rare Book Room, University Library.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Case C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona 18, Castletown Road,
London, - W.14.
2nd March, 1937.

Dear Mr. Wells,

Thank you so much for your prompt reply sent me through Mrs. G. P. Wells. Please thank her for me. It was stupid of me not to tell you in the first place that what I wanted to see you about was to explain the idea of a theatre benefit entertainment. I felt that I could do so better personally than by letter. Naturally I do not want to impose on your valuable time, so I will tell you what I would like you to do.

It seems to be impossible to achieve anything in England unless one has the sponsorship of titles, wealth, or literary fame. I prefer to address myself to the latter rather than to a pseudo nobility of people with fat Bank accounts. I have already a number of people well-known in English letters, who have consented to sponsor the project of a theatre benefit affair, for the unfortunate victims of Russia. Among others, Miss Sybil Thorndike, Miss Ethel Merrin, Mr. John Galsworthy, Mr. Maurice Brown and Dr. Stella Churchill have agreed to act as sponsors. Please let me explain that I do not wish to place financial responsibility connected with the sponsorship. I am only afraid the names mentioned would carry weight with the public. I feel certain that your name would contribute to the success of the undertaking, I beg you to consent to be added to those I already have on the list. I may say that I have also written to Mr. G.B. Shaw, Mr. Havelock Ellis, Mr. Neville Martin and a few others. A friend of mine who knows Mr. Aldous Huxley, has undertaken to see him as well.

Yours sincerely,

Emma Goldman

Accredited Representative of the CNT-F.A.I.

H. G. Wells, Esq.,
13, Hanover Terrace,
N. W. 1.



P.S. I forgot to state
that the affair is to
be non-political-
in purely humanitarian
roads. For the evacuated women & children. C.G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 2, London [to] H.G. Wells, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17474

Dear Mr. Wells,

----- 18, Castletown Road,
London, - W.14.
2nd March, 1937.

Thank you so much for your prompt reply sent me through Mrs. G. P. Wells. Please thank her for me. It was stupid of me not to tell you in the first place that that I wanted to see you about was to explain the idea of a theatre benefit entertainment. I felt that I could do so better personally than by letter. Naturally I do not want to impose on your valuable time, so I will tell you what I would like you to do.

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Yours sincerely,

Accredited Representative of the CNT-IAI.

H. G. Wells, Esq.,
13, Manover Terrace,
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COPY

18, Castletown Road, London, W.14.
2nd March, 1937.

The Editor,
"The New Statesman and Nation",
10, Great Turnstile, W. C. 1.

Gud

Sir,

In the midst of the dreadful silence of the British Press in regard to the place and importance of the CNT-FAI., it is heartening to come across a few exceptions. Few indeed, since it is only "The New Statesman & Nation" and "The Manchester Guardian" who are liberal enough to do justice to the CNT-FAI. I was therefore interested to read the article of Mr. Cyril Connolly in your issue of February 20th. I met him in Barcelona and, without seeming boastful, I wish to say that I gave him the first interview for the CNT-FAI., which he used for his first article in your publication.

My comrades in Barcelona at that time had had so many unpleasant experiences with newspaper men that they hesitated to believe that Mr. Connolly would make an exception. His first article proved that he was fair and sympathetic. As a result, he has since received every courtesy and all the data from the CNT-FAI, for his further work. On the whole, Mr. Connolly has been objective and just, but I was sorry to see in his last article that he considered it important enough to repeat malicious gossip and whisperings picked up from people on the streets. These dreadful human habits are unreliable enough in the time of peace. In a situation like the present in Spain, it seems a pity to give them credence.

A case in point is the opinion given Mr. Connolly by an "English Communist." Is it possible that Mr. Connolly does not know of the "love" every Communist feels for all Anarchists? Also it would be difficult to understand how he could repeat the charge made by his informant that I was an Anarchist who killed Buenaventura Durrutti. Actually, nothing but hatred can conceive of such an utterly mad accusation.

In point of truth, no other Anarchist in the CNT-FAI, was so trusted, loved and admired as Durrutti. It is therefore fantastic to assume that any of his comrades would have taken his life.

The reason given Mr. Connolly by the "English Communist" for his utterly absurd accusation, was that the Anarchists were "jealous of his friendship with the Russians", and that, "his views were very unpopular." Permit me to say that there is not a

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-2-

 Gud

word of truth in this. Actually, Durrutti never entertained "friendship with the Russians". He was absolutely and irrevocably opposed to Dictatorship. Of course he stressed the need of unity with the Spanish Communists, as the only means of conquering Fascism; but he was only too aware of the Ideological differences between Communists and Anarchists and the difference between their tactics, to ever become enamoured with the Soviet régime. A man of such convictions and of such abiding faith in the strength of the Ideal of Liberty could not possibly entertain "friendship" for a régime which rests on the very opposite conception.

I am not a Marxian and not in accord with the POUM. But, in justice to this party whose men are fighting heroically at every Front, I cannot but point out that it is scandalous on the part of the Communists to charge them with Fascism. That is just the trouble with the Communists. In their Jesuitical belief that "the end justifies the means", they will stoop to every method, no matter how reprehensible, in their dealings with their opponents. However, that is an old and painful story which those who flirt with Communism have yet to learn.

I congratulate Mr. Connolly on his understanding and appreciation of the role the Anarchists have played in the lives of the Spanish workers. It speaks for Mr. Connolly's ability to observe the actual facts in Catalonia. I only wish more people who go to Spain would show as much fairness. For no-one with a sense of justice can possibly fail to see the extraordinary constructive work the CNT-FAI., have begun, almost immediately after the 19th of July, '36. To be able to continue such an experiment as the collectivisation of the Industries and the land in the face of danger and death is proof positive that they are the only true revolutionists who still believe in Liberty intensely, to fight and die for it, if need be. For the rest, the Anarchists will survive the charge of being "either visionaries, half-wits or gunmen."

Yours sincerely,

Accredited representative of the CNT-FAI.

583

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 2, London [to Samuel] Fr[e]dman, [New York] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

London March 2nd 37.

Dear comrade Friedman.

It is a waste of time to write Mark. His answers after weeks of waiting consist of a few lines and really say nothing. Before ^{me} even I arrived in England I asked Mark to be sure that ~~some~~ ^a few hundred copies of Rudolf's brochure on Spain should be sent me. I knew I could dispose of them in our meetings about Spain. Whether he turned the order over to you or not. It is certain that the pamphlets failed to reach me. I cannot understand such management. I take it the pamphlets were published to be sold and widely circulated and not kept in the office of the Fr. Arb. Stimme. So why did I never get them unless they were simply not sent. Or that Mark has forgotten to tell you about them or to those who are in charge of the expedition. I can still use a hundred copies if you will send them at once. So please do without delay.

I also wrote Mark about the Fr. Arb. Stimme which kept going to St Tropez when you all must have known that I had left there for Spain, and that I have returned to England the latter part of Dec. Don't you think this is rather inexcusable in an office that aims to reach people with our ideas?

I don't know whether the Fr. Arb. Stimme wants anything from me. But here is an article on one of the collectivised villages I have visited in Catalonia, and also a translation of an article by comrade Augustine Souchy. Both should be interesting to the readers of the Fr. Arb. Stimme.

You know of course of the intended International Conference the A.I. and Youth of the F.I. are working on. If the embargo continues it will be impossible for anyone to pass through any country into Spain. But I share the hope of our heroic people in Spain that they may crush fascism by the First of May. Or the criminal embargo maybe withdrawn. In case the Congress does take place, and comrades from everywhere can come to Spain would there be any likelihood of anyone from America to attend? If not would the comrades of the F.R.A.B. St. and the Federation let me represent them, or at least bring whatever suggestions and decisions they want to transmit to the conference? I am determined to go back to Spain in the latter part of April even if I have to get there by various ways. I want this because I need new impressions of the situation in Spain and also to find new inspiration in the courage and fortitude of our wonderful comrades. Naturally, I mean also to attend the Congress. Will you write me after you have talked to the comrades of the Fr. Arb. St. and the Federation how they feel about letting me speak for them. It would be better of course, if someone from -- could come. If not perhaps I would do as a "substitute".

A letter I have received from comrade Helmut Ludwig who has charge now of the Secretariat of the I. in Barcelona asking me to write ~~xxxxxx~~ let him know whether Green represents any of our groups? He all says he does. I know nothing about it.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 2, London [to Samuel] Fr[e]edman, [New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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I wish someone would write me how successful the work for Spain is in the States. It is little hard to achieve much in England with the limited number of comrades we have. Nevertheless we did have two large meetings in London, and some very well attended meeting in some of the provincial towns. Also I have raised in the short few months for the CNT-FAI £375. I rather think I have reasons to be satisfied. Yet I do not because our achievement is as a drop in the bucket compared with the suffering and sacrifice of our comrades in Spain. Of course, I mean to continue with the work I have begun. I not have a large theatre benefit entertainment in mind. And I have a number of engagements to speak in the provinces. We are also preparing a manifesto to the workers of England to rouse them to some action against the treachery of the British government in the embargo, and possibly also a demonstration on Trafalgar Square. You see I am busy. I only wish we were not so poor in comrades and in the efficiency of those we have.

Please dear comrade put Mark to shame and write me a longer and more informative letter about everything in the States than he ever has. But you can give him my affectionate greetings nevertheless. You see if I were to love my comrades for there deserts there would be few I could love. For he is dear and prove yourself an exception.

Oh, yes I also wrote Mark to find out through some lawyer about photos and posters for an exhibition I would like to send to America. It is no use sending material if the Customs are likely to hold it up. By the way, was the Durruti film ever released? Another thing Mark never replied to.

Greetings to all the comrades and your family.

I hope to hear from you soon so please do not disappoint your old comrade.

Salud.

Emma Goldman

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585

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 2, London [to Samuel] Fr[e]dman, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19793

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 2, London [to Samuel] Fr[e]edman, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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19794

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Greetings to all the comrades and your family.

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Slud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005122

[Letter] 1937 March 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

20110

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 32 Y 34 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELEFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14931

SECRETARIA {

ESPAÑOL

FRANCÉS

ITALIANO

ALEMÁN

INGLÉS

PORTUGUÉS

RUSSO

VALLE

Barcelona 2 März 1937

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
LONDON W 14

Liebe Emma,

Deinen Brief vom 23 Februar habe ich erhalten. Die Taschentuecher sind inzwischen nach Port Bou abgegangen, von wo sie weiter transportiert werden sollten. Ich habe nach Port Bou telefoniert dass sie nicht weiter geschickt werden sollen. Die Gramofonplatten sind abgesandt worden. Ich hoffe, dass Du sie absetzen kannst.

Ich habe den Filmleuten Deine Adresse gegeben und ausserdem die Adresse von Darling mit der Bemerkung, Darling moege sich an Dich wenden in dieser Angelegenheit. Ich nehme an, dass Du inzwischen davon unterrichtet bist, dass Filmleute von England in Paris gewesen sind und ihre Vertreter beauftragt haben, die Filme zu besichtigen.

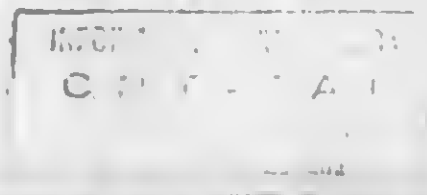
Bitte von nun an schreibe nicht mehr an das Regional Komitee, sondern an das Nationalkomitee, wie ich Dir schon mitgeteilt habe. Du wirst auch aus dem Brief von Vague entnommen haben, dass das Nationalkomitee bereit ist Deine Ausgaben zu bezahlen.

Wir schicken Dir mit gleicher Post einige Drucksachen und Photos und bitten Dich uns mitzuteilen, ob Du sie erhalten hast. Bitte teile uns auch die Adressen einiger Photogenturen in London mit. Wir wollen versuchen auch an diese direkt Photos zu senden.

Heute frueh sind englische Bulletin an Dich abgegangen. Bitte benachrichtige uns ob sie Dich jetzt praektllich erreichen.

In Sachen des ~~James~~ 16jaehrigen Jungen raten wir der Mutter sich an den englischen Konsul in Barcelona, Calle Diputación 250, zu wenden.

Sonst nichts fuer heute. Herzliche Gruesse



Augustin Souchy

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588

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 3 [London to W.] Winifred Evans, Halifax [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19901

18, Castletown Road,
W.14,
3rd March, 1937.

Miss Winifred Evans,
37, Newstead Place,
HALIFAX - Yorkshire.

- Dear Comrade, -

I wired you a few hours ago that I can give you the week-end of March 20th. I am now following up the telegram to tell you further particulars.

I discovered that the Independent Labour Party is having a Conference in Glasgow the Easter week-end. No doubt you will be attending it, and so will all the other members of the Party. On the other hand, I was released from the trip of March which had been intended for a meeting in the East in London. I therefore hope that you can do something in Yorkshire about a Meeting for Sunday the 21st. If you could also have Meetings on Friday and Saturday I would be willing to come for that purpose; but it will have to be that weekend because I am very uncertain about April dates. The fact is I will not know until the date is settled of the venture of a theatre benefit entertainment that I am planning - and that may not be until some time next week. I had a splendid meeting and very generous response in Bristol. It took place in the I.L.P. Hall, which was packed beyond capacity. The consequence there want me back for an early date in April, which is another reason why I cannot definitely promise you anything during April. There remains therefore the week-end of 20th of this month. Please let me know as soon as possible if this is satisfactory.

Fraternally,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 3, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich] Kaminski. — 2 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10 210
5, RUE DELAIZEMENT - XVII^e

Tél : ÉTOILE 33-77

Paris, 3-3-37
Liebste Emma,

vielen Dank für Ihren letzten Brief, der uns wieder viel Freude gemacht hat. Wir wissen, mit welcher Hingabe Sie dort arbeiten, und offenbar haben Sie dort auch sehr grosse Erfolge, was uns bei Ihrer unermüdlischen Aktivität nicht wundert.

Die Spanier können Ihre Hilfe in der Tat gebrauchen, denn mehr noch als die militärische präoccupiert und die politische Lage dort. Man hat leider den Eindruck, dass dort alles seinen gewohnten Gang geht, und das reicht eben für solche Zeiten nicht aus. Was fehlt, ist ein klarer Blick für die Zusammenhänge und eine visionäre Sicherheit, die über die kleinen und grossen Anforderungen der Stunde nicht die Hauptsache aus dem Auge lässt. Es ist traurig, dass diese wunderbare Revolution überhaupt keine Persönlichkeiten hervorgebracht hat, die mit einem starken Willen politisches Verständnis und internationalen Weitblick verbinden. Eine Revolution darf niemals stehen bleiben, sie muss immer weitergehen, wenn sie siegen soll, und in Barcelona, von Valencia ganz zu schweigen, bewegt man sich immer weiter auf demselben Fleck. Alles käme doch darauf an, weiterhin sichtbare Massnahmen zu ergreifen, die die Arbeiter und Bauern in dem von den Faschisten besetzten Gebiet in Bewegung setzen und darüber hinaus die revolutionären Kräfte der ganzen Welt zu realen Solidaritätsaktionen

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 3, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich] Kaminski. — 2 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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begeistern. Barcelona könnte und müsste das neue Zentrum der Weltrevolution werden. Statt dessen lesen wir in dem Bulletin immer wieder dieselben Reden, in denen man über die am 19. Juli geschaffenen Tatsachen nicht hinausgeht. Manchmal erinnern uns die spanischen Anarchisten gradezu an die deutsche Sozialdemokratie: genau wie die verlieren sie sich in Konzessionen und in kleinlicher Verwaltungstätigkeit. Wir fürchten sehr, dass das alles im Sumpf enden könnte, dass eine allgemeine Müdigkeit entstehen wird und dass dann schliesslich ein faules Kompromiss herauskommt. Gewiss, soweit sind wir glücklicherweise noch nicht, aber es fehlt eben leider der Funke, der an der Zündschnur weiterläuft und am Ende doch die Explosion hervorruft.

Sehr interessiert haben uns Ihre Pläne. Wir wünschten, wie könnten mit Ihnen nach Amerika fahren! Aber wie sind Sie eigentlich auf Palästina gekommen? Versprechen Sie sich dort besondere Möglichkeiten?

Unser Buch ist hier in voller Arbeit, und wir hoffen, dass es sehr bald auf dem Markt sein wird. Haben Sie noch keine Nachrichten über seine Placierung in London und New York? Wir sind sehr interessiert daran, dass es schnell geht, denn, sobald es hier erschienen ist, bekommt der hiesige Verleger die Hälfte von allen Uebersetzungsrechten, die wir nicht vorher abgeschlossen haben.

Lassen Sie recht bald wieder von sich hören, überanstrengen Sie sich nicht trotz Ihrer anscheinend unversiegblichen Kräfte und seien Sie herzlichst gegrüsst

von Ehren

Anita & Hanns

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726056

[Letter] 1937 March 3 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / H.G. Wells. —
1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12, MANOVER TERRACE, REGENT'S PARK, N. W. 1.

TELEPHONE, PADDOINGTON 6884.

March 3rd, 1937.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road,
W.14.

Dear Madam,

Mr H.G. Wells asks me to
thank you for your letter of
March 2nd and to tell you that he
would prefer not to sponsor the
proposed theatre benefit entertainment.

Yours faithfully,

Lucienne S. Wells
Secretary to Mr H.G. Wells.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005168

[Letter] 1937 March 3, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. —
2 p.; 23 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20201

3 March 37

24, HOLMDENE AVENUE,
HERNE HILL,
LONDON, S.E. 24.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Certainly I
will remember your visit
& our sympathetic conversation
& now that I have received
your important letter of explicit
wishes. It would be
pleasant to meet of an if
we could arrange it. But I
am not now much at home,
& with increased years &
uncertain health my
declining energy is usually
more than fully absorbed.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 3, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. —
2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20202

But meanwhile I shall
be very pleased if you think
it worth while to use my
name in so good a cause.
I have already been helping
in one or two small ways.
From of old (as my book, *The
Soul of Spain* shows) I have
been a lover of Spain &
the Spanish.

With cordial greetings
Havelock Ellis.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005121

[Letter] 1937 March 3, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

20109

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUT, 12 Y 14 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALIA 14734

SECRETARIA

BOLETA ESPAÑOL

BOLETA FRANCÉS

BOLETA ITALIANO

BOLETA ALEMÁN

BOLETA JUDÍO

BOLETA INGLÉS

Barcelona 3 März 1937

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N 7 14

Liebe Emma,

mit gleicher Post schicke ich als Drucksache einige Photos ab. Es werden in den nächsten Tagen mehr nachfolgen.

Deinen Brief vom 18 Februar erhielt ich soeben. Auf die einzelnen Punkte kann ich jetzt noch nicht antworten. Ich muss erst mit den Genossen Rücksprache nehmen. Was Fey betrifft, so kenne ich ihn von Paris, er ist ein unmöglicher Mensch; ausser dem körperlich so schwach, dass ich es nicht verantworten kann ihn hierherkommen zu lassen. Und was seine Zeitschrift "PROLACHO" angeht, so rate ich Dir einmal einige Nummern davon durchzulesen, damit Du Dich ueberzeugen kannst, dass derartiges nicht verbreitet werden kann. Den Brief an Fey, den Du zuruckgeschickt hast, stammt von uns. Also Fey soll in England bleiben. Mit seinen Drucksachen soll er uns verschonen. Gustel Doster ist bereits in Barcelona. Es ist also alles erledigt.

Ueber die deutschen Drucksachen hat Ilse bereits mit der deutschen Abteilung gesprochen. Vielleicht kann man einen Teil der Sachen, die Du dort hast in Hafenstaedte an deutsche Seeleute verteilen?

Ethel MacDonald bekommt denselben Lohn wie wir alle. Jenny Patrik lebt in Madrid in einem schoenen Hotel und ist gut versorgt. Ausserdem bekommt sie Geld fuer ihre anderen Beduerfnisse. Ich war vor 2 Wochen in Madrid, es geht ihr gut, sie sieht ausgezeichnet aus, viel besser als hier in Barcelona. Die Genossen versprechen allen auslaendischen Kraefte 40 Pesetas pro Woche zu geben. Ich glaube sie haben noch nicht alles bekommen; aber jedenfalls geht es ihr nicht schlecht.

In dem Briefe den ich Dir seinerzeit geschrieben habe wurde Dir bereits mitgeteilt, dass wir SPAIN AND THE WORLD unterstuetzen wollten. Auch Vasques schrieb Dir in seinem Briefe, dass Du ihm mitteilen moegst wann Du Geld benoetigst.

Ich lege Dir die Mitteilung ueber 571 vom National Komitee ein. Du kannst also dieses Geld benutzen fuer Propaganda.
Mit herzlichen Gruessen Augustin Souchy

in Madrid

595

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 3, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Helmut [Rüdiger].—
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, Stockholm, Sweden.



H. Rüdiger
Jul 1/1937

Paris, n. 3. März xx 8

Emma Goldman,
Vertreterin der CNT in England
18 Castletown Rd.
London W 14

Liebe Emma,

bei der Arbeitsteilung im neuen Sekretariat habe ich England zugewiesen bekommen, unter anderem. Da nun dem Sekretariat eine Idee der Lage dort und eventueller Möglichkeiten gehen zu können, habe ich mich mit Gen. Mascarelli dahin verständigt, dass ich mich an Dich wende mit der Bitte um einen kurzen Bericht. Wir haben ja dort keine offizielle Sektion, und so erscheint es mir als das Logischste, dass wir Dich als unseren Vertrauens kameraden betrachten, da Du ja eine Sektion der IAA - die CNT - vertrittst.

In den Papieren des alten Sekretariats finde ich wenig über England. Zahlungen für Bulletin CNT-PAI von Feldmann, Phippen, eine Korrespondenz mit Sonia Clements über die Anarcho-Syndicaliste Union, einen Brief von SPAIN AND THE WORLD (wir haben noch immer keine Kollektion des Blattes...), einen Brief eines Ch. Puff, der nach Literatur fragt, und eine Korrespondenz mit R. Barr über die Antiparlamentarische Richtung von Glasgow, welche ihren Wunsch geäußert hat, in die IAA einzutreten. Ausserdem hat das neue Sekretariat nun auch einen Brief erhalten von dem schon oft erwähnten Kelser, der mir damit zum ersten Male unter die Augen kommt. M., unter dem 12. II., schreibt, dass sie eine Revolutionary Youth Federation anarchoistischer Charaktere und syndikalistische Committees for Workers Control gegründet haben, und er schickt die erste Nummer eines Monatsbulletins mit programatischen Äusserungen beider Gruppierungen.

Wenn ich recht vermute, sind uns nun drei Stellen bekannt: die Glasgower, die AS. Union und die Gründung Kelzers. Es wäre mir sehr lieb, wenn Du uns als Grundlage weiterer Schritte des Sekretariats einen kleinen Bericht über diese Dinge und die allgemeine Perspektive schreiben würdest - einige Darlegungen über Art und Reichweite Deiner Arbeit in Auftrage der CNT wären in diesem Zusammenhang natürlich auch interessant.

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596

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414017

[Letter] 1937 March 3, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Helmut [Rüdiger]. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, Stockholm, Sweden.

Du verstår att vi nåt som behövs. Rikta din svar på
dessa brev till mig med adressen till sekretariats, 4 Square
Jean Polak, 117 Bd. de la Villette, Paris 10.

In den förhoppning, att du mår bra och din arbete går bra
går, våra vänliga hälsningar till även de andra medlemmarna i sekre-
tariats och särskilt av mig.



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597

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001143

[Letter] 1937 March 4, Halifax [England to] Emma Goldman, London / W. Winifred Evans. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

"THE NEW LEADER," The Official Organ of the I.L.P. Every Thursday 1d.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

Head Office: 11, St. Mark Lane, London, E.C.A.

Yorkshire Division

Secretary:
M. W. EVANS

Emma Goldman,
London.



37 NEWSTEAD PLACE
HALIFAX

4th March 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I am much obliged for your letters and telegram, which I have forwarded to the Secretary of one of our Leeds branches, so see what he can do about a Hall.

Unfortunately the week-end of March 20th will not be of any use, as the Leeds Spanish Medical Aid are having a meeting on the 21st. The following week-end is Easter, and I am afraid that will be a very bad week-end. We tried Easter meetings last year but they were not very successful, though of course you would have a wider appeal than our local speakers.

However, I cannot do more until I hear from Leeds, but I have appealed to my comrade to hurry his enquiries so that I can fix up with you.

Yours sincerely,

Divisional Secretary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726177

[Letter] 1937 March 4, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. —
2 p.; 29 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris, March 4th 1937.

23643

My dear Emma,

I am already here for two weeks. How the time passes. I am used to my little room and ever so satisfied with it. My health is --- until now, with strict diet (which by the way is not terrible) so far alright. I have got fat, and it seems I need it. So now I need work and everything will be for the best as circumstances allow.

The other day I had a call from Kay Boyle and Lawrence. They know that I want MSS. They promised me for this summer to type a book. It is not now, but you how it is, dear, time passes and if one has something in view it is already a relieve. They all took me out and brought me together with Joice, Jolas and other writers, who -- all -- nicely promised me their MSS. So, a Frenchman said that within two months I will hear from him. You see Kay is a darling of a friend to me. She is always the same, and I was touched by the reception she and Lawrence gave me. She just now called me up to invite me for dinner with other writers, so MAY BE also there I will have a chance. Oh, Emma, how glad will I be the first money I will earn.... You see, Molly, Sabia and our Voline do their utmost. But it IS first to have a job THEN they give me the card. See? And that is the hard thing to be found.

Well, I will do my utmost, in that, dear Emma, you must have confidence. My mentality has changed altogether, since I received a devotion of my beloved mother that healed my heart from all the vulgarities I had to endure. There was not a harsh word ~~spoken~~ spoken to me. And the doctors themselves helped me marvelously. If it only would stay that way.

I have many letters from everybody, included my dear, dear ever-the -same Stella. She, indeed, Sabia was right has a noble heart. I knew it all along. But you know, Emma one is much more sensitive when one is physically ill and has had what I had... But well, I am decided to earn money now, and there is no chance that I am going to let pass, believe me!

Manny, Sanias wife is awfully nice to me, she took me yesterday out all afternoon and prepared me a nice lunch. Well, Emma I cannot say that I had expected this hearty reception. Not to speak of Molly and Senia who told me that their home is my home and they prepared a wonderful chicken for me today. I have nothing to complain as far as that is concerned.

Let us hope that there will be soon work. Heard wife I have decided to be economical. Very much so. And so it will be.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

599

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726177

[Letter] 1937 March 4, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein].—
2 p.; 29 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

23644

How are you, dear Emma? I hope that everything goes relatively for the best. I do not want to speak of the part we both never will get over.....

Weather is very bad, indeed. All the time rain. After the beautiful snow in Brno it is not very pleasant. But my days are busy and I do not notice it much.

How is Auntie. Greet her heartily from me. Tell her that I will not go to Nice anymore IF THERE IS NO NECESSITY. By the way Kay E oyle invited me for the summer in Mégève, where they bought a house. I do not know what will be then, but I think if there is no special work I will make myself useful at Kays' Laurence is the same old good sort and both very sweet indeed. I had dinner and will have dinner now with Mrs. Vall, and probably Joice. So I must rush it is late.

Emma, please write me whenever you feel like and can. What can I do for you? May be you need anything? Let me know by return mail. I had a few letters from Nelly who was severely sick. She is a bit better now, but not well yet. Poor Nelly. She must be lonesome.

I have regular news from mother, whom I owe my present condition, the perfect condition of my teeth who were all underpuss and first of all: The return to be a human being. Yes, I am glad I was there, and I will now work. It will come. I am hopeful.

Heartiest greetings,



I go seldom to Molly and Senia, simply because I KNOW that there are always many people and they have enough to do with themselves. They both are just wonderful to me. So is Shapiro and the whole crowd.

600

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005099

[Letter] 1937 March 4, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —
1 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA

EL CONSELLER DE SANITAT
I ASSISTÈNCIA SOCIAL

Barcelona, 4, Marzo, 1937

20087

Emma Goldman
L O N D R E S

Querida camarada:

Con enorme retraso recibí tu apreciada carta del 16m de Enero. Es desesperante esta tardanza que impide dar satisfacción cumplida a los enear os que nos hacen los amigos. Quizás con motivo de la censura o porque haya sido olvidada por quien me la tenía que entregar, lo cierto es que la recibí con más de un mes de retraso. De ahora en adelante será conveniente que me escribas directamente dirigiendo la carta bien al Comité Regional o a la Consejería.

Dando cumplimiento a tus indicaciones, he interesado a los Comités de la C.N.T. y de la I.A.I., para que tengan en cuenta tu estancia en Inglaterra y envíen material que pueda servir a los fines de nuestra propaganda.

Conversé telefónicamente con Miravittles, Jefe del Comisariado de Propaganda de la Generalidad, para hacerle cuantas indicaciones me señalaste. Me contestó que ya lo habían tenido en cuenta lo que hacía referencia a envío de material y que sobre el caso del Delegado socialista por tí propuesto, ya te habían comunicado que los socialistas de por acá le habían rechazado como representante.

He tenido noticias que el día 9 y 11 de este mes se reúne en ésa una conferencia de la segunda y tercera internacional. Ignora que problemas serán los fundametales que discutan, pero supongo figurará entre ellos el del movimiento español, puesto que han invitado de una manera especial, a la U.G.T. y ~~la~~ manifestado los organizadores, deseos de que concurra también la C.N.T. aun cuando sea con carácter informativo. Ignoro si el Comité Nacional de la C.N.T. nombrará Delegado a dicha conferencia, de todas formas, sería interesante, vieras de intervenir para informarnos de los resultados de la citada conferencia.

Por aquí no ha variado fundamentalmente la situación; continuamos la colaboración, pero con aquella tirantez de relaciones que obliga la actuación poco franca de los socialistas y que además nos perjudica por seguir la acentuada línea de acercamiento a la burguesía que se les marca desde Moscú. La situación de los frentes ha mejorado un tanto, después de la pérdida de Málaga. Se nota una formidable reacción en el pueblo que será beneficiosa para nuestro Ejército Popular. Lo que nos tiene intraquilos es la diplomacia internacional que parece dispuesta de una manera desoarada y general, a sofocar nuestra Revolución.

Sin más de momento que comunicarte, ~~en espera de~~ tus gratas noticias, te saluda fraternalmente.

601

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005100

[Letter] 1937 March 4, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera. — 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Translation of letter from

P. Herrera, GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA, Barcelona, 4th March, 1937.

With great delay I have received your letter dated January 16th. It ^{is} desparating this delay which stops giving due attention to the requests of our friends. Perhaps owing to the Censor or to the person who carried it, the truth is that it arrived very late. In future please write to me directly, either to the Comité Regional or to the Consejería.

In accordance with your wishes I have reminded the Committees of the CNT and FAI of your stay in England so that they may send you material helpfull in our propaganda.

I spoke on the telephone to Miravittles, in charge of the Centre of Propaganda of the Generalidad, and I informed him of all what you say in your letter. He said that he had already noted the part concerning the sending of material and that as regards the case of the socialist delegate proposed by you, it had already been communicated to you that the socialists here had rejected him as ^a representative.

I hear that on 9/11 of this month a conference will take place in London of the second and third International. I do not know the fundamental problems which will be discussed, but among them ^{it} I take/that the Spanish situation will be one of them, as they have specially invited the UGT, and the organisers have expressed the desire that the CNT should also be present. I have not heard if the CNT will appoint a delegate, but it would in any case be interesting if you went and hear afterwards your report.

The position here has not changed a great deal; we continue cooperating, but with that rigidity of relations obliged by the attitude of the socialists prejudicial to us since they

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 4, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20082
follow the accentuated line of conduct towards the bourgeoisie
marked to them from Moscow. The situation in the different fronts
has become a little better since the fall of Malaga. A great
reaction is noted in the people which will benefit our popular army.
What worries us is the plottings of foreign diplomats who seem
disposed in a general and disgraceful way to strangle our
revolution.

Fraternally, etc.

P.H.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 5, London [to] Fannie Barrett, Toronto / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 21 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London 5th March, 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6819

Mrs. Fannie Barrett,
37, Hudson Drive,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

My dear Fannie,

I have proven a rotten correspondent with you, haven't I? I admit this is shameful, not to have replied to your letter of November 7th; the reasons you will find in some of the enclosures. I can only repeat what I have just written to Joe Desser, to wit - that my work is almost more than one person can manage. In the case of my activities for Spain, I have felt completely swamped not only with enlarged correspondence but also with the need of rousing people individually.

I cannot tell you the indifference and inertia of those in England who call themselves Liberals and Radicals. They are so comfortable themselves, and so smug. Why should they bother about the tragedy enacted in Spain? Why should they inconvenience themselves, while an attempt is being made by all the Powers to crush the Spanish Revolution and its heroic people? Often and often I feel it is hardly worth while going on. No-one can give more than he is capable of giving, so why coerce them into it? Yet I feel the Anti-Fascist struggle and the marvellous constructive work undertaken by my comrades - The National Confederation of Labour (CNT-FAI), and The Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI), - so deeply and intensely, I am urged on to try again and again, even against my better judgment. How far I have succeeded in breaking through, you will also see from the enclosures.

I expect to go back to Spain at the end of April-. I need new impressions and I also need the great courage and the deep faith of my comrades there, to replenish my own hope for Spain. Friends in America are trying for a vise. If they succeed, I may sail

-1-

604

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 5, London [to] Fannie Barrett, Toronto / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 21 x 18 cm.
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Mrs. F. Barrett.

-2-

5/3/'37.

for The states in August, - for six months - After which, I would also cross over to Canada; but this is very uncertain so don't build on it too much. For the rest, it is impossible to make plans.

Not for a moment do I believe that Fascism will conquer in Spain. If it does, it will be at the sacrifice of millions of people. For it is certain that the Anti-Fascist forces will resist to the last man. The very fact that they were able to hold Madrid against a formidable array of German and Italian soldiers, and a vast amount of arms, proves what courage, determination and burning faith can do. But there are Powers outside of Spain. Their conspiracy is more reprehensible to me than the actions of Hitler and Mussolini. Their loud protestations of democracy have proven a delusion and a snare. They have already betrayed it for thirty pieces of silver.

For it is an open secret to everyone--as proved through the Democratic myth -that England and France with their contention of non-Inervention, have worked deliberately into the hands of Franco. This is also true of the present embargo on so-called volunteers. It is only too obvious that the embargo affects only the Revolutionary side, because Portugal will continue to supply Franco with men; while our side will be prevented rigidly from sending anyone who is only too eager to go, and is therefore a volunteer in the true sense. Verily the conspiracy against Spain cries to the very heavens. Yet there are people who call themselves Liberals and acquiesce in the dastardly effort on the part of the Powers to drown Spain in the blood of the Spanish people. I confess I cannot speak or write about it without indignation and a feeling of outrage.

There would be much more to tell could we come together for a talk but I have so much to do. I can write a long letter only from time to time, make copies and ask the rest of my friends to be content with indefinite communications. I know you will understand, my dear Fannie, and will be satisfied with what I am sending you with this letter. I hope you are doing something for Spain and are co-operating with Dorothy and my other friends in the efforts they are making. Write me how you and the family have been. Give them my kindest greetings. You can reach me here until the end of April. It may even be longer. I cannot say at the present moment.

With love,

Affectionately,

Emma Goldman

(Enclosures).

605

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005107

[Letter] 1937 March 5 [London to] Fannie Barrett, Toronto / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20074

5th March, 1937.

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37, Hudson Drive,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

My dear Fannie,

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20075

Mrs. F. Barrett.

-2-

5/3/'37.

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There would be much more to tell could we come together for a talk but I have so much to do. I can write a long letter only from time to time, make copies and ask the rest of my friends to be content with indefinite communications. I know you will understand, my dear Fannie, and will be satisfied with what I am sending you with this letter. I hope you are doing something for Spain and are co-operating with Dorothy and my other friends in the efforts they are making. Write me how you and the family have been. Give them my kindest greetings. You can reach me here until the end of April. It may even be longer. I cannot say at the present moment.

With love,

Affectionately,

(Enclosures).

607

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 5, London [to] Havelock Ellis, London / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

18, Castletown Road, London, W. 14.

5th March, 1937.

Mr. Havelock Ellis,
24, Holmdene Avenue,
Herne Hill, S.E. 24.

Dear Mr. Havelock Ellis,

I cannot begin to tell you how you have encouraged me, by your friendly letter! It came on top of the refusal of Mr. H.G. Wells, to permit me to add his name to my list of sponsors. I have always found it extraordinarily difficult and enervating to reach men and women in England who call themselves 'Libertarians'. I never minded it very much - bitter hard as the struggle has been - on previous visits, but I do very much now.

Not for myself, of course; it is because I cannot do as much as is so desperately needed, to rouse interest in the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. Your friendly letter, therefore, means more to me than I can possibly express. Thank you so much. I am sure your name on my list of sponsors will go a long way to make the theatre venture a success.

I know your beautiful work, "The Soul of Spain". I read it some years ago. To be more accurate - shortly after I myself had visited the country. Your work helped me greatly to understand and love the Spanish people. My visit there, since the 19th of July, has increased and strengthened my faith in them.

With Spain so much before the world, it seems to me that your work would meet with great success were it brought before the English-reading public by means of extensive advertising. Could you not prevail upon your Publisher to do so?

Or, if the edition is exhausted, to get out a new edition, at a popular price? I am convinced that the reading of the "Soul of Spain" would rouse people to deeper interest in the Anti-Fascist struggle and perhaps to a generous response to its needs.

I have forgotten the name of your publisher, who issued that work, or would write him myself urging him to use the present interest for wide circulation of "The Soul of Spain".

Much as I would love to see you, I don't want you to come to London merely for my sake, especially while the weather

-1-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 5, London [to] Havelock Ellis, London / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

Mr. Havelock Ellis.

5-3-1937.

keeps so cold.

Perhaps later on, when you do intend to come to London, you will let me know? I will come to your place or anywhere you will tell me. I would hate awfully to leave England without seeing you once more, especially now when we share the hopes and aspirations of the Spanish people.

I am planning to go back to Spain the end of April, but with the dreadful embargo, France may not let me pass the border. But I will try, of course. Working in England to break through British reserve and smugness would try the staunchest spirits. There are days when I feel it impossible to continue. I know that if I could again bask in the courage and fortitude of my Spanish comrades, I would again feel strengthened and inspired. I am therefore going to try very hard to get back to Barcelona at the latter part of April.

If not, I will have to continue in England until some change takes place in the conspiracy of the Powers against the Anti-Fascist struggle. Friends of mine in America are trying to get me another visa (I was granted one in '34) for 3 months). If they succeed I will of course go to my old adopted country, to speak in behalf of Spain. But I am not very sanguine about the success of my friends. You will be amused I am sure when I tell you that all sorts of people tried to procure an extension of my stay of three months; they were told it could not be granted while the U. S. Congress is in Session (!) I ought to feel flattered, ought I not, to be so feared by the "mighty" U.S. Government?

I have suggested to my friends to apply for a visa after Congress retires from these overwhelmingly important labours! The fear of having E.G., in its midst may have reassuring effect on the Government. But the Government lacks a sense of humour and a large vision.

With admiring and affectionate greetings,



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 5, London [to] Fenner [Brockway, London?] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20221

London March 5th ~~1937~~

Dear Fenner.

I sort of guessed that you could not be back from Paris to attend the special committee session. Though why it had to take place I really do not know. Perhaps it was to present us with the perfectly outrageous expenditure of 478 pounds for the exhibition that should not have cost more than half of the amount. I must say I never met such blatant indifference to the waste of money as Gray has displayed all along. Not only will the struggle in Spain gain nothing out of the exhibition but the takings will certainly not cover the expenses. It is a mess I must say.

I have suggested once more that the last two weeks should be used ~~to~~ for appeals for contributions at the exhibition. I mean the very thing originally planned and not carried out until the last moment when it was found that gramophones and amplifiers ~~can~~ were not available. My idea is for a number of well known speakers to address the people at the exhibition either the noon hour or when the largest number stream in. Redluty agreed with the suggestion and asked me whether I would do that once or twice. He also suggested you, Maxton and several others who might be asked to speak a few moments and make appeals. For some inexplicable reason Elizabeth was against it. She is ~~un~~ so practical most of the time I cannot understand her objections. Anyway, speak to Redluty and Elizabeth. I don't say I cherish begging all the time. But there are very few ~~disagree~~ things I would not do for the heroic struggle of the CNT-FAI even if disagreeable.

Inclosed please find a check that had been made out at the meeting in the Friends House to your name. Also a copy of the Manifesto. Will you please submit this to your comrades and let me know as soon as possible what changes if any they propose. And if agreed how many copies might be printed. You remember I spoke to you over the phone about a demonstration on Trafalgar Square. I wish it could be organized. The conspiracy of silence of the press in this country is deadly. And the villainous misrepresentation of the CNT-FAI and the POUM grows more ~~astor~~ every day. You will probably have seen the outrageous article in the Daily Herald about the CNT-FAI in yesterday's issue. What

610

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 5, London [to] Fenner [Brockway, London?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

15105

20222

redress can one hope to get from such a source more poisonous
than the Daily Mail because the Herald pretends to represent
Liber in this country?

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 5, London [to] Fenner [Brockway, London?] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20223

The only way it seems to me is an appeal to the masses themselves who cannot be reached in large numbers in Halls. In other words by means of a demonstration. I would like to know what you think of this.

One more thing my comrades in this city whom I have organised into the London Committee of the CNT-FAI have expressed the wish to meet you and a few other members of your party for an exchange of ideas and methods to help Spain. Naturally there would be only a few from our side. Jack White, Sonia Clements an ardent comrade and the daughter of one of the ablest Anarchists in the U.S. one or two others of r.A.I workers and myself. Could that be arranged do you think?

Tomorrow I leave for Neath South Wales. I will be back Monday afternoon. I know that is your busy day. My own Committee meets Tuesdays. If at all possible I should like to have the Manifesto back with your suggestions. If not it will do to have it by Wed. next.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 6, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].— 5 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Martin Gudell Archive.

SG Gud

London March 6th 37.

My dear ^{Mr} Martin. I did not know that it is easier for you to write Spanish than Russian. Or is it because you do not have a Russian machine? You see, my dear my translator works very hard during the day at his job, and he has a lot to do in the evening. In addition he went to Paris last week-end. So I had to wait for his return before I could get the full meaning of your first long Spanish letter. Then Vidal brought the other. But it is alright the kindly translator gave me the contents of your letter through V. Tuesday at our committee meeting, and day before yesterday he sent me the complete translation of your long letter. It is alright to write in Spanish though it will always mean some delay in getting ~~xxxxx~~ them translated. Naturally, if you have a Russian machine I should prefer you to write Russian. But if not Spanish will do.

While I am on Russia I will answer your question in re the possibility of getting your MSS on Russia published. It is among your last paragraphs. But I had better answer it now as I might forget it. Yes, it would be possible to get it published. The question is will the comrades consent to ^{mainly} ~~mainly~~ book out of Spain about the real situation in Russia. I see by the new magazine HORIZONTSS just received that our comrades are still enamored with Stalins regime. I cannot understand their love and admiration for that modern torquomado. Nor their blindness to the so called new Constitution. It is like the "gentlemen's agreement between England and Italy. Troops sent to Franco at the very moment of the signature of the agreement. Stalin too, signed the Constitution and right after sent his ~~xxxxx~~ erstwhile comrades to their death. With such an attitude I do not see how ~~the~~ our comrades will consent to the real situation in Russia as you found it. By the way, are you writing about it in Spanish? Someone will have to be found who could undertake the translation. Nor is it any use to approach a translator or a publisher until the CNT-FAI assures you that they will not oppose it.

A long with your letter I received a very comradely letter from Mariano Vasquez for the CNT, at Valencia with a credential from the National Confederation of Labor. I never had so many credentials in my life. But actually they do little good because our comrades promise a lot and do not carry it out. It is all very well to write me ~~xxxxxxx~~ that I have full authority to act in England for the CNT. That the comrades are in full agreement with my suggestions in re the papers SPAIN AND THE WORLD AND THE FIGHTING CALL, that they are satisfied with my efforts, and that if I need money they would send it.

Unfortunately one cannot go on with a large campaign, pay secretary, rent, postage and no end of other expences with mere promises. You write that the comrades probably want me to use some of the money I have raised. Don't you understand my dear that I cannot do that without the absolute assurance that I can replace what I take? I have raised the money

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 6, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].— 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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2

 Gud

(about £275) already, for a specific purpose. If it became known that I had used some of it for the expenses of the bureau and the campaign here not only my moral standing in England but my usefulness would be lost for good. Now I do not care what the comrades in Spain will do with the money. That is their look out. But at this end I must have matters straight and above board. I must have definite receipts for the full amount when it will be sent and to whom I will be directed to send it. In other words, I will have to have definite instructions from the CNT in Valencia where to send the money and I will send it on. And then they will have to send me an ~~acknowledgment~~ acknowledgment. Meanwhile Vidal has sent a wire to Valencia asking the comrades to send money for the work here. I hope there will be a reply soon.

You say in your letter that the Comité Regional want me to send the money for handkerchieves. Actually I have used the money from the sales for the expenses of the bureau. Besides I had only three hundred all told, and there are still some left. Also I had to change the prices accordingly to the audience. Out and out proletarian audiences simply could not afford to pay much. I therefore reduced the price of the two size to one and two shillings. Besides that I had to pay £20 0.8 for duty. What with the five pounds and 75 pesetas I sent you in payment of the bill for the handkerchieves there is certainly precious little left to send to Barcelona. Recently Barr received the handkerchieves for which we had wired for an invoice as the Custom official were not willing to release them. Barr finally persuaded them to let him have the parcel. He will be responsible for them. Then a few days ago I got invoices for thousand handkerchieves, fifty disks and some other stuff but so far nothing has arrived. It is most unfortunate that all of you waited six weeks before my order was filed. I have no idea where I will be able to sell such a lot of handkerchieves now that the campaign is almost over.

Souchy is as reliable as Carbo. He was in Paris ~~in fact~~ in fact both were. But neither have written a word. I see that Frank was given a film along to the States. I asked for one in every letter. But Souchy invariably replied he could not get one. That seems to have been a mere excuse since he had one to give to Frank. I cannot understand such dealings. I have the feeling that Souchy does not realize or appreciate my work in England or the purpose for which I had been asked to come here. As if there were not enough difficulties and obstacles confronting my efforts for the struggle of the Spanish comrades without having my requests ignored, or sabotaged. I will see how prompt and accurate Valencia will be. I will then deal entirely with the CNT through Vasquez. I am tired and disgusted with the ~~treacherous~~ hopelessness of inducing anything done at your end. I do not mean you. But I do the Comité and Souchy. As to Carbo, I will never again address myself to him.

You say I should not return my mandate of the Generalitat. Alright. But neither can I act upon it. There are a do:

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890128022

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3

Gud

~~Why~~ a dozen reasons why I cannot and will not enter the office of the Generalitat here. Its too confused and to my mind chaotic for me to take any responsibility for the things ~~darling~~ is doing. Nor can I guide the expences made there. And there is much more which I would rather not discuss in a letter. On the other hand I have all I can possibly do for the CNT-FAI. I can not see why it is necessary for me to be in the bureau of the Generalitat where my hands would be tied and I would have to emphasize the Catalonian government at the expence of the CNT-FAI. It goes against all my thoughts and feelings. I want to give my all for the needs of the CNT-FAI. As long as I stand on ~~the line~~ my rights as the representative of our comrades I have a free hand and can do as I have already proven good work for the CNT-FAI I would be utterly useless, and I am convinced also, in the way of ~~darling~~ were I to be in the bureau. So I have definitely decided to have nothing to do with it. I may add here that I am not at all sure that the propaganda bureau in Barcelona is so keen on having me represent it. If it were, Carbo would have carried out what he had promised to send me specific instructions, what my function in the bureau are to be. He has not sent them nor will he. And as I have repeated so many times I will not go near the London bureau without such instructions. *Believe me I have good*

Reasons for it.

It is too bad that I never could get a reply to my ~~repeated~~ repeated questions inre the job intrusted to you. It was very well to keep on writing you want some of our friends to visit Spain. But where they were to get their fares neither th the Comite or you ~~seem to ignore~~. You know yourself with what result..... I am most sorry because a good chance had been lost.

I am glad you agree that the propaganda in England should go through me. The CNT in Valencia expressed the same thought. But until recently a number of people though knowing of my being here as the accredited representative of the CNT-FAI applied to Souchy and he sent them pamphlets and other stuff without even telling me about it. It caused confusion and bitter feeling of some disgruntled comrades. In Glasgow it is causing a lot of trouble in our ranks. You remember the case Guy Aldred, evidently the intimate friend of Ethel Mac Donald and her friend who is in Madrid. The fool has been attacking me for months charging me the most ridiculous crimes. For a while he seems to have had a change of heart he actually wrote me a letter begging to forgive him for his actions. Then out of a clear sky he began all over again as you will see by the inclosed rotten attack. Now for myself I care nothing for such ravings. But the group of comrades who is doing all the propaganda in Galsgow is suffering greatly as a result of Aldreds vicious stories. Now it seems to me that Souchy should either tell McDonald to shut the mans mouth. Or that he should write ~~them~~ him an official letter to the effect that I have been sent to England as the accredited representative and that he must stop his vituperations. You can see for yourself that my struggle is not a bed of roses. Not only do I have to fight the underhand work of the Communists against the CNT-FAI. But I must also stand the meanness

615

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[Letter, 19]37 March 6, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].— 5 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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of 4

ambitious

Gud

who are
crazy

charges and ~~just~~ pathologically afflicted people in our own ranks with ambitions to shine before the world. Anyhow I am glad the comrades in Valencia have made it clear that I am their representative and that comrades and others have to get in touch with me when they want anything. However it will not be possible to do much unless I am supplied with material and information of current events in Spain. I am glad to say I am now regularly receiving Soli, Tierra Libre and the Spanish Bulletin. The English stopped for weeks. It began coming again so I hope it will come regularly. I also receive the SOVIET REVOLUTION and the German Bulletin.

I did not know McGovern has returned to Spain. It is exasperating that Souhy does not keep me informed. But I don't know what to do about it unless you will undertake to send me everything that might have bearing on my work here. Yes, I know the I.L.P. is making desperate love to the CNT-FAI. So far I have dealt only with their general secretary Fenner Brockway who is rather a decent sort and who has been very helpful. But I certainly do not intend to affiliate with the I.L.P. ~~xxxx~~ And it would be a great mistake for the CNT-FAI people to do so. The I.L.P. like the POUM are Marxians and like ~~people~~ ^{people} they never change their character though they may change their skin. I am however willing to speak on the platform of the I.L.P. or to undertake a demonstration together. I am planning one perhaps on Trafalger Square. We have also written a Manifesto which we mean to publish. I accepted the suggestion of Fenner Brockway to have the Manifesto signed by us and the I.L.P. provided no political ^{clay} trap is added to our text. All that does not pledge us to anything the I.L.P. stands for. If we were not so poor in comrades in England I would not even consent to anything from the I.L.P. But under the circumstances I had to accept their speakers and their cooperation but it has all been done without any ties to bind me or the CNT-FAI.

About the English Bulletin, certainly Mc Donald knows English better than Green. One does not need to master the English much for that. But actually the English of McDonald is very faulty. If I had the time I would correct one of the Bulletins and send it back to you so you might see that I am not exaggerating. But she is better than Green and since there is no one else it is well to have her. She speaks much better over the radio than she writes. I have great difficulties in always getting Barcelona. But whenever I did get it and heard McDonald she was very good. I wish she would do as well with the Bulletin. It is disgraceful to send out something in faulty English. But I suppose it cannot be helped.

I want to get back to Spain at the latter part of April, for the Conference and for new impressions. I see now that the Conference may not take place because of the closures of the embargo. The idea of holding it in Paris is absurd. It would lose all its moral value and all the inspiration. Will you suggest to the comrades in charge of the Conference that it would be much better to postpone it until June or even later rather than have it take place in Paris. Some change for the better may take place, I mean it may again be possible to enter Spain. It is

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890128022

[Letter, 19]37 March 6, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / Emma [Goldman].— 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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 Gud

the greatest importance that the Conference should be in Barcel^{cal}ona and nowhere else. Barcelona in the minds of the world proletariat now stand out as the symbol of the Revolution and the heroic efforts of our comrades. If the Conference is to give results it must have the inspiration of Barcelona. I therefore strongly urge it should be postponed. Please tell this to the comrades.

Our meeting Feb. 19th was very fine. My appeal raised £80. Last Sunday I had a great and enthusiastic meeting in Bristol I collected £100 pounds there. In an hour I leave for South Wales where I speak tomorrow.

I am hard at work on a theatre affair for the benefit of the evacuated women and children. It is a big job but I hope to accomplish it. Then I have meetings all through this month and April. In short I am busy. Still I need to get back to Spain to report what I have achieved and to make different arrangements about my future activities in this country. I know its possibilities now. And I will be able to tell the comrades exactly what can be done.

Give my Salud to all the comrades.

Affectionately.

Yes, it is sad that Steinberg should be proven right as regards methods. Though he remains wrong as far as ideas are concerned. I am glad you wrote him. And very happy that you have grown deeper and broader than your teacher.

Emma

glenn

617

The Emma Goldman Papers

890128024

[Letter 1937 March 6, London to Martin Gudell, Barcelona (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Be one of our best comrades in A.

COPY

18, Castletown Road, London, W. 14.
1st March, 1937.

 Gud

Dearest Ben,

I have not been able to reply to your letter of January 2nd. I had entirely too much to do for Spain. The result has nevertheless proved worth while (though nothing to boast about), as you will see from the many enclosures of letters recently written.

My dear, I wonder that you should be so surprised over the ghastly thing that happened in Russia. The last trial was like many other trials, even those that took place while Sasha and I were still in Russia.

They are prepared and staged to be the very last comma, within the walls of the Cheka. Naturally this is done at the behest of the modern Torquamodo, Stalin. Not that Lenin differed very much from his ill-conceived son. The only difference between the two is that Lenin exterminated all his opponents outside of the ranks of his own party. Stalin has gone a step further - he is exterminating the Old Guard. The difference is only with some distinction, but fundamentally it is the same frightful Dictatorship which has led Lenin and is leading Stalin, to the butchery of everyone who dares to even breathe opposition.

In the case of the last victims, of whom thirteen were foully murdered and four "given grace" - there is no doubt a modicum of so-called 'guilt'. It is certain that all the men aimed to get rid of Stalin, not because of any fundamental difference so much as because they imagined themselves more fitted to rule the ship of State than Stalin.

Actually they all did exactly like him when they were in power. Did not Zinoviev, Trotsky and their comrades, condemn to death many of our comrades, and still many more of the "Left" Revolutionary Group? And did they not send to slow death in Concentration Camps and Siberia, tens of thousands of Politicals, workers and peasants? And what about Kronstadt?

So what really is the difference, that should rouse our feelings on behalf of the victims of a relentless Ideology - and cruel tactics? I certainly do not believe in kicking a dog when he is down and out, but neither do I intend to wax hot over the miserable group of men who crawled in the very dust before their accuser. The dreadful thing to me is their cowardice - much more than the brutality of Stalin. Think of it! In the country that has given to the world the most supremely courageous men and women - Idealists who at the expense of their own safety and life had held their heads high in Court! who defended their position knowing full well that it would meet with torture and death. Think of such a country bringing forth such cringing creatures as the victims of Stalin!

The Emma Goldman Papers

890128024

[Letter 1937 March 6, London to Martin Gudell, Barcelona (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Page 2.

 Gud

I cannot explain it in any other way except that the deadly Jesuitical ideology of Leninism and the Jesuitic explanation that "the end justifies the means" have broken the backbone of everyone in the present Soviet régime. They have undermined their stamina, their Revolutionary past, their manhood and their womanhood. It makes me shudder about the effect this Ideology and these methods must have on the young generation.

I said there is little doubt that the victims of Stalin conspired to get rid of him. Yet I do not believe that the charges against them, of having conspired to turn over parts of Russia to Hitler and other parts to Japan, are really true; and yet I would not be surprised even at that. For did not Lenin set them a solitary example when he turned over parts of the Ukraina to Germany for his famous "breeding spell" by means of the Brest-Litovks Peace? If this was good for Lenin, why is it not equally justified for Zenov, Radek and the rest? It is a ghastly business whichever way one approached it, and very terrible indeed that such things should be possible in the country of a grand and wonderful Revolution.

You will forgive me, My Dear, if I do not repeat all I have written to other comrades about my work in England for Spain. The enclosures will tell you everything. I am always glad to hear from you but you are a bad boy. You never tell me about Ida, how she is getting along; about Florence and your grand-child, Nardy. I am interested, as you must know, in everything concerning you and yours, so be a dear and write me about them. Love to all the comrades, and a large chunk for yourself.

Affectionately,

(Enclosures).

619

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005104

[Letter] 1937 March 6, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. — 1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

20063

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SECRETARIA

BOLETIN ESPAÑOL

BOLETIN FRANCÉS

BOLETIN ITALIANO

BOLETIN ALEMÁN

BOLETIN SUECO

BOLETIN ENGLISH

Barcelona 6 de marzo 1937

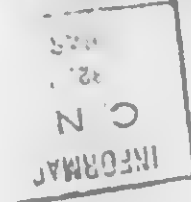
Emma Goldman
18 Castletownroad
L O N D O N W14

Liebe Emma,

Die hiesige Frauengruppe will sich mit einem Aufruf an die fortschrittlichen Frauenorganisationen der ganzen Welt wenden um moralische und materielle Unterstützung bei der Aufklärungsarbeit unter den spanischen Frauen. Dir wird sicher nicht unbekannt sein, dass die Frauen in Spanien sehr, sehr rückständig sind und dass eine grossangelegte Aufklärungsarbeit heute eine der wichtigsten Forderungen der Gegenwart in Spanien ist. Sei so gut und sende und sofort alle Adressen, die in Frage kommen können, an: A. Souchy (fuer ilse), Casa CNT-FAI, Via Durruti 32-34, Barcelona.

Mit herzlichem Gruss

Augustin Souchy



620

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005103

[Letter] 1937 March 6 [Barcelona to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Ilse [Jueneman]. —
1 p. ; 16 × 22 cm.

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6 März 1937

20062

Liebe Emma Goldman,

mit gleicher Post schicke ich einen Bogen
Propagandaklebekmarken ab. - Ich hoerte von Frank, dass er die
Absicht hat Sie auf der Rueckreise in London aufzusuchen. Er
hat sich in New York an Stella B. gewandt und anscheinend durch
sie und die Leute von der Freien Arbeiterstimme eine ganze Menge
tun koennen. Die Filme hat er, wie er schreibt, mit Verspaetung, aber
doch endlich bekommen. Er hofft sie einer "Big" public zugaeenglich
zu machen. Er wird etwa Mitte ~~xxxx~~ dieses Monats von New York abreisen.

Sie sehen, ich kuenmere mich jetzt ein wenig um die
"mujerers libres". Schicken Sie wieder mal einen Artikel?

Herzlichen Gruss

ilse

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. — 2 p.; 23 × 18 cm.

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9 March/37

25, HOLMERS AVENUE,
HERNE HILL,
LONDON, S.E. 24.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Thanks

you for your letter and
the enclosures.

I trust that all
will go well with
your plans for the future,
+ that the theatrical
venture will be a success.

I fear my name only
appears to a few, their
quality better than their quantity.
But (though our Government

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Havelock Ellis. —
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is labelled, I think this¹⁹³⁷
is an immense amount of
interest in the Spanish
struggle in England, & mostly
on the right side.

My "Soul of Spain" is
published by Messrs Constable
of 100 Regent St. Leicester Square.
& is now out of print in
England. It is still selling to a
small extent in U.S.A. I

should be pleased to see a
cheap reprint of it. But
I think the suggestion
should be brought before
the publishers independently
of the author.

With cordial regards with
Havelock Ellis.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 8, London [to] Evelyn [Scott, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20285

18, Castletown Road, London, W. 14.
8th March, 1937.

Dearest Evelyn,

It seems ages since I heard from you or have written you. The last note was addressed to Stella, which she enclosed in her letter. I do not even know where you are. I take it you are still in America? I am asking Stella to forward my letter to you.

So many things have happened since I wrote you last, that I really do not know where to begin. Of course you know that I went to Spain and that I came here after three months' close contact with the events of that heroic country. I hated to leave the struggle of my comrades; and their complete consecration to their aim affected me deeply. I never felt closer to the people who shared my ideas, in any country, as I did to the marvellous Spanish anarchists; I was deeply moved by their simplicity and their complete freedom from sophistication. I realise that the latter is a double-edged sword, in a world so shrewd, so cunning, so absolutely out for conquest and loot. It is a defect rather than a virtue, to be childlike. It has already worked considerable havoc in Anarchistic ranks, and heaven only knows what price my comrades will have to pay for the right to continue the great work of reconstruction begun immediately after 19th of July.

And yet I love their simplicity. It went to my heart, and strengthened my faith in Humanity, for it seemed nothing short of a miracle for people to go on building with danger and death ever present. You have no idea how marvellous my comrades were and how inspired. That is why I hated to leave them, so vibrant with life and courage, and go back to England — where no-one gives a hang how the other fellow lives. And yet I should really not complain. I have met with much greater response since I returned here (December 23rd) than ever before; but it is bitter hard to break through the indifference and smugness one meets with at every step.

You will see from the enclosures that I am here as the representative of the CNT-FAI., and also of the Generalidad. You will be surprised I am sure that the uncompromising E.G., should have consented to represent a Government. It does sound inconsistent, does it not? But as a matter of fact I have made little use of my Government credentials. I have nothing to do with the office in this city that represents the Catalonian Government. In the first place, I have an awful lot to do on behalf of the CNT-FAI; and in the second place I find the Generalidad Bureau in London are messed up, and I did not care to go into such a confused situation. I have concentrated entirely on the campaign to awake understanding and to arouse interest in the aims and ideals of the CNT-FAI—(which is, CNT, the National Confederation of Labour; and FAI., The Anarchist Federation of Iberia.)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 8, London [to] Evelyn [Scott, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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-Page 2-

8/3/1937.

It has kept me "on the run", I can assure you. I organised two large Meetings in London and I spoke in a number of Provincial towns. The response everywhere was far beyond what I had expected. Actually, I have raised £275 for the evacuated women and children in Spain. You will see by the enclosures that I now have a theatre scheme in mind to raise a more substantial fund. I will not know until next week whether I can pull it off. I have notable sponsors, among them Rebecca West, Myoel Thorndike, Ethel Mannin, Lancelotti Ellis, and a few more.

The main difficulty will be the theatre, but Maurice Brown, and another friend (theatrical people), are looking after that end. Perhaps I will succeed. It is a supreme effort, especially for this country, where I am either not yet known or bitterly opposed by the Communists. You must know that in England, as everywhere else, the Intellectuals are making desperate and shameful overtures to the Wonder - the Stalin' régime! I have often said, and can only repeat, that in time of an actual Revolution in England, this gentry would be the first to sabotage the Revolution. You see, at present they are still enjoying all the freedom they want. They are still far removed from danger to their lives. They have not the faintest conception of what Dictatorship really means. Those who do, excuse it on the grounds that almost anything is good enough for the English desert and worker. "In England would go about it in a different way." "The Englishmen do not need Dictatorship." The pseudo Intellectuals themselves do not see how utterly absurd their self-sufficiency is. Nevertheless, they dominate the situation in this country. With their opposition it is almost impossible to break through. I therefore have all the reasons in the world to be satisfied with what I have gained so far - but I am not.

The heroism and courage of the people in Spain seem so high they make my efforts seem insignificant indeed. But one does what one can.

It is difficult to make plans with the whole world in a turmoil but I do want to go back to Spain. I had hoped it would be the latter part of April but with the present embargo it looks dubious whether I will be able to pass the French border. Well, it is far off and I am so busy I cannot worry about distant things.

Dearest Evelyn, how have you been? What have you been doing? You know how interested I am though my silence may disprove this. But you are among the most understanding of my friends. You will not doubt my love because I have been so lax. I want very much to hear from you. Please write soon. I want very much to hear from you. Please remember me kindly to Jig and Jack.

Devoted love,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005065

[Letter] 1937 March 8, London [to] Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman]. - 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19991

18, Castletown Road, London, W. 14.
Monday - 8th March, 1937.

Mr. Thomas H. Bell,
216-N, Matthews Street,
LOS ANGELES.

Dear Tom,

I was glad to get your short scripts of December 26th and February 2nd. They found me immersed in work, organising large meetings for Spain; seeing dozens of people; running back and forth to the provinces. When I tell you that I am dictating this to-day, though I have to leave for Neath, South Wales, in the late afternoon (Saturday), you will appreciate my affection for you, and my friendship.

I was somewhat amused at your contention that we have on occasion 'quarrelled violently, and that we would again do so were we thrown together.' I must be getting gaga. Would you believe it, I do not remember a single instance of our quarrels? True, you have always been rigidly individualistic - more so than I - but as to any quarrelling argument, I am not at all aware of it. Moreover, I don't think we would quarrel over Spain.

I see only too clearly the compromises our comrades have made and are making. Certainly "Militarization", "Single Command", and all other such fancy steps, very close to Dictatorship, are only too true. Not only do I see that, but while in Spain I have tried desperately to make our comrades aware of the danger of their acquiescence to Governmental methods; but also I know that they themselves realise the untenability of some of their concessions. Their explanation is that the situation imposes their actions. The situation is certainly grave, not only from the side of Fascism but also from the internal enemies. I should despair utterly if I had not had the opportunity to be close to the comrades and to see how deeply aiding is their love of freedom and their determination not to swerve from it fundamentally. They reason and justly so that if Fascism conquers, their lofty ideals will be crushed - not only in Spain but in the rest of the world.

They feel, and justly so, that they must concentrate first on exterminating Fascism, and they can only hope to succeed by concentrating every means at their command, on the Anti-Fascist war. At the same time, they are continuing their constructive work and the decisive voice in that particular field still rests with the CNR-FAI; and as long as they remain in charge of the economic situation, I do not think there is any reason to be too alarmed, though it is true that every deviation from one original stand is cause for alarm.

-1-

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871005065

[Letter] 1937 March 8, London [to] Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman]. - 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19992

Mr. T. H. Bell,

-2-

8/3/1937.

to revert to my letter in regard to your charge of Reprisals - I assure you that I have made it my business to investigate every place I visited to find out whether Reprisals had taken place. Nor have I been "shown" these places. There was no such a thing during my three months in Catalonia as "being shown and taken round". I had complete liberty to go by myself or take anyone with me I desired. That is precisely the difference between the situation in Spain and Russia. I don't deny that there were shootings. I mean that Fascists were condemned to death. I attended such a trial, and while all the evidence was against the men tried, I went away ill and heart-broken that such a thing should have to take place during a revolutionary period.

For myself, I have never denied that revolutions cannot be fought with kid gloves. I have always insisted that an armed attack on the revolution must be made with armed force. Nevertheless, I could neither act the Judge or the executioner, no matter what was at stake. Perhaps I am a bad Revolutionist, but that does not blind me to the imperative necessity of defending the Revolution, and that is what the CN-FAL is doing.

Thank you, my dear, for your tribute: "I will take your ultimate judgment when you have seen, not what you have been shown but what you found out yourself, and when you have time to think things over, and your high enthusiasm has been finally tempered right by your solid common sense. I will accept this rather than that of anyone else on earth." That is very high praise, which I appreciate deeply. All I can say is that the longer I stayed in Spain the more profound was my faith in the Spanish comrades, and the greater my admiration for them. I have already said that many things they have done during my stay, and what they are doing since, cannot possibly be reconciled with our ideas and ideals, but I see in all their concessions the result of their first mistake - to engage in the Elections and unity with the other parties of such divergent ideas. Once that is done, the other steps merely follow in logical sequence. Naturally, the greater the danger from the fascist side (daily increased by numbers, and arms and the support of Franco, by French and English, the so-called Democratic countries) the more inevitable becomes further compromise. But while the CN-FAL have made concessions contrary to their ideas they never cease to insist they are fighting fascism not as a means to re-establish a democratic Government but in defence of the Revolution and with determination to build a new economic social life in keeping with Anarchistic ideas.

In any event, I cannot now sit in judgment of our comrades. They are facing the insatiable monster, Fascism. They are denying themselves the most urgent necessities in order to feed Madrid and other fronts. They are sacrificing their

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own lives; they are building amidst danger and death. I should consider it treason were I now to discuss (publicly at any rate) the differences I have had with the Spanish comrades — and had from the very beginning.

I am going back to Spain to see for myself all the new concessions made to the hour and what they have done to the morale of the CNT-FAI, now far they will be able to extricate themselves from the labyrinth of Comintern. I am determined to go back the latter part of April if possible; if not, some time in May. I am enclosing some copies of letters recently written. You will see what I have accomplished here against all odds. It is not much, but it is a lot when one considers the opposition I am meeting here.

I hope my dear that the warmer weather has brought relief from your asthma and that you are again on deck? Yes indeed I wish you could be in Spain, or here, but I realize only too well that one harassed by illness for well-nigh a lifetime is not in a position to throw himself in the boiling sea of Revolution and War.

Remember me fraternally to all the comrades; give my love to the Hookers; tell them I will write them next week.

Affectionately,

ent (Enclosures)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 8, V[ienna? to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. — 8 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

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V., March 8, 1937

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Dear Comrade E.G., I received your letter and adjoining letters. Am glad of success of the second large meetings and hope that all the intermediary meetings and lectures, provincial, Scottish etc. are also a success. But I must wonder that there seem to be no people about who provide for you the opportunity for at least weekly large and general London meetings distributed over the immense area of London. Maybe the County Council election was an obstruction — even the coronation clap trap is to be another one and in Paris that exhibition, if not financial cares will crowd out Spain. — England is indeed a moral and intellectual failure, however I resisted your earlier criticism. But, a poor consolation, the U.S. are a larger failure still, having produced nothing of progressive value since some years ago there began a general outbidding one the other for practical social measures. What is lacking in both immense spheres, the Anglosaxon and the mixed up, mongrel American sphere is an ethical and intellectual basis: whatever old England and American pioneers once possessed of such fundamental qualities, is worn out, used up, gone now and the naked philistine and flibusteer remains with ever increasing layers of philofascism or philocommunism (the same thing in the long run) accumulating on them.

Our libertarian effort was frittered

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away by being wasted in the domain of economics, whilst it was neglected to connect it with the liberal and humanitarian sentiment aroused in very many since the 18th century. Economics to an ethically undeveloped man, always means greed, and force to obtain results, and submission to the strongest who lead the way — but these created the City and Wall Street economically and Fascism politically — and keep wealth and power for themselves. Against this only slavery of another type could be proclaimed — State Slavery, and this leads back to the rule of the Iron Heel, be it that of the Fascist or of the Russian Communist.

Only sturdy, unselfish ethical men can ride against this, as they have alone muscles of moral fibres. This is widely the case in Spain now and it is the real redeeming feature of our whole age. Yet those who posed as libertarians and all that in other countries, are unable and unwilling to give proper help, not a few of them, under the most deplorable circumstances.

There are above all the defaitists and the self-called integral pacifists; here are, of course, the dogmatists who are born fools. I must say that I wonder at your patience with all these freaks. You do not mind matters whenever I say anything with which you disagree and I often felt glad

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to be out of the reach of all your slips (3
and boots when you write to me.^{15.10.37}
I felt almost pity for the sticklers and
pacifists and dogmatists to whom you
were replying — people who from far ahead
and on the basis of rather a minimum than
any large quantity of information, establish
their censorship. I wonder how you let
them off lightly like that Wim de Jong
and how you yourself reserved criticism
in other letters — and I was thunderstruck
to see one of your letters printed in No. 5
of the London Spain and the World.
If anything, these letters merited strict
privacy and were written in that strain.
If they find their way in the Tr. A. Shuman
which cannot be read outside a limited
sphere, the harm is small — but to see
that letter inserted in a young, cheerful,
fully devoted London paper, was a
blow to me and I consider that the
letter could only throw cold water on
the hopes, confidence and enthusiasm
which we others tried to rouse by that
paper. I was about to loose my
interest in that paper, I ceased to
write and in fact I have only
yesterday written a full article once
more and with great pleasure the
moment I dived into the subject.

You did otherwise from 1917 to
1921 almost, publicly up to 1922,
when you fell solidarity with what
was done in Russia and abstained
from criticism for above 4-5 years,
whilst now after hardly 5 months
you appear to feel otherwise. Either

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in the Russian case you had full confidence and in the case of Spain¹⁹³⁸ you have not — or you feel that in 1917-21 you neglected criticism and do not wish to repeat that mistake.

It is curious that my experience runs in the opposite direction. I never felt confidence in anything the Marxists would do and thus felt quite outside of what happened in Russia, safe feeling with the oppressed and the victims. But I understand now, after the Spanish experience, that for the Russians, as for those in Spain, such a life and death struggle is a unique matter, un bloc, something in favour of which all good people strain every nerve and which must not be given up to criticism, partisan aims, dogmatism, diminution by pessimism and all that. There are inevitably mistakes, shortcomings, etc., but make the best of them and not the worst. It is the time for tact and not for rigor. An infinity of things open to criticism are just done in order that nothing worse should happen. Who can see from afar all the intricate factors which dominate every situation? We do what we can — this feeling inspires them, and those who far away at some editorial desk scribble criticism or scepticism or pessimism or pose as rigorists, always far away from realities — these

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are fools or knaves whoever they are, prigs and mobs and fairweather and Sunday cloth anarchists. ¹⁵¹³ These I expected to see you slash to pieces, but privately, whilst I see just a specimen of your longanimity produced in the bright and hopeful London paper. Why not publish there your fine description of Durruti which I read in the German pamphlet — that is cheerful, charming, inspiring — and I hope to see it in that paper sooner or later.

These pacifists are quite degenerated now — exactly the opposite of what they professed in the beginning. They started from Thoreau and Tolstoy — disobedience, passive resistance, and they arrived now at submission, voluntary servitude, everything — just to shirk war. There are horrible specimens of such in France — and in a few other countries too. They would not stir if Hitl. and Mass. came, not they — they would fit in with him as the O.S.D. in Germany in 1933 and all would be said. — At the present juncture, when Spain has risen manfully, they have neither the decency to hang themselves, nor to be silent, but just go on gathering war resistance. These are not worth to wipe one foot on.

Anarchists, outside of Spain, just managed to get lost altogether, most of them. They lost themselves among an imaginary syndicalism. They, others of them, succeeded to live in splendid isolation. They, others again, succeeded to keep with every morbid sex questions and all that.

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They just succeeded to feel high above all former liberal and humanitarian, progressive and similar useful currents, leaving these to be smothered by general reaction or, of late, to be invaded and made use of for their authoritarian purposes by the communists, whilst other active elements are appropriated by the Trotskists. The liberal-libertarian front was carefully pickpocketed and so the living elements are left to be exploited by Stalin or Trotski.

All this is desperate and there is little left but an antiquated literature, old routine papers and a few of us very old people — besides some quite uneducated (unsufficiently informed) young people who may any day leave for Moscow, Trotski or Fabius.

And from these ranks arises that criticism of what is being done in Spain where, alone, since 1868, nay since 1840 and before, the workers have been active, militant, fighting whenever they could, an anarchist in soul and spirit before ever they heard of the word which they know and cherish since 1868. There alone had experience and did real fighting and socially newbuilding work. — Whatever was done in Italy was done by heroically inspired volunteers who were strangers in their own country and the people looked on and let them perish. In Spain alone it was and is the people themselves. There alone the organisations did flourish because the anarchist spirit flourished in them and was when these were

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the first to sacrifice themselves for general human freedom, resisting its deadly enemies since. (7)
that is not good enough for some of the sand fleas who produce little papers in Holland or who produce nothing at all as those in Toronto, a locality which you mentioned in one of your letters as being shocked beyond means at the attitude of the Spanish anarchists.

Well, so do I feel and so you must feel in your inmost and so A.B. would have felt and other good men. Our task can only be to revive and rally all the living elements, all who reject the poison and mental deficiency of authority and to lay once more the foundations of a progressive age. When a flood has swept over fields, carrying off the black soil and covering the fields with stones and sand, we do not sow and reap on stones and sand, but these must be removed, better soil restored etc. — so after the nationalism-war-bolshevism-fascism-racism deluvium of some 25 years now it is utterly immaterial whether some tiny "group" produces 12 or 52 issues of some truly anarchist paper per annum, year by year — but it is vital to stay the flood, all, to build new dykes, to remove the sterile alluvions and to just begin to improve the devastated ground. In all this anarchists may be foremost, may do the most useful work, may be listened to, respected, imitated by many if they are useful men and women of the Spanish type — whilst they are quite useless and a disgrace to the ideas to which they do lip service, if they behave like those I was speaking about.

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allow me to say once more: you gave for years credit to the ¹⁵¹⁰² bolsheviks — why do you give so little credit to the Spanish Cause? If you had been there at the beginning and had known it closer for some months and years and decades of years and, historically, for some generations before, you would not wonder at what you wonder or look doubtfully now — and what of value do and can know those faraway who never had an occasion to examine the large subject? Surely we say satirically: *mit dem Amt Kommt der Verstand* — and that seems to mean that the man who publishes an anarchist paper in Holland or no paper at all, ever, in Toronto, has miraculously got some full anarchist insight! No, he simply does not know what he is talking about and must be told so and before all, must do local work and not dabble in faraway problems.

I just write this trying to infuse some more cheerfulness and confidence, hope and brightness in your English propaganda. If you had directly written for that London paper, surely you would have said other things than in that dismal letter and put your full heart into it as when you wrote on Gurruti. — *Eine grosse Zeit findet ein kleines Geschlecht* — These words of one of the German classics are the essence of all I said on those outside of Spain and we must do our best and to the last to remedy this, not boastfully, arrogantly, censoriously, but modestly, cheerfully, hopefully and uprightly.
Profoundly M. N.

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[Letter, 19]37 March 9, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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London March 9th 37.

Dear Helmut,

I was so glad to hear from you at last. Yes it was a delay to send my letters with some of the many who used to go back and forth between Paris, or Perpignan and Barcelona. These people took their time about forwarding letters from Spain to me and mine to Spain. That explains the idiotic loss of time. I no longer avail myself of such negligent postillion "d'amour". I am too eager for information from you and to waste my time with careless and irresponsible people even if they are comrades. I have decided to spend on air mail letters. At least I know they will reach you and the other comrades quicker. Of course one cannot say all one wishes in a letter sent by post, but then nothing is sure in this mad world of ours.

First I want to tell you that I am more than pleased that you have been selected to take charge of the Secretariat of the I.A.A. I have felt for a number of years that the organization had been badly neglected and existed only on paper really. I realize that your new duties will mean more work of which you already had a lot to look after. But knowing your capacity for work, your steadfastness and thoroughness I am delighted that you will be in charge of the secretariat. It is too bad that you do not have competent help. For instance, in the preparation of the Spanish Pressedinst as well as the review in three languages. We need such things desperately. Especially so we need the Pressedinsts of an intimate nature. I cannot begin to tell you my anxiety and fear for the future of the CNT-FAI when I read the concessions they are making. Of course these are dictated by the danger from the fascist beast. I understand that only too well. Only to day I wrote along letter to one of our best and ablest old comrades who had played a very great part in our movement in England and the U.S.A. he is puzzled and disturbed as our many of our comrades with the whole situation in Spain. I use most of my time trying to explain and to defend. But I must admit that I myself am puzzled and worried about the future of our heroic people. I dread that they may in the end pay the price our comrades in Russia have paid. That our enemies now the supposed allies may stab them in the back. So it is very necessary to have some account from the scene of battle so that we may know what was inevitable and why it had to be done. But of course it will be difficult for you to do so much. Perhaps you have someone to help. There must be among all the German comrades, if only to arrange your material and help with translations. I was glad to hear from Goumy that Borstel is at home in Barcelona. Can he not be of help?

Yes, I have received a letter from Mariano Vazquez which

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1937
I am very glad that I may suppose some money for
SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is a first rate paper and could go on improving
when it will feel a little more secure. The FIGHTING CALL is not exactly
what I consider necessary. But I mean to help the comrades in Glasgow
for a few months to see if they can improve it. If not there will be
no use in wasting the money intended for more important purposes.
Indeed I am very anxious that your brochure should be translated and
published in English. The work is most needed here as the workers have
not the slightest idea what Anarcho-Syndicalism stands for, or what
the IAI stands for. I have given your pamphlet to a comrade to see if
she could translate it and how much it would be for the job. And I will
write the comrades in Valencia suggesting that they let me get it out
in England. Of course I will send you copies if it is published. By the
way will I be able to sign your name as the author of the brochure or
do you want me to have it appear as the work of the CNT-IAI. Let me know

Vasque wrote me if I needed money for the work of the CNT
IAI Bureau I should write him which I did. You see I have collected
£280 pounds for the evacuated women and children. Naturally I did not
feel justified in touching a penny out of that. To day I got a receipt for
the first fifty seven pounds. I am writing Vasque about the money
since raised and I will act according to the direction of the National
Confederation when I hear from Valencia.

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way will I be able to sign your name as the author of the brochure or
do you want me to have it appear as the work of the CNT-IAI. Let me know

Yes Rudolf is the man to write the brochure about the
origine and development of the E.A.A. No one could do it better.
Rudolf can never write letters when he tours. But I saw Milly's sister
a week ago and she told me Rudolf and Milly were given a longer stay in
A. and that he is doing great work for Spain in Calif by his lectures.
Polly gave me their address but I have mislaid it. You can reach him
c/o Dr J. Holz 2606 Brooklyn Avenue Los Angeles Calif.

I congratulate you on the contents and looks of the
SOCIAL REVOLUTION. I only wish I could find Germans to sell or give the
paper too. But I wrote Souchy and Martin to tell the German comrades
I can do nothing about it. However I am trying to find comrades living
in Seaport cities to try and reach German sailors with the paper and

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people/ with our own papers.

I am now occupied with two things, one a Manifesto to the British workers which the I.L.P. may get out jointly with us, provided they accept the Manifesto as it stands without any political strings. And the other a demonstration on Trafalgar Square. I am to see Brackley the general secretary of the I.L.P. this week and see what he and his comrades intend to do. We are up against a perfect wall of silence in the press. I mean the so called liberal press. They will not report anything referring to the CNT-FAI. And the conservative papers bring blood curdling lies about the anti Fascist struggle. If we will succeed in having a real demonstration it might force the papers to say something about it. It is a big and difficult job but we are working for it. Last but not least I am also busy with a theatre entertainment for the evacuated women and children from Madrid. I have just been informed that the Victoria Palace one of the best theatres here has been granted me for that purpose. I have already the help of a number of men and women well known in the world of letters. Now we have to get first rate talent. Such an undertaking is also bound to force the press to report what is being done for Spain. Oh yes they do report a lot of the work of the various Spanish Aid societies all of whom are Communists under disguise. I hate to suspect even Communists contemptible as they are. But I wonder if Catalonia ever sees a penny of all the money raised here. I wish you would see the treasurer of the Comité Regional and find out if they have ever received anything. I will ask Mariano Vasque to find out from the National Confederation whether anything had ever been received there.

Well, my dear I must stop. I still have a lot to write to day and I expect two Spanish comrades this evening for something important. Please give my salu to all the German comrades. And the inclosed letter to Ilse. Remembr me kindly to your Gertie

Affectionately

The Emma Goldman Papers

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ROC

23, Castletown Road, London, W.14.
9th March, 1937.

Dearest Rudolf and Milly,

In a letter I received from you, Milly dear, you wrote me that I had not answered Rudolf. I cannot understand that. I have certainly written him in reply to the letter I got from him, which is already months ago. That is not the reason for my delay in writing you, dearest Rudolf. I wanted many times to write you but I have been so frightfully busy with Spain. I cannot say I have achieved a great deal. Still, considering the difficulties and odds confronting me, I did more than I expected to do.

Outside of the conspiracy of silence on the part of the Press, my work has met with the same boycott on the part of the Communists as it has always done. I do not blame them for that. My attitude to them is more uncompromising than it ever was. Every day brings new proofs of their insidious activities against the Spanish Revolution and the CNT-FAI. I know from absolutely reliable sources that our people are having a desperate time to check the gang, in trying to break up the united front, and they do exactly the same outside of Spain. Not in an open way, but underhand - in the true Jesuitic manner. I promised myself to ignore them in connection with my activities for our comrades, but they force me in question time at meetings to tell them just what I think of them. The latest stunt is to ~~publish~~ an article which appeared in "The New Statesman" - written by Cyril Connolly, whom I met in Spain. In this article he quotes an English Communist, to the effect that the Anarchists "actually killed Durrutti".

I have written an answer to this article, which I hope that "The New Statesman and Nation" will publish. In any event, I am sending you a copy. What do you suppose the Communists are doing now? In every meeting they state that Connolly has received information from Anarchists about the killing of Durrutti, by his own comrades! As you will see, there is no end to the perfidy, and the meanness of this gentry. Naturally, I treat them "straight from the shoulder" and naturally they have reasons to ~~be angry~~ *note me* ~~be angry~~ *upset* ~~be angry~~ *upset*. However, I have really met with greater response than in previous visits.

I am enclosing copies of letters recently dictated - among them one to Tom Bell. They will give you an idea of the campaign I have started and just what I have accomplished. Also the plans I cherish in behalf of our comrades and their struggles. ~~The letters will give you an idea of my anxieties and fears for our comrades in Catalonia. Their papers, bulletins, as well as the German publication, make no trouble for the consequence of~~

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9-2-1937

Roc

the concessions our people are making. Aside from the fact that they are a denial of all the ideas and ideals of the CNT-FAI., which they have always held high, I dread that they may not help them in the end. Their insistence now on militarization, compulsory mobilization and the Single Command, are compromises that seem to augur badly for the future. It means losing ground inch by inch, only to find themselves trapped, ~~and~~ Caballero will have all the power in his hands. Actually, our comrades are going through the same process as our comrades in Russia. They gave their all - their liberty and their lives - in defence of the Revolution, when Russia was surrounded by so many fronts. And what was the result?

May this not also happen in Spain? I am resenting this thought with all my strength and yet it creeps up again and again, and my fear grows for the safety of our comrades. You may say that the ultimate aim of the CNT-FAI., is far removed from the ultimate aim of a Lenin and his group right after the Revolution in October '17, *that while he aimed at the Dictatorship our people are aiming to direct the Revolution in constructive and libertarian channels.* That is all true, of course. If I did not have infinite faith in this respect I should not be able to continue my activities for the CNT-FAI; but on the other hand I feel that they are in greater danger because of their Libertarian aim. The steps they have taken and are forced to take in their day by day struggle, being contrary to their aim, *may* undermine their position irredeemably. I admit that their compromises are a mere sequence of the first wrong steps - their participation in the elections of February 1936, and their co-operation with the other parties who hate the CNT-FAI., perhaps more than Fascism, and who are leaving nothing undone to destroy our comrades.

Perhaps they are forced by the Anti-Fascist struggle to make all these concessions; I do not know. I only know that they are going farther and farther afield from their starting point. Moreover, the longer the Fascist menace will continue, the greater the danger of our comrades losing ground altogether. It is this which I fear and dread.

I said before that their concessions had not availed them very much. Proof for that is the slanderous attacks from all sides, on Barcelona and Catalonia. The News Chronicle (for instance) with all its so-called 'sympathy' for the Anti-Fascist struggle has either kept silence on the contributions of the CNT-FAI., or whenever it has spoken it has misrepresented them. The other day the editor had the impudence to write that one should be thankful that the CNT-FAI., has finally decided to help Madrid; and a similar article appeared in this morning's "Manchester Guardian". This is the more surprising because The Guardian has been quite fair and sympathetic to the CNT-FAI. Now the Correspondent writes that the CNT-FAI, refuses to co-operate with the Central Government and obey its single command, - and so on and so forth? This, mind you,

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Roc

9-3-1937.

in face of the appeals in our Press, urging militarization and a Single Command. In other words, though our people are making concessions contrary to their beliefs and former tactics, they are nevertheless charged with being the disturbing element in the so-called 'Unity' of Anti-Fascist ranks. The CNT-FAI, is already blamed that Franco has not yet been destroyed, so what is the use of these inconsistencies of our people?

I wish you were here, dear Rudolf, and could talk of all these disturbing issues. You know how well I understand ~~how well~~ ~~aware you are of~~ the whole situation in Spain. It might help me to clarify my own attitude and to pacify my anxieties for our comrades. Do not think, my dear, that I have in any way declined in my enthusiasm for the Spanish Revolution or for the splendid constructive work the CNT-FAI, has started. I still feel as intensely as I did when I was in Barcelona. I can say without exaggeration that I am in England only physically. My thoughts and my feelings are in Spain.

Am I also growing inconsistent if I continue to plead the Cause of the CNT-FAI., in spite of the many things done by our comrades with which I cannot reconcile myself? I don't know. Some of our comrades have already charged me with inconsistency - among them Sania, our dear little Molly, and Senia. Sania has written a long letter of something like 36 pages, to Borghi, condemning and severely criticising the notions of the CNT-FAI. I have not the time to comment on the long ~~MS.~~, as Sania has asked me, but I wrote a letter to him, copy of which I enclose. That will show you my own inner conflict and how exasperating is my position. I hope you will take time to write me at length, to tell me what your attitude is. It will help me greatly.

Through a letter by Jeanne Levey, I ~~see~~ ^{see} that your book is finally in the hands of a publisher. I do hope there will be no further delays and it will soon be out. I think it a very good idea to have the expensive limited edition published first. It is only too bad there is a delay for the popular edition. I need not assure you, my dear, that I am looking forward eagerly to seeing a copy. From Polly I got your address in Los Angeles and also the news that you had been given an extension. I can visualise yourself and Milly's anxiety until the extension was granted, but I rather think that now it will not be difficult to continue it indefinitely. I hope so, because you are needed in The States.

My own chances of getting there are rather poor. A letter from Roger Baldwin the other day told me that a successor to the Commissioner of Immigration has not yet been chosen, nor is it certain whether the man will be as liberal as McCormack. Roger

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9-3-1937.

seems to fear that if I would give my reasons for going to the States, (the Spanish Revolution or even the Anti-Fascist struggle), I would hardly be admitted.

The Catholic Church seems to be very busy in its vicious campaign against our comrades. However, Roger has not given up hopes; he means to try. In any event, if I should be granted a visa, it will not be before August. I have asked Roger to try for the summer, for six months, while Congress is not in Session.

I want very much to return to Spain for new impressions and for other reasons. Also I want very much to attend the International Anarchist Congress. The trouble is, the present embargo will certainly make it impossible for anyone to get to Spain. Already the United Front Government in France is acting worse than the Russian Cossacks used to do; they simply permit no-one to pass through the French border. I have written the comrades suggesting that they postpone the Conference until later in the summer. The situation may change by that time, but whatever happens I intend to go back to Spain.

~~This will be just -~~
as soon as I have completed my task here, which may not be until some time in May, please continue to write to my present address.

Remember me to all the Comrades.

With much love to Milly and Yourself.

Affectionately,

Emma

I have a secretary, gad save the mark. The inspector you mention everything in capital letters and her punctuation belongs to the ante deluvian times.

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18, Castletown Road, London, W.14.
9th March, 1937.

Dearest Rudolf and Milly,

In a letter I received from you, Milly dear, you wrote me that I had not answered Rudolf. I cannot understand that. I have certainly written him in reply to the letter I got from him, which is already months ago. That is not the reason for my delay in writing you, dearest Rudolf. I wanted many times to write you but I have been so frightfully busy with Spain. I cannot say I have relieved a great deal. Still, considering the difficulties and odds confronting me, I did more than I expected to do.

Outside of the conspiracy of silence on the part of the press, my work has not with the anti boycott on the part of the Communists as it has always done. I do not blame them for that. My attitude to them is more uncompromising than it ever was. Every day brings new proofs of their insidious activities against the Spanish Revolution and the CNT-FAI. I know from absolutely reliable sources that our people are having a desperate time to check the gang, in trying to break up the united front, and they do exactly the same outside of Spain. Not in an open way, but underhand - in the true Jesuitic manner. I promised myself to ignore them in connection with my activities for our comrades, but they force me in question time at Meetings to tell them just what I think of them. The latest stunt is to pervert an article which appeared in "The New Statesman" - written by Cyril Connolly, whom I met in Spain. In this article he quotes an English Communist, to the effect that the Anarchists "actually killed Durrutti".

I have written an answer to this article, which I hope that "The New Statesman and Nation" will publish. In any event, I am sending you a copy. What do you suppose the Communists are doing now? In every Meeting they state that Connolly has received information from Anarchists about the killing of Durrutti, by his own comrades! As you will see, there is no end to the perfidy, and the meanness of this gentry. Naturally, I treat them "straight from the shoulder" and naturally they have reasons to break up the work. However, I have really met with greater response than in previous visits.

I am enclosing copies of letters recently dictated - among them one to Tom Bell. They will give you an idea of the Campaign I have started and just what I have accomplished. Also the plans I cherish in behalf of our comrades and their struggle; mainly the letters will give you an idea of my anxieties and fears for our comrades in Catalonia. Their papers, bulletins, as well as the Cor an publication, make me tremble for the consequence of

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the concessions our people are making. Aside from the fact that they are a denial of all the ideas and ideals of the CNT-FAI., which they have always held high, I dread that they may not help them in the end. Their insistence now on Militarisation, compulsory mobilization and the Single Command, are compromises that seem to augur badly for the future. It means losing ground inch by inch, only to find themselves trapped, once Caballero will have all the power in his hands. Actually, our comrades are going through the same process as our comrades in Russia. They gave their all - their liberty and their lives - in defence of the Revolution, when Russia was surrounded by so many fronts. And what was the result?

May this not also happen in Spain? I am resenting this thought with all my strength and yet it creeps up again and again, and my fear grows for the safety of our comrades. You may say that the ultimate aim of the CNT-FAI., is far removed from the ultimate aim of a Lenin and his group right after the revolution in October '17, that while he aimed at the Dictatorship our people are aiming to direct the Revolution in constructive and libertarian channels. That is all true, of course. If I did not have infinite faith in this respect I should not be able to continue my activities for the CNT-FAI; but on the other hand I feel that they are in greater danger because of their libertarian aim. The steps they have taken and are forced to take in their day by day struggle, being contrary to their aim may undermine their position irredeemably. I admit that their compromises are a mere sequence of the first wrong steps - their participation in the elections of February 1936, and their co-operation with the other parties who hate the CNT-FAI., perhaps more than Fascism, and who are leaving nothing undone to destroy our comrades.

Perhaps they are forced by the Anti-Fascist struggle to make all these concessions; I do not know. I only know that they are going farther and farther afield from their starting point. Moreover, the longer the Fascist menace will continue, the greater the danger of our comrades losing ground altogether. It is in this which I fear and dread.

I said before that their concessions had not availed them very much. Proof for that is the slanderous attacks from all sides, on Barcelona and Catalonia. The News Chronicle, for instance, with all its so-called 'sympathy' for the Anti-Fascist struggle has either kept silence on the contributions of the CNT-FAI., or whenever it has spoken it has misrepresented them. The other day the editor had the impudence to write that one should be thankful that the CNT-FAI., has finally decided to help Madrid; and a similar article appeared in this morning's "Manchester Guardian". This is the more surprising because The Guardian has been quite fair and sympathetic to the CNT-FAI. Now the Correspondent writes that the CNT-FAI, refuses to co-operate with the Central Government and obey a single command, - and so on and so forth! This, mind you,

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This will be just -

As soon as I have completed my task here, which may not be until some time in May; please continue to write to my present address.

Remember me to all the Comrades.

With much love to Milly and Yourself.

Affectionately,

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COPY

18, Castletown Road,
 London, W. 14.
 2nd March, 1937.

The Editor,
 "The New Statesman and Nation",
 10, Great Turnstile, W.C. 1.

Sir,

In the midst of the dreadful silence of the British Press in regard to the place and importance of the CNT-FAI., it is heartening to come across a few exceptions. Few indeed, since it is only The New Statesman & Nation, and The Manchester Guardian who are liberal enough to do justice to the CNT-FAI. I was therefore interested to read the article of Mr. Cyril Connolly in your issue of February 20th. I met him in Barcelona, and, without seeming boastful, I wish to say that I gave him the first interview for the CNT-FAI., which he used for his first article in your publication.

My comrades in Barcelona at that time had had so many unpleasant experiences with newspaper men, they hesitated to believe that Mr. Connolly would make an exception. His first article proved that he was fair and sympathetic; as a result, he has since received every courtesy and all the data from the CNT-FAI. for his further work. On the whole, Mr. Connolly has been objective and just. But I was sorry to see in his last article that he considered it important enough to repeat malicious gossip and whisperings picked up from people on the streets. These dreadful human habits are unreliable enough in time of peace. In a situation like the present in Spain, it seems a pity to give them credence.

A case in point is the opinion given Mr. Connolly by an "English Communist." Is it possible that Mr. Connolly does not know of the "love" every Communist feels for all Anarchists? else it would be difficult to understand how he could repeat the charge made by his informant that it was an Anarchist who killed Buenaventura Durrutti. Actually, nothing but hatred can conceive of such an utterly mad accusation.

In point of truth, no other Anarchist in the CNT-FAI., was so trusted, loved and admired as Durrutti. It is therefore fantastic to assume that any of his comrades would have taken his life.

The reason given Mr. Connolly by the "English Communist" for his utterly absurd accusation, was that the Anarchists were "jealous of his friendship with the Russians", and that "his views were very unpopular." Permit me to say that there is not a word of truth in this. Actually, Durrutti never

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-2-

entertained "friendship with the Russians". He was absolutely and irrevocably opposed to Dictatorship. Of course, he stressed the need of unity with the Spanish Communists, as the only means of conquering Fascism; but he was only too aware of the Ideological differences between Communists and Anarchists and the difference between their tactics, to ever become enamoured with the Soviet régime. A man of such convictions and of such abiding faith in the strength of the Ideal of Liberty could not possibly entertain "friendship" for a régime which rests on the very opposite conception.

I am not a Marxian and not in accord with the POUM. But, in justice to this party whose men are fighting heroically at every front, I cannot but point out that it is scandalous on the part of the Communists to charge them with Fascism. That is just the trouble with the Communists. In their Jesuitical belief that "the end justifies the means", they will stoop to every method, no matter how reprehensible, in their dealings with their opponents. However, that is an old and painful story which those who flirt with Communism have yet to learn.

I congratulate Mr. Connolly on his understanding and appreciation of the role the Anarchists have played in the lives of the Spanish workers. It speaks for Mr. Connolly's ability to observe the actual facts in Catalonia. I only wish more people who go to Spain would show as much fairness. For no one with a sense of justice can possibly fail to see the extraordinary constructive work the CNT-FAI. has begun, almost immediately after the 19th of July, 1936. To be able to continue such an experiment as the collectivization of the Industries and the land, in the face of danger and death, is proof positive that they are the only true revolutionists who still believe in liberty intensely, to fight and die for it if need be. For the rest, the Anarchists will survive the charge of being "either visionaries, half-wits or gummies."

Yours sincerely,

Accredited Representative of the
C.N.T.-F.A.I.,

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14.  Ros

Mr. Thomas H. Bell,
216 E. Matthews Street,
LOS ANGELES.

Dear Tom,

I was somewhat amused at your contention that we have on occasion ' quarrelled violently, and that we would again do so were we thrown together.' I must be getting gaga. Would you believe it, I do not remember a single instance of our quarrels? True, you have always been rigidly individualistic - more so than I - but as to any quarrelling argument, I am not at all aware of it. Moreover, I don't think we would quarrel over Spain.

I see only too clearly the compromises our comrades have made and are making. Certainly "militarization", "single Command", and all other such fancy steps, very close to Dictatorship, are only too true. Not only do I see that, but while in Spain I have tried desperately to make our comrades aware of the danger of their acquiescence to Governmental methods; but also I know that they themselves realise the untenability of some of their concessions. Their explanation is that the situation imposes their actions. The situation is certainly grave, not only from the side of Fascism but also from the internal enemies. I should despair utterly if I had not had the opportunity to be close to the comrades and to see how deeply abiding is their love of freedom and their determination not to swerve from it fundamentally. They reason and justly so that if Fascism conquers, their lofty ideals will be crushed - not only in Spain but in the rest of the world.

they feel, and justly so, that they must concentrate first on exterminating Fascism, and they can only hope to succeed by concentrating every means at their command, on the Anti-Fascist war. At the same time, they are continuing their constructive work and the decisive voice in that particular field still rests with the CNI-FAI, and as long as they remain in charge of the economic situation, I do not think there is any reason to be too alarmed, though it is true that every deviation from one original stand is cause for alarm.

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Mr. F. A. Bolla

W.D. 1937,

To revert to my letter in regard to your charge of
Reprisals. I assure you that I have made it my business to
investigate every place I visited to find out whether Reprisals
had taken place. Nor have I been "shown" these places. There
was no such a thing during my three months in Catalonia as
"being shown and taken round". I had complete liberty to go by
myself or take anyone with me I desired. That is precisely the
difference between the situation in Spain and Russia. I don't
deny that there were shootings. I mean that Fascists were
condemned to death. I attended such a trial, and while all the
evidence was against the man tried, I went away ill and heart-
broken that such a thing should have to take place during a
revolutionary period.

med
For myself, I have never denied that Revolutions cannot be
fought with kid gloves. I have always insisted that an armed
attack on the revolution must be met with armed force. Neverthe-
less, I could neither act the Judge or the Executioner, no matter
what was at stake. Perhaps I am a bad Revolutionist, but that
does not blind me to the imperative necessity of defending the
revolution, and that is what the CNT-FAI. is doing.

Thank you, my dear, for your tribute: "I will take your ult-
imate judgment when you have seen, not what you have been shown
but what you found out yourself, and when you have time to think
things over, and your high enthusiasm has been finally tempered
right by your solid common sense. I will accept this rather than
that of anyone else on earth." That is very high praise, which I
appreciate deeply. All I can say is that the longer I stayed in
Spain the more profound was my faith in the Spanish comrades, and
the greater my admiration for them. I have already said that
many things they have done during my stay, and what they are doing
since, cannot possibly be reconciled with our ideas and ideals,
but I see in all their concessions the result of their first mis-
take - to engage in the Elections and unity with the other parties
of such divergent ideas. Once that is done, the other steps
necessarily follow in logical sequence. Naturally, the greater the dan-
ger from the fascist side (daily increased by numbers, and arms and
the support of Franco by French and English, the so-called Demo-
cratic countries) the more inevitable becomes further compromise.
But while the CNT-FAI. have made concessions contrary to their ideas
they never cease to insist they are fighting Fascism not as a means
to re-establish a democratic Government but in defence of the
Revolution and with determination to build a new economic social
life in keeping with Anarchistic ideas.

In any event, I cannot now sit in judgment of our comrades.
They are facing the inevitable monster, Fascism. They are denying
themselves the most urgent necessities in order to feed Madrid and
other fronts. They are sacrificing their

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I am going back to Spain to see for myself all the new conces-
sions made to the bourgeoisie and what they have done to the people of the
CNT-FAI, how far they will be able to extricate themselves from the
labyrinth of Comintern. I am determined to go back the latter part
of April, as possible; if not, some time in May. I am enclosing
some copies of letters recently written. You will see that I have
accomplished here at least all that it is not much, but it is a lot
when one considers the opposition I am meeting here.

I hope my dear that the warmer weather has brought relief from
your asthma and that you are again on deck? Yes indeed I wish you
could be in Spain, or here, but I realize only too well that one
harrassed by illness for well-nigh a lifetime is not in a position to
throw himself in the boiling sea of Revolution and War.

Remember me fraternally to all the comrades; give my love to
the Rockers; tell them I will write them next week.

Affectionately,

(Enclosure)

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March 9th 37.

My dear Augustine. You know the saying, "Aus lango dauert wind
enlich gut". You are beginning to be more prompt with your replies
to my bombardment of letters. But you are still far from "gut".
You still attend to everybody's requests much more than you do to
mine. I have in mind the film you gave Frank for America. Mind you
I am glad you were able to do so. I am merely surprised that you
should have discovered a film for Frank writing me all the time
that you had failed to get the films released. How do you explain
this contradiction? Is it that you do not consider England import-
ant enough for the work I am doing? Or is it the old, old story
"Aus der Luge, aus dem Sing". Perhaps you do not realise
the difficulties I have been facing here since my arrival. Not only
did I find a solid wall of silence ~~extant~~ on the so-called liberal
press against the CNT-FAI on one side and the most scurrilous
misrepresentations in the Tory papers on the other. But the Cum
insts, the pseudo allies of our comrades have been carrying on a
insidious propaganda against my work and a boycott to boot. With
all this opposition, lies and calumny every bit of material from
Spain, and especially a film would have gone a long way to lighten
my hardships besides bringing greater results for the struggle of
our comrades. Did you not realise that? Evidently not. Else you
could not have ignored my repeated requests.

Now I am willing to grant you the benefit of doubt
as regards your difficulty in getting more than one film released
which you preferred to give Frank rather than send to me. But
what can be the reason for the muddle you have made in writing from
Paris to some Film Co. here, then telling them to get in touch with
Maxling, and Darling to consult me. I never came across a greater
muddle. In the first place it is high time to realise that if I
am to repr sent the CNT-FAI in England Barcelona and Valencia
will have to stop giving mandates and instructions to all sorts of
people without even notifying me. I don't give a damn for any honor
honor. I have had all I want in my long and strenuous life. But
you know yourself that a number of people cannot do one and the
same thing adequately. Especially is this true in the case of

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of the CNT-FAI. There is so much rotten opposition to the comrades. Not open and frank but underhand, insidious by means of fantastic stories. For instance, an article in the Manchester Guardian yesterday to the effect that Barcelona is not helping Madrid, that it will not keep the unity with the central government, that it will not consent to a single command, and a lot more. This is only one of the lies spread about our people. Now do I have to tell you that there is absolutely no one outside of myself who feels the injustice against the CNT-FAI as deeply as I do, or is in a position to fight back all the rotten slander? Well, then what is the sense of giving Darling authority to act in this or that capacity. Why the man has no more interest in the CNT-FAI than so many others of their so called friends. Yet Santillan supplied him with a mandate as regards commercial transactions when he did not even find it necessary to reply to my two letters recommending a comrade with very considerable business experience who would serve the CNT-FAI ~~with his~~ not for the glory it might bring but because he is eager to help the CNT-FAI. I cannot understand such lack of comradeship and judgment either in Santillan, or you. For you are doing the same thing. You refer people to Darling and then expect Darling to turn to me for decision. Perhaps you are not quite clear that I have kept aloof from the Generalitat bureau, and that I have made no use whatever of the credential Garbo gave me.

When we meet again as I hope we will soon I will go into the matter of the rotter who made off with \$106 and about Darling. I don't care to do it by letter and I really haven't the time for it. I merely want you to be clear on the point that I have had no dealings with the bureau in London. Had Garbo kept his promise of the letter of instructions he had solemnly promised I might have known what to do about Darling and his work. Without such a letter I could not possibly keep track of all that is being done in the bureau. I only know it is a beehive of Communists, and I simply cannot and will not have anything to do with these rotters. Besides as I have written you before I have been too occupied with the work for the CNT-FAI I could not even if I had desired also do Darling's work. I am writing you this that you may finally grasp the fact that I have centered entirely on my duties as the representative of the CNT-FAI, both Regional and National. And in this capacity I must ask you and the comrades to let me handle England, and not give ever so many people the same right. Actually Vasquez if you remember ~~himself~~ the text of his letter gave me the authority to be the sole representative. In that case you will have to write your Film people in London to deal with me direct. I mean if you wish me to do anything in the matter, and you will have to do the same in regard to the photos you have begun to send me. ~~At~~ Otherwise it will be impossible for me to approach photo agencies when others have most likely been authorized to do the same.

I am glad you wrote me about the position of Ethel Mc Donald and Jenny Patrick. I was sure that wretched Alderod lied when he spread the rumor that they were straying. He has done more as you will see by the inclosed clipping from his sheet. I really do not give a damn for his ranting against me. But

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right. His "paper" is ridiculous. And he is certainly not in a physical condition to stand the least hardship. I have already written him about the absurdity of his wanting to get to Spain. He would do no good to the German activities there and he would not survive the conditions. So that matter is closed.

I inclose a copy of the letter I wrote the comrades in Valencia. It was translated of course. I have had no word in reply regarding money or anything else. I am glad you forwarded the receipt for the 57 pounds. But I have collected another £20 since. The amounts will have to be credited according to the dates and places where the money was collected. I simply will not take any chances of some underhand insinuation, either by the Communists, or matters like Aldred. I am writing the comrades in Valencia again to day. Here is a copy of my letter. The Spanish comrades who translate for me is coming to see me this evening. I will give him an English text to translate. It will also contain an itemised account of all the moneys collected for the women and children. And a request for receipts in Spanish and English if possible in duplicate forms. I want to be able to send copies to Glasgow and Bristol as well as to have some in hand for the amounts collected at our two meetings Jan. 2 and Feb. 15th in London. I know you will be glad to learn that the collection at our joint meeting with the I.L.P. Feb. 15th was exactly £100. The I.L.P. is to get £2000 from the collection. At the time in Bristol arranged by our own comrades with the collection of the I.L.P. gave £100. Out of that personal friends of mine contributed sixty pounds. Ethel Mannin the writer and her of the I.L.P. and a friend of mine contributed £15 the rest came from the audience. All in all I have collected about £200 for the women and children.

I am now at work on a very large scheme, a theatre entertainment for the benefit of the women and children. Two friends of mine in the theatre world are getting me a theatre for April 11th. The man at the head of the Actors Equity Ass has promised to get me the artists. I have succeeded in getting the sponsorship of a number of outstanding men and women in English Letters, among them Rebecca West and Mavelock Ellis. I hope I can have something beautiful as well as worth while. But it is a large undertaking and fraught with many obstacles.

In the way of direct propaganda we have written a Manifesto to the British workers to use direct action in protest against their rotten Government as well as their rotten labor leaders. Actually, it was White who has drawn up the rough draft and Harold and he has accepted my corrections and changes. Also the Manifesto contains the resolution passed at my Bristol meeting. The man who drew that up is Reynold Reynolds the I.L.P. man I have written Garbo and you about as a possible representative of the Socialist in the Bristol propaganda bureau. I have never heard anything about the matter from anyone. Perhaps it is just as well because I doubt whether Reynolds could have worked together with Darling. The latter really has no social back ground or awareness. Reynolds is a revolutionist through and through. Our Manifesto has gone to Fernor Broadway. He is to submit it to his Party in the hope

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 9, Paris [to] E[m]ma Gol[d]man, London / Nemesio Galve. —
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BUREAU DE PRESSE
ET D'INFORMATION

30, Rue Saint-Augustin, 30

PARIS-17

Téléphone : Office 87-69

12378

Paris, le 9 Marzo de 1937

Edma Golman.
18-Castletown W.D.
LONDRES-W 14

Querida compañera,

Por mandato del Comité Nacional de la C.N.T. me ha
eido transmitido por teléfono el encargo que a continuación
indico:

Crec no desconocerás que en Londres va a tener lu-
gar una conferencia antifascista en la cual participan ex-
clusivamente los sectores obreros marchistas. Hace tiempo
que el Secretariado de la A.I.T. en París había estudiado
la posibilidad de su participación en la citada conferencia.
Hasta el momento presente, no ha sido posible ver satisfe-
chos nuestros deseos. No obstante, como nos interesa mucho
mo conocer las deliberaciones que tendrán lugar, el Comité
Nacional me ha encargado que te presentes en el lugar donde
la conferencia ha de celebrarse y te pongas al habla con la
delegación española representante de la U.G.T. y del Parti-
do Socialista, haciendo los posibles para obtener una infor-
mación amplia de como se desarrollan los trabajos de la con-
ferencia.

Además de esto, el Comité Nacional me ha indicado
que es posible la celebración de una manifestación pública,
según indicios facilitados por la U.G.T. Si efectivamente
se así, estimamos que debieras hacer lo posible para figurar
en ella en representación de la C.N.T. y F.A.I. españolas.

Esperamos hacer todo lo posible para informarnos,
tanto en París como en el Comité Nacional. Este último puedes
hacerlo por mi mediación.

Te saluda anárquicamente,

Nemesio Galve

PS. Es posible, querida Golman, que mi nombre no te diga nada. No obetan-
te, puedes comunicar al compañero Roca por teléfono que él te dirá quien
soy yo. Para tu tranquilidad debo decirte que en el Comisariado de Pren-
sa y Propaganda, de París, ostento la representación de la C.N.T. Al

The Emma Goldman Papers

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112376
mismo tiempo que soy la delegacion permanente del Comité Nacional
de la C.N.T. en el Secretariado de la A.I.T. en París.
Deseo, pues, que una vez que ya estamos en contacto, nuestra
responsabilidad, en tanto que compañeros y a la vez también como repre-
sentantes de la organizacion C.N.T. en los Comités de Propaganda y de
Propaganda de la Generalidad de Catalunya, tenga una continuidad; así
como también que nuestras relaciones sean lo mas estrechas posibles
comunicandonos sugerencias y todo cuanto concierna a la organizacion
que representamos.

Xale
N. G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 March 9, Paris to] E[m]ma Gol[d]man, London / [Nemesio Galve].—
2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Querida compañera,
Por mandato del Comité Nacional de la C.N.T. me ha
sido transmitido por teléfono el encargo que a continuación
indico:
Crec no desconocerás que en Londres va a tener lu-
gar una conferencia antifascista en la cual participan ex-
clusivamente los sectores obreros marchistas. Hace tiempo
que el Secretariado de la A.I.T. en París había estudiado
la posibilidad de su participación en la citada conferencia.
Hasta el momento presente, no ha sido posible ver satisfe-
chos nuestros deseos. No obstante, como nos interesa mucho
conocer las deliberaciones que tendrán lugar, el Comité
Nacional me ha encargado que te persones en el lugar donde
la conferencia ha de celebrarse y te pongas al habla con la
delegación española representante de la U.G.T. y del Partí-
do Socialista, haciendo los posibles para obtener una infor-
mación amplia de como se desarrollan los trabajos de la con-
ferencia.
Además de esto, el Comité Nacional me ha indicado
que es posible la celebración de una manifestación pública,
según indicios facilitados por la U.G.T. Si efectivamente
es así, estimamos que debieras hacer lo posible para figurar
en ella en representación de la C.N.T. y P.A.I. españolas.
Esperamos hará todo lo posible para informarnos,
tanto en París como en el Comité Nacional. Solo último puedes
hacerlo por mi mediación.
Te saluda anarquicamente,
Es posible, querida Colman, que mi nombre no te diga nada. No obstan-
te, puedes comunicar al compañero Roa por teléfono que él te dirá quién
soy yo. Para tu tranquilidad debo decirte que en el Comisariado de Pren-
sa y Propaganda, de París, ostento la representación de la C.N.T. Al

Emma Colman.
18-Cestecown RD.
LONDRES-W 14

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la posibilidad de su participación en la citada conferencia.
Hasta el momento presente, no ha sido posible ver satisfe-
chos nuestros deseos. No obstante, como nos interesa mucho
conocer las deliberaciones que tendrán lugar, el Comité
Nacional me ha encargado que te persones en el lugar donde
la conferencia ha de celebrarse y te pongas al habla con la
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do Socialista, haciendo los posibles para obtener una infor-
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soy yo. Para tu tranquilidad debo decirte que en el Comisariado de Pren-
sa y Propaganda, de París, ostento la representación de la C.N.T. Al

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Desde ahora, que una vez que ya estamos en contacto, nuestra correspondencia, en tanto que compañeros y a la vez tambien como representantes de la organizacion G.N.T. en los Comités de Frases y Propaganda de la Generalidad de Catalunya, tenga una continuidad; asi como tambien que nuestras relaciones sean lo mas estrechas posibles, comunicaciones regulares y todo cuanto concierne a la organizacion que representamos.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the
the first of these is the fact that the

[illegible]

החלטת הוועדה להקמת מועצה להגנה על המורשת
התרבותית וההיסטורית של ישראל, תש"ל

[illegible]

En el presente caso de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. se han
realizado las siguientes acciones:

- 1. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política exterior de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 2. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política interior de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 3. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política económica de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 4. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política cultural de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 5. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política social de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 6. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política ambiental de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 7. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política energética de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 8. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 9. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.
- 10. Se ha realizado una investigación preliminar sobre el
tema de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I. en el ámbito de la
política de la U.S.A. y la U.S.I.

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[Letter] 1937 March 10, London [to Hanns-Erich and Anita Kaminsky, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

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19762

10, Castletown Road,
London, W. 14.
10th March, 1937.

My dear Friends,

I appreciate deeply your faith in me, regardless of the fact that I have neglected you so long.

You can rest assured that I would have written, though I have been terribly hard worked, if only I had good news to submit. Your M.S. was returned by Peter Davis, as per enclosed letter. I sent it immediately to Arthur Barker - who is, I understand, a young and enterprising new publisher. I am to hear from him this week. Needless to say, I will not be discouraged if he too sends back the M.S.

I will try it with other publishers. If I can offer any consolation for your disappointment, it is that very great works of art often wait knocking and begging at every door of publication, until someone understanding and brave enough accepted their publication, and then the whole world raved about the greatness. Perhaps the same will happen with your work on our poor bleeding Spain. I feel as intensely about the need of making your work known as I would about my own. Perhaps it is not entirely selfless on my part. Aside of my friendship for you and interest in the story about Spain, is my passionate desire to make the CNT-FAI., known to the world and appreciated. It has become a perfect mania with me. Perhaps because the vilification and misrepresentation of the CNT-FAI., grew by leaps and bounds.

The latest conspiracy against them is circulated in "The Manchester Guardian" and a lot of other papers, to the effect that Barcelona is sabotaging Madrid. That they do not send arms; that they will not co-operate with the Government; that they will not submit to a Single Command. All these scurrilous lies in the face of the concessions already made by the CNT-FAI., make the crime against them more hideous; every day the crimes seem to be losing ground, as far as fundamentals are concerned, yet all their compromises, all their willingness to go back on what they held high, does not seem to avail them much. It is a terrible situation, as you will see.

Your suggestion that "great minds are lacking in the Spanish struggle" is undoubtedly true; but, on the other hand, see what 'great minds' have done in Russia! I still feel that Dictatorship, which such minds would certainly impose, is by far more dangerous than the blunders the CNT-FAI. are making - whichever way one considers the Spanish situation. It is tragic that such a great beginning should be smashed. One of the

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1976

-2-

10-8-1937.

Correspondents said that the Spanish are a people of undreamt of possibilities - that is the thing that keeps me going; the belief in their determination to win. The faith that they will hold out no matter what the cost.

I have had a few more meetings, one in London and one in one of the provincial cities. The latter was especially gratifying, not only because I collected £200 but also because of the spirit of the audience. Now I am at work on a theatre venture. When we meet again I will show you an amusing letter from George Bernard Shaw and his reasons why he does not want to lend his name as sponsor to the undertaking. I have a few sponsors representative in the world of letters, in this country, and some theatrical people, who have helped me to a theatre and also promised to put the talent that would draw large audiences.

In addition, I am working on a demonstration in Trafalgar Square and a Manifesto to British labour. There is so much to do and so few to do it. All the more reason to strain every nerve to achieve what one sets out to do.

I wish you and Anita could be here. I would love a talk, as we used to have in Spain. I am definitely determined to go back for a little while. If I do, I will pass through Paris, and see you then. I have not heard from America, which makes me think that Simon & Schuster have turned down your M.S., and that your friend has taken it to The Viking Press, as per my directions.

You can rest assured that I will let you know the moment I get word. Meanwhile, do not lose courage. Someone must be found, and will be found, who will appreciate your study of the conditions as we found them.

Love to you and Anita,

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871001227

[Letter] 1937 March 10, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Fr[e]edman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Published Weekly Since 1899

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme

JEWISH WEEKLY

46 WEST 17th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

March 10, 1937

Dear Emma:

Many thanks for your letter of March 2, 1937. I was indeed delighted to hear from you. One advantage in writing to me is - you are sure to receive an answer.

As the result of being the manager of the F.A.S. I have a great deal of responsibility on my shoulders. I therefore am unable to take charge of many interests outside the F.A.S. Of course, I do my utmost to help out the various comrades in their work. In regard to the Rocker pamphlets, one of our comrades, Comrade Radinowsky has full charge of them and has done a splendid job of distributing about 10,000 copies throughout the U.S. and Canada. Several weeks ago, he sent you 2 packages - did you receive it? In order to be certain that you will have some on hand - I sent you 2 more packages today. So you see I often get the blame for things completely outside my jurisdiction.

As soon as Mark called our attention to your London address, the F.A.S. was sent there...the St. Tropes address was taken off our mailing list a long time ago. Your articles received with the letter was given to Mark. I should like you to write a bit more frequently for the F.A.S. Incidentally, I spoke to Mark about your complaint of his very short letters and he promised faithfully to write you today. Souchy's article was printed in the F.A.S. a few weeks ago.

As far as the coming International Conference of the FAI and Youth of the FAI is concerned, it was definitely decided at one of our recent meetings, that you are to be the representative of the F.A.S. and the Jewish Anarchist Federation. I understand that the secretary of the J.A.F. M. Grishkan, will write you about it. The comrades of the Libertarian Group have already called a conference in N.Y. for the purpose of electing a delegate to the conference and have elected comrade Abe Bluestein. For your information, we have informed the delegates of the abovementioned conference, that you are to be the delegate of the J.A.F. and the F.A.S.

Regarding your inquiry about comrade Green, I know he does not officially represent any group. When the United Libertarian Organizations started publishing the "Spanish Revolution" he helped them to organize it. He went to Spain on his own account and paying his own expenses.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001227

[Letter] 1937 March 10, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Fr[e]edman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Freie Arbeiter Stimme

JEWISH WEEKLY

48 WEST 17th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

- 2 -

Naturally, we are all interested in the work for Spain, although there is not any unified and coordinated system among the comrades. The Spanish comrades are working separately and so are the Italian comrades. The Jewish An. Federation have organized the United Libertarian Organizations, who publish the "Spanish Revolution". They have raised about \$2000. which was sent to Spain, through comrade Shapiro. There is some more money on hand to be sent. The Chicago comrades are sending money to Spain. I believe Mark wrote you about these things— is it possible that you did not receive the letters?

At the present time, the exhibition you speak of in your letter cannot be undertaken in N.Y. by the Federation, as we have so very many difficulties in upholding the F.A.S., the "Spanish Revolution", the Political Prisoners, the Internaid Fund and the Spanish comrades. Raising sufficient funds for all these things among the same comrades is quite a task.

After running to the U.S. custom officials for several weeks, I finally succeeded in getting the Derutti film which you sent us through Anna Kaufman. I had to pay duty on it, of course. We are now trying to make 2 duplicate copies of it.

I am enclosing a letter and agenda which the Jewish An. Federation is sending out to the various groups in the U.S. in order to call a conference for the purpose of organizing English propaganda.

I have endeavored to answer as many of your questions as possible. I'm always glad to cooperate in every way to serve our movement. If there is any important occurrences, I will write you.

In conclusion I wish to thank you for your regards to my family. They send you their sincere greetings, especially my daughter Clara.

Comradely yours,

Samuel Freedman

P.S. I think you will be interested to know that the Jew. An. Federation has decided to send Emmy Eckstein, who is at present in Brno, Czechoslovakia, \$10.00 a month from the Internaid Fund.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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London March 11th 37.

~~Dear~~ Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
Comité Nacional
Calle Landerer
Valencia

Secretaria

Dear Comrades.

While I have not yet heard from you in reply to my letter I am taking the opportunity of comrades Vidals return to write you again. First let me tell you I have received your acknowledgment of the 257 which according to comrade Souchys letter I may now use for the expenses of the campaign for your heroic battle I have started in England. I am not doubting comrade Souchys instructions. But since you ask me to address myself to you from now on I would feel more at ease if I had instructions from you direct as regards an expenditure of the amount I have raised through my appeals. Actually I have raised outside of the first 257, another 2223 in London and outside cities. I inclose a statement of the monies and the cities where the appeals had been made and the ~~amounts~~ amounts contributed. In sending me acknowledgment please use the inclosed English text and Spanish text and send me two receipts for each place as I will have to send one to the comrades and I want to keep one for myself.

You may wonder why I am asking for this. You would not be surprised if you know of the underhand and insidious propaganda against the CNT-FAI carried on here. In point of fact some of the so-called advanced papers have come out with charges that if Franco ~~is victorious~~ succeeds the anarchist will be responsible because they will not cooperate with the Government, because "they are opposed to militarization, because they will not submit to a Single Command." In view of the constant urgent appeal in the Soli and in the Spanish Bulletin on the part of the CNT-FAI for the very opposite of the contemptible lies spread here it makes this deliberate campaign more criminal and of course the work for Spain more difficult. Now while I have no positive proof that the attack on the CNT-FAI originates from the Communists I am reasonably sure that it does because the entire editorial staff on one of the papers consists of Communists. And it is this paper which has maintain a conspiracy of silence in regard to all we have done here. Not one of our meetings has been reported nor any of the material I sent printed.

However that is not the only proof that the Communists are back of the villification of the CNT-FAI. There are many more. Among them the spread of the rumours that I am doing more harm than good to the anti Fascist struggle because I am concentrating on making the ideas and ideals of the CNT-FAI known and because I am emphasising their marvelous contribution to the ~~greatest~~ constructive work ~~carried out~~ undertaken by you and the great sacrifices you are making for the anti Fascist fight. Because of all this I cannot be too care in regard to the money I am raising. I must be able at any time to give proofs that I have acted in your spirit and

The Emma Goldman Papers

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2.

and with your approval and that the money contributed was used for the purpose announced in my appeals. Or at any rate it was used in accordance with your discretion. I hold the Communists capable of the meanest insinuation and slander. I therefore need your direct direction in regard the amount I have banked and the receipts for it.

The exhibition is unfortunately not as successful as I had hoped. Here too the conspiracy of silence of the press has ruined the chances of ~~the exhibition~~ exhibition. Only one paper ~~mentioned~~ mentioned its existence. But of course there are other reasons among them the very inefficient organization of the affair over which I had no control. It was shamefully mismanaged and an awful lot of money spent for it. The experience with the Spanish exhibition Committee has shown me once more the uselessness of compromise.

If I had not consented to go in with the other members of the committee, mostly Communists I would have had a small exhibition. But it would have been effective and a great tribute to your spirit, dear comrades and to your great courage. Naturally I hoped that by joining the others all the CIE-BA material I brought with me would have a large part in the joint exhibition and that some substantial part of the proceeds would go to the Sanidad for the care of the wounded and the sick. So far there is not only no profit but there is a large deficit still to be made up. It is hoped that something will yet come in from the provincial towns where the exhibition is going to be sent. May it not also be a new disappointment. I think it is necessary to inform you of the affair that you may not expect returns from the exhibition.

To reassure you I wish to say that my material from Spain will go to America. I am certain that the comrades there will make better use of it and have a real success. I am only waiting to hear from comrade Alexander Chapiro to what city in the United States he has sent the material of the Paris exhibition. I will then ship mine to one of the other large cities. America is big enough for more than one exhibition for Spain. I feel certain the comrades in Chicago for instance or even in Los Angeles could get considerable publicity and raise quite a substantial ~~com~~ fund.

You referred in your letter to my connection with the London Bureau of the Generalidad. I am sorry to disappoint you dear comrades. I have made no use of my mandate from the Bureau of Propaganda in Barcelona and I was in the office here both twice for a few minutes. The reasons for this are many. I do not care to worry you with them knowing full well you have larger and more important matters to be worried about. But I must mention one or two. First, I found the Bureau on my arrival in a mess financially not only because Stewart, ~~nowhere~~ a Communist had absconded with £106. But also because ~~under the circumstances~~ the office was left head over heels in debts. And secondly, because the Bureau is a beehive of Communists who seem to know and be informed of every step that was being taken by the representative of the Generalidad. In justice to the work I came here to do I could have no association with such a state of affairs. But aside of all that I really had

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much to do to launch the campaign for the CNT-FAI. I could not have given much time to the other work that should have been carried on from the London Bureau of the Generalidad. Whether anything worth while is being done there I cannot say because as I have already stated I have not been near it. Comrade Vidal may tell you his own impression of this Bureau. He was there.

We are now planning to issue a Manifesto to the British workers to use direct action in their protest against the cowardly encircling of Spain. In fact it would have been printed and distributed two weeks ago. But we wanted to enlist the cooperation of the Independent Labor Party so as to be able to print a very large edition, and also to reach the membership of the Party. Unfortunately they have been very slow in ~~going~~ considering our text of the Manifesto. I expect a final reply from Fenner Brockway, the general secretary of the I.L.P. tomorrow. Perhaps I will be able to add a line before Vidal leaves whether they agree to join us. Under no circumstance will we agree to any political palliatives. It must be straight direct economic action or it will be of no value to print the Manifesto. Just as soon as the matter is definitely decided I will have the Manifesto translated and send copies to you and Goli, also to the bureau of the I.A.T. I rather think that our Manifesto will have a good propaganda effect. I wish we ourselves could afford to print at least hundred thousand, or more. Well, we will see in a day or two when the decision of the I.L.P. will reach. Another important thing I would like to publish here is the ~~new~~ brochure prepared by comrade Rudiger on "WHAT ARE THE CIT-FAI. You have no idea how ignorant the British workers are about ~~the~~ Anarcho-Syndicalism, and especially about ~~your position in the struggle~~ truly heroic struggle since 1911 you have made. ~~The importance of~~ I have not yet found out how much an English edition would cost. It will I fear not be very cheap. But I do consider it of the utmost importance of having the brochure spread among the English workers. Of course it will be sold and not merely given away free. It could also be sold in America. I hope you agree with this idea of mine.

I have another plan, a demonstration at the most historic place in London, Trafalgar Square. The draw back is the beastly English climate. The weather is frightful and few ~~xxx~~ people would come. So we must wait until it grows a little better. There are other things I have in mind for the CNT-FAI. It takes so long to achieve anything in England of a revolutionary nature. Yes, I will try to get at some of the Labor people to see whether Labor

666

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Missions can be organized to visit Spain. I will let you know. I hope you have sent a credential to Rose Pesetto. ~~Her visit~~ Her visit to Spain together with a few of the Left non Communist Labor men would prove of the utmost importance to the attitude of the workers in the States to the Spanish Revolution and the anti Fascist war. So you really should send a mandate to her without fail. Or send it to me and I will forward it to New York.

Dear comrades I want very much to get back to Spain a little later. I need to get new impressions for the work here and I need to have a talk on the further campaign in England, things which simply cannot be taken up in letters. Besides, I feel my influence would be more valuable if I could come back fresh from your battle field. I do not know how difficult it will be to pass through France now. I understand the French border officials act like the tears cosacks. ~~But I suppose our comrades in Perpignan will have to~~ But I suppose our comrades in Perpignan will have to establish some way. At any rate I am determined to come back if only for a short visit. I could come to Valencia to give you a report and to see you in behalf of further work. I am now engaged in organizing the first Anarchist-Syndicalist Union in England. I hope soon to be able to send you the program ~~the program~~ we are preparing. This is quite separate and distinct from the propaganda for the CNT-FAI.

I hope to hear from you soon in answer to the question in my last letter and this. Especially your directions of the fund I have in hand, or ~~or if you have no more to do with it~~. Also receipts as requested.

Salud.

I follow every word about the struggle in the papers though I know there is no reliance on the perverted Capitalist press. The frightful sinking of the cargo from America was a great shock. But I am not losing faith in your ultimate victory. It seems impossible that such courage, such fortitude, such heroism as that of the Spanish people should fail to exterminate the monster Fascism. It must never, never be.

667

The Emma Goldman Papers

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12377

London March 11th 37.

~~Dear~~ Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo
Comité Nacional
Calle Landerer
Valencia

Secretaria

Dear Comrades.

While I have not yet heard from you in reply to my letter I am taking the opportunity of comrades Vials return to *Spain* write you again. First let me tell you I have received your acknowledgment of the £57 which according to comrade Souchys letter I may now use for the expenses of the campaign for your heroic battle I have started in England. I am not doubting comrade Souchys instructions. But since you asked me to address myself to you *from now* on I would feel more at ease if I had instructions from you direct as regards *the* expenditures of the amounts I have ~~raised~~ raised through my appeals. Actually I have *the* raised outside of the first £57, another £223 in London and *the* outside cities. I inclose a statement of the monies and the cities where the appeals had been made and the ~~amounts~~ amounts contributed. In sending me ~~acknowledgment~~ please use the inclosed English *the* and Spanish text and send me *the* receipts for each place as I will have to send one to the comrades and I want to keep one for myself.

You may wonder why I am asking for this. You would not be surprised if you know of the underhand and insidious propaganda against the CNT-FAI carried on here. In point of fact, some of the so-called advanced papers have come out with charges, *that* if Franco ~~succeeds~~ succeeds the Anarchist will be responsible because they will not cooperate with the Government, because they ~~are~~ opposed to militarization, because they will not submit to a Single Command. In view of the constant urgent appeal in the Soli and in the Spanish Bulletin on the part of the CNT-FAI for the very opposite of the contemptible lies spread here it makes this deliberate campaign more criminal and of course the work for Spain more difficult. Now, while I have no positive proof that the attack on the CNT-FAI emanates from the Communists I am reasonably sure that it does because the entire editorial staff on one of the papers consists of Communists. And it is this paper which has maintained a conspiracy of silence in regard to all we have done here. Not one of our meetings has been reported nor any of the material I sent printed.

However, that is not the only proof that the Communists are back of the villification of the CNT-FAI. There *are* are many more. Among them the spread of the rumours that ~~I am~~ doing more harm than good to the anti Fascist struggle because ~~I am~~ concentrating on making the ideas and ideals of the CNT-FAI known and because ~~I am~~ emphasising their marvelous contribution to the ~~great~~ constructive work ~~carried out~~ undertaken by you and the great sacrifices you are making for the anti Fascist fight. Because of all this I cannot be too ~~careful~~ in regard to the money I am raising. I must be able at any time to give proofs that I have acted in your spirit and

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12378

2.

and with your approval and that the money contributed was used for the purpose announced in my appeals. Or at any rate it was used in accordance with your discretion. I hold the Communists capable of the meanest insinuation and slander. I therefore need your direct direction in regard to the amount I have banked, and the receipts for it.

The exhibition is unfortunately not as successful as I had hoped. Here too the conspiracy of silence of the press has ruined the chances of the ~~exhibition~~ exhibition. Only one paper ~~mentioned~~ mentioned its existence. But of course there are other reasons among them the very inefficient organization of the affair over which I had no control. It was shamefully mismanaged and an awful lot of money spent for it. The experience with the Spanish exhibition Committee has shown me once more the uselessness of compromise.

If I had not consented to go in with the other members of the committee, mostly Communists, I would have had a small exhibition. But it would have been effective and a great tribute to your spirit, dear comrades, and to your great courage. Naturally, I hoped that by joining the others all the CNT-FA material I brought with me would have a large part in the joint exhibition and that some substantial part of the proceeds would go to the Sanidad for the care of the wounded and the sick. So far there is not only no profit but there is a large deficit still to be made up. It is hoped that something will yet come in from the provincial towns where the exhibition is ~~going to be sent~~ ^{just} sent. May it not also be a new disappointment. I think it is necessary to inform you of the affair that you may not expect returns from the exhibition.

To reassure you I wish to say that my material from Spain will go to America. I am certain that the comrades there will make better use of it and have a real success. I am only waiting to hear from comrade Alexander Chapiro to what city in the United States he has sent the material of the Paris exhibition. I will then ship mine to one of the other large cities. America is big enough for more than one exhibition for Spain. I feel certain the comrades in Chicago, for instance or even in Los Angeles could get considerable publicity and raise quite a substantial ~~fund~~ fund.

You referred in your letter to my connection with the London Bureau of the Generalidad. I am sorry to disappoint you dear comrades. I have made no use of my mandate from the Bureau ^{and} of Propaganda in Barcelona and I was in the office here ~~both~~ twice for a few minutes. The reasons for this are many. I do not care to worry you with them knowing full well you have larger and more important matters to be worried about. But I must mention one or two. First, I found the Bureau on my arrival in a mess financially not only because Stewart, ~~an~~ a Communist, had obscured with £106. But also because ~~the office was~~ the office was left head over heels in debts. And secondly, because the Bureau is a beehive of Communists who seem to know and be informed of every step that was being taken by the representative of the Generalidad.

In justice to the work I came here to do I could have no association with such a state of affairs. But aside of all that I really had so

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I am afraid it will not be possible to place the question
aire you sent me in any of the Labor or Liberal papers in London.
They are all without exception opposed to the CNT-FAI. It will
appear in SPAIN AND THE WORLD and in our press in America. I am having
copies made and I will send it to all our papers. And I will ~~also~~
also be able to use your replies to the Labor Mission in my lectures
on the constructive work the CNT has undertaken almost from the
first day of ~~frankly~~ after your grand revolutionary struggle of July
19th.

It must be straight direct economic action, or it will be of no value to print the Manifesto. Just as soon as the matter is definitely decided I will have the Manifesto translated and send copies to you and Soli, also to the bureau of the I. W. T. I rather think that our Manifesto will have a good propaganda effect. I wish we ourselves could afford to print at least hundred thousand, or more. Well, we will see in a day or two when the decision of the I. L. P. will reach me. Another important thing I would like to publish here is the ~~new~~ brochure prepared by comrade Rudiger on "WHAT ARE THE CNT-FAI. You have no idea how ignorant the British workers are about ~~the~~ Anarcho-Syndicalism, and especially about ~~your glorious fight~~ ~~through~~ truly heroic struggle since 1911 you have made. ~~Comrades~~ I have not yet found out how much an English edition would cost. It will, I fear not be very cheap. But I do consider it of the utmost importance of having the brochure spread among the English workers. Of course it will be sold and not merely given away free. It could also be sold in America. I hope you agree with this idea of mine.

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Dear comrades I want very much to get back to Spain a little later. I need to get new impressions for the work here and I need to have a talk on the further campaign in England, things which simply cannot be taken up in letters. Besides, I feel my influence would be more valuable if I could come back fresh from your battle field. I do not know how difficult it will be to pass through France now. I understand the French border officials act like the tsar's cossacks. ~~But I suppose our comrades in Perpignan will have to~~ But I suppose our comrades in Perpignan will have to establish some way. At any rate I am determined to come back if only for a short visit. I could come to Valencia to give you a report and to see you in behalf of further work. I am now engaged in organizing the first Anarchist-Syndicalist Union in England. I hope soon to be able to send you the program ~~the program~~ we are preparing. This is quite separate and distinct from the propaganda for the CNT-R.I.

I hope to hear from you soon in answer to the question in my last letter and this. Especially your directions of the fund I have in hand, ~~or~~ Also receipts as requested.

Salud.

I follow every word about the struggle in the papers though I know there is no reliance on the perverted Capitalist press. The frightful sinking of the cargo from America was a great shock. But I am not losing faith in your ultimate victory. It seems impossible that such courage, such fortitude, such heroism as that of the Spanish people should fail to exterminate the monster Fascism. It must never, never be.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 11, London [to] Sybil Thorndike, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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28468

18, Castletown Road, London, W.14.
11th March, 1937.

Dear Sybil Thorndike,
74, Oakley Street,
Chelsea, S. W.

Dear Miss Thorndike,

I know you will be pleased to learn that we were granted the Victoria Palace for April the 11th.

Mr. Maurice Brown was really the one who succeeded in getting the theatre, through Mr. Killick. He, Mr. Alfred M. Wall, and one or two others, are now proceeding to approach the outstanding talent in the professions, and also in Music. Of course we are all hoping that you may participate in the programme. You will let me know, won't you, when you are sure of returning to London?

Since I wrote you last, I have among the sponsors the following, outside of yourself :-

Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Mr. Mavelock Ellis, Mr. Robert Nichols, Dr. Vere Pearson (an eminent surgeon); and we are also hoping to get Aldous Huxley, Rose Macaulay and a few others. As you see, - most of the sponsors are non-political, which is exactly what the affair is to be - an appeal on Humanitarian grounds, for the women and children of Anti-Fascist Spain.

Please do not be impatient with me for taking advantage of your kindness but I do feel the situation in Spain so intensely that I am willing to do almost anything to make the plight of heroic Spain known, and to raise funds for the victims. We are planning to approach people more or less sympathetic, who are in a position to pay more than the usual price for theatre seats. I wonder whether you could, at your convenience, let me have a selected list among your admirers and friends, who would be willing not merely to attend the entertainment but also to take boxes or stalls at higher than the usual price. I am asking all the other sponsors for lists. I don't want to pester you, of course. It is as I said, my intense feeling about the Spanish people which gives me courage to beg for help.

By Monday or Tuesday we hope to know who the artists will be. Mr. Alfred M. Wall planned to approach Edith Evans and a close friend of mine is approaching Gielgud, Ann Harding and the American actress now playing in St. Martin's theatre - Miss Mary Morris, are to be approached. I want a long list of outstanding figures and it would be a great thing to have you as one of the first.

Sincerely,

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[Letter] 1937 March 11, Roselle, N.J. [to Emma Goldman, London] / Eliot White. —
2 p.; 18 x 14 cm.

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20209

ELIOT WHITE 126 GORDON STREET ROSELLE NEW JERSEY

March 11th, 1937

Dear Friends, of old days,
and these as well,

Your letter and enclosures
are sincerely appreciated, as
are also the bulletins you
have had sent me about the
cruel situation in Spain where
such brutal and ruthless force
of reaction is being used
against ideals for real peace
and brotherhood of our human
race.

As always, you, with wonder-
ful and invincible resolution, are
encouraging the strugglers, and I
hope that your dauntless spirit
is appreciated by those whom
you are helping. After so
many things to baffle you, it

forced anything else that upon you, as you will bear witness, but
it is my sincere conviction of the demand arising from people for other
I deem divine
Reality in this
do blind
and often
cruel world
your friend
always,
Eliot White

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 11, Roselle, N.J. [to Emma Goldman, London] / Eliot White. —
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must be a happiness to you ^{to} see your ideals actually ^{being} applied in the Spanish struggle! Mrs. White joins me, as always, in extending to you our unfailing sympathy in your sorrow for the one who has gone on, — we believe into a sphere where his great talents and courage will have growing opportunities for their exercise. We believe that while there is real of soul for those who here fought a good fight against tyranny and cruelty, ~~you also~~ there is a more splendid activity for the ultimate victory of the Right and Just things of the universe. We believe also that true love can never die, and that all that it found of beauty and truth, in what Sir Oliver Lodge calls "this planetary episode", will be resumed and enjoyed in the next sphere of our existence. So we feel we can urge you to look forward to a Reunion in a realm closer to the desires of your tested and severely tried spirits here. I am sure you know this is not just "idealistic" utterance (I have never in all these years im-

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[Letter] 1937 March 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Martin Gudell. — 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.L.I.

F.A.I.

COMITÉ NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

1937

Com. C.N.T.-F.A.I. - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

Barcelona le 11 Mars 1937.

Ma très chère compagne Emma Goldman,

Hier j'ai reçu votre lettre du 6 crte. et je m'empresse à vous répondre sur toutes les questions qui vous intéressent.

Tout d'abord nous allons nous mettre d'accord en ce qui concerne le langage. Je vois bien que ne peux pas vous écrire en anglais. Je comprends très bien cette langue et même je pourrais parler un peu, mais l'écrire c'est plus difficile et il pourrait arriver que je voudrais dire une chose et je mettrais une autre. Pourtant, vous pouvez m'écrire dans la dite langue parce que je comprends parfaitement vos lettres. En espagnol non plus je ne peux pas vous écrire parce que vous avez besoin d'un traducteur. Je pourrais vous écrire en russe mais nous n'avons qu'une machine tellement dérangée qu'on ne peut pas s'en servir. Donc, à l'avenir, je vous écrirais en français - j'espère que vous comprendrez cette langue - malgré que je ne sais pas très bien cette langue, mais ici il y a une compagne qui m'aide dans mon travail, qui la connaît. Vous pouvez m'écrire dans n'importe quel langage et je pourrais vous traduire.

J'ai à vous communiquer que les camarades espagnols m'ont rétabli aux fonctions de la propagande. Moi je voulais partir pour Aragon, il y avait longtemps que j'avais ce désir, mais une fois que j'ai fini le travail des volontaires on m'a attaché comme délégué du Comité Peninsulaire dans les Bureaux de Propagande. Sur ce point je vais vous dire quelques choses. Vous savez bien que jusqu'à la fin de l'an dernier le responsable de toute la propagande était le camarade Louchy. Je ne veux pas parler de s'il l'a fait bien ou mal; mais je peux constater qu'il y a quelque temps que la C.N.T. a nommé responsable des bulletins le camarade Rudiger. Comme entre l'un et l'autre existait une rivalité, qui se remonte à la date qu'ils étaient tous les deux en Allemagne, le travail ne va pas très bien, à cause de ce qu'il n'existe pas l'harmonie nécessaire pour la propagande.

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19942 2.

.....
Dans ces derniers temps ont dû intervenir le C.N.T. et P.A.I. et ont réorganisé, à leur façon, la propagande. Maintenant il y a un Comité composé par éléments de C.N.T. et P.A.I., qui sont les responsables de tout ce travail de propagande extérieure.

Dans ces jours nous aurons une réunion et nous allons aborder les diverses faces de la question propagande et aussi nous allons voir votre affaire, dont le résultat vous sera communiqué officiellement au nom de la C.N.T.-P.A.I.

En ce qui concerne la Russie, je peux vous dire ceci: Malgré que les camarades espagnols ont besoin de leur aide, ils continuent avec la même opinion sur eux. Si quelqu'un a publié dans "Horizontes" quelque chose sur l'U.R.R.S., vous pouvez être sûr qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un camarade à nous. Sans doute il s'agit d'un communiste. Je vous aurais très obligé si vous pourriez me faire parvenir la dite revue, afin que je le puisse répondre d'ici, parce que je suis certain qu'aucun délégué de la C.N.T., ni aucun socialiste, ont pu écrire cela.

Faisant référence à nos impressions sur l'U.R.R.S., les camarades espagnols s'affirment sur la nécessité de les publier, mais tous les deux il faut attendre un peu jusqu'à savoir le résultat d'une ou de l'autre bataille dans le front ou dans la arrière-garde. Aussi que les camarades décident de les publier, je vous enverrais le manuscrit et vous même décideriez sur ce qu'on peut faire avec cela.

Je suis très content de que vous ayez reçu une lettre qui vous a écrit Jacques, de Valencia. Ici tout le monde est au courant de votre travail en Angleterre et tous les camarades vous aiment beaucoup. Mais tous nous sommes un peu espagnols; nous parlons, nous écrivons beaucoup et nous laissons sans faire beaucoup des choses. La commission Barcelone est aussi très occupée avec les affaires de propagande et dans le prochain n° du journal de "Mujeres Libres", elle va publier un article sur vos activités.

J'espère que vous aurez déjà des instructions précises de ce que vous devez faire avec l'argent que vous avez recueilli en Angleterre. Le Comité National m'a promis de vous écrire directement par voie et de solutionner votre question économique.

Vous trouverez ci-joint le récépissé des £ 5.- que vous avez fait parvenir par les monchoirs et également vous trouverez le récépissé des 75 Ptas.

Sancho m'a dit hier que vous avez fait renonce au mandat de la Generalitat et je comprends très bien votre attitude. Moi, dans le même cas, j'aurais fait autant et je suis d'accord avec tous les raisonnements que vous exposez dans votre lettre.

.....

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871005039

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19943 3.

Comme aujourd'hui ou demain nous allons avoir une réunion pour traiter des questions de la propagande extérieure, nous allons parler aussi, une autre fois, de la propagande en Angleterre et, naturellement, j'insisterais pour que toute la propagande pour l'Angleterre passe auparavant par vos mains.

Je crois que Souchy il n'a pas aucune relation avec Aldred; qui peut l'écrire c'est le camarade Mac Donali, parce qu'elle est en relations avec ceux de Glasgow. Moi aussi je viens de me convaincre de que cet homme est une mauvaise personne et qu'il est préférable de ne pas avoir aucune relation avec lui.

J'espère que votre collaboration avec I.L.P., sera la même que celle que nous avons avec le P.C.U.M. Nous collaborons, mais nous ne nous confondons pas. Nous avons toujours souligné de que nous sommes allés au Gouvernement de constance et que celui-là n'est pas notre but. Cela ne veut pas dire non plus que nous avons renoncé à l'anarchisme et en conséquence nous ne voulons pas de ces fusions. Nous collaborons avec le P.O.U.M., comme nous collaborons avec toutes les organisations antifauchistes et nous faisons à tout le monde qu'ils sont une chose et nous nous sommes une autre.

En ce qui concerne le bulletin anglais, je peux vous dire que c'est un drame. C'est un drame parce que, depuis votre départ, nous n'avons pas trouvé aucune personne qui puisse réaliser ce travail et c'est ainsi que se passe tout cela qui vient de se passer.

Si les circonstances actuelles continuent, le Congrès Anarchiste aura lieu plus tard. Moi aussi je crois que ce Congrès ne doit pas se faire, d'aucune façon, en dehors de l'Espagne. Ce Congrès doit avoir lieu à Barcelone ou à Madrid, comme on l'a traité dans le Plein de la P.A.I. Dans mon opinion, le lieu du Congrès est d'une si grande importance que le Congrès même. Dans le Congrès les camarades diront quelques choses que nous sentons et que peut-être nous connaissons; mais pouvoir dire que le Congrès aura lieu à Barcelone, dans le centre des activités révolutionnaires et anarchistes, c'est dire une grande chose.

J'espère que dans un bref délai je pourrais vous communiquer quelque chose sur le pas par la frontière. Si les choses continuent comme jusqu'à présent, vous aurez les grandes difficultés pour pouvoir rentrer en Espagne. Ces difficultés existent aussi bien pour vous que pour tout le monde. Mais que cela ne soit pas éclairci un peu, on ne pourra pas fixer la date exacte du Congrès.

Maintenant je fais la traduction de toutes vos lettres que vous m'avez autorisé à publier et dans la première opportunité nous allons les publier dans nos journaux.
Je vous envoie avec ce courrier très fraternelles salutations
à votre élève et ami

Martin Gudell

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 March 12, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez], Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 12 de Marzo de 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Secretaria,
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo,
Comité Nacional,
Calle Landerer,
VALENCIA.

Queridos camaradas. Salud:

Aun cuando todavía no he recibido contestación a mi anterior, aprovecho la oportunidad de encontrarse en Londres el portador de la presente para escribiros de nuevo.

He recibido vuestro acuse de recibo de las L57, las que, de acuerdo con carta recibida del camarada Souchy, podría usar para atender a los gastos de la campaña emprendida por mí en Inglaterra a favor de vuestra heroica causa. Desde luego, considero bastantes las instrucciones de Souchy, pero como quiera que me habeis pedido que os consulte directamente en lo futuro, me gustaria tener vuestra confirmación sobre este punto. Además de las citadas L57, he recaudado otras L223 en Londres y provincias. Os acompaño un estado de las sumas recaudadas y lugares correspondientes. Al enviarme los recibos os ruego haberlo de acuerdo con el texto adjunto en inglés y español, enviándome dos recibos para cada partida, pues he de remitir uno a los compañeros y el otro lo reservo para mí. Os extrañará porque lo pido así, pero lo comprenderiais si estuviesséis al tanto de la campaña aquí en desprestigio de la CNT-FAI. Se ha dado el caso de periódicos de ideas avanzadas que han dicho que si Franco ganara los responsables serian los anarquistas, por no cooperar con el Gobierno y no someterse a la unidad de mando tantas veces solicitada. En vista de las constantes y urgentes apelaciones de la Soli y del Boletín, precisamente en favor de estas resoluciones, tales mentiras hacen esta campaña aún mas criminal y más difícil el trabajo a favor de España. Aun cuando no tengo pruebas concretas de que los ataques emanan de los comunistas, casi me inclino a saber que así es, dado que todo el personal que integra la redacción de uno de estos periódicos es comunista, manteniendo dicho diario una política de silencio en todo cuanto concierne a nuestros asuntos aquí de propaganda, etc. No han anunciado ninguno de nuestros mítines ni han publicado el trabajo

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- 2 -

contribuido por mí. Otro de los cargos que nos achacan es que estamos ocasionando mas daño que otra cosa a la lucha contra el fascismo por sólo concretarnos a propagar los ideales de la CNT-FAI. Por todas estas razones deseo estar en situación de poder hacer constar en todo momento que he procedido de acuerdo con la letra y espíritu de la campaña; y siempre en consonancia con vuestros deseos, habiendo sido utilizado el dinero para los fines anunciados en las colectas. No deseo que los comunistas me hechen nada en cara, y, por tanto, preciso vuestras instrucciones y recibos para el dinero nuevamente recaudado.

La Exposición, desgraciadamente, no ha dado el resultado que se esperaba, habiendonos aquí también hecho mucho daño el silencio completo observado por la prensa. Solo un periódico hizo alusión a su existencia. Otra de las causas ha sido la ineficiente organización, y sobre la cual no tuve control alguno. Esta experiencia me ha demostrado lo inútil de mi transigencia con el Comité de la Exposición. Si en un principio no hubiese consentido formar parte de dicho Comité, compuesto en la mayoría por comunistas, hubiese yo organizado una Exposición mas modesta, pero de resultados mas efectivos, sobre todo como tributo particular a vuestra causa. Yo pensé, naturalmente, que uniéndome a los demás todo el material que traje de la CNT-FAI ocuparía un lugar aventajado en la Exposición y que una parte substancial de lo que se recaudase sería destinado a Sanidad para el socorro de los heridos y enfermos; pero no sólo hasta ahora no se han obtenido ningunos beneficios sino que existe un largo deficit, el cual se confía poder enjugar con lo que se obtenga en provincias, a donde se trasladará la Exposición una vez termine en Londres. Espero que esto no vaya a resultar en un nuevo desengaño. He creído conveniente poneros al corriente de todo esto para vuestro buen gobierno. Nos queda, sin embargo, un consuelo, y es que el material que yo traje de España se trasladará a los E.U., estando segura que los compañeros allí harán con él un uso mas eficaz, con el consiguiente éxito. Espero tener noticias del camarada Alexander Chapiro diciéndome a qué ciudad de los E.U. mandó él el material de la Exposición de Paris, para entonces embarcar el mío a otro punto, pues América es suficientemente grande y puede soportar dos Exposiciones españolas. Estoy casi segura que los compañeros de Chicago, por ejemplo, o los Angeles, obtendrán una gran publicidad, recaudando una buena suma.

En vuestra carta os referís a mis relaciones con la oficina de la Generalidad en Londres, pero he de deciros que no he hecho uso alguno del mandato otorgado a mi favor por la Oficina de Propaganda de Barcelona, habiendo tan solo ido yo por esta oficina dos veces, y eso por unos cuantos minutos únicamente. Las razones son diversas, si bien no os quiero quitar el tiempo con una extensa relación. Citaré una o dos. Primeramente, a mi llegada a Londres me encontré a la oficina en el mayor de los desórdenes, sobre todo en lo tocante a finanzas. Stewart, uno de los miembros de la oficina, se había ausentado con L106, dejando por otra parte un sinnúmero de deudas. En segundo lugar la oficina es un nido de comunistas que, al parecer, saben y son inef-

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- 3 -

mados de cuanto allí hace el representante de la Generalidad. En justicia a la misión que aquí me trajo yo no podía asociarme con tal estado de cosas; pero, además, he encontrado que mi trabajo como delegada de la CNT-FAI en Londres es tan grande, que no me ha sido posible dedicar mi atención a la oficina de la Generalidad aquí, por lo que ignoro lo que allí se hace y si vale la pena. El portador de la presente os informará con más detalles, pues él visitó la oficina.

No es posible publicar el cuestionario que me habeis enviado en ningún periódico de Londres, tanto laborista como liberal, por estar todos, sin excepción, opuestos a la CNT-FAI. Se publicará en SPAIN AND THE WORLD así como en nuestra prensa de América, a donde remitiré copias que estoy preparando. Las respuestas dadas a las preguntas de los delegados ingleses me serán útiles en las conferencias que dé sobre el trabajo constructivo de la CNT desde el mismo comienzo de vuestra gran lucha revolucionaria en 19 de Julio.

Pensamos publicar en estos días un manifiesto dirigido a los trabajadores ingleses, instándoles al uso de acción directa para contrarrestar la infamia que se comete con España. Hubiera sido ya tirado y distribuido hace dos semanas; pero solicitamos la cooperación conjunta de la Independent Labour Party a fin de que la tirada fuere mayor y llegase a sus afiliados. Desgraciadamente han tardado mucho tiempo considerando el texto nuestro del manifiesto, y ahora espero la contestación final de Fenner Brockway, Secretario General de dicho organismo. De ninguna manera, sin embargo, consentiré se introduzcan paliativos de carácter político. Ha de consistir en acción directa económica o no valdrá la pena lanzar el manifiesto, que haré traducir tan pronto como se llegue a una resolución definitiva para enviar copias a vosotros y a la Soli, y, también a la oficina de la A.I.T. Espero se obtendrá una buena propaganda y me gustaría que nosotros pudiésemos costear 100.000 ejemplares.

Otra cosa que me gustaria publicar aquí es el trabajo del camarada Rugider, "Qué representa la CNT-FAI". No podeis formaros una idea de lo ignorantes que están los trabajadores ingleses sobre Anarco Sindicalismo, especialmente de la heroica lucha sostenida por vosotros desde 1911. No sé cuanto costará la emisión en Inglaterra, un aun que temo no será barata. No obstante considero de la mayor importancia el propagar el manifiesto entre el elemento obrero de este país. Por supuesto, podría ser vendido en lugar de repartirlo gratuitamente, y lo mismo podría hacerse en America. Espero vuestro parecer sobre estas ideas mías.

Tengo otros planes: Una manifestación en el punto mas histórico de Londres, Trafalgar Square (Plaza de Trafalgar). El impedimento en los momentos actuales es el tiempo horrible que por aquí padecemos y que haria que no acudiese toda la gente que fuera de desear, así es que habremos de esperar a que se ponga mejor. Poseo otros planes en relación con la CNT-FAI; pero en Inglaterra

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Supongo habeis mandado la credencial a Rose Pesotte. Su visita a España en compañía de otros miembros de organizaciones obreras de izquierda, resultaria de la mayor importancia para la actitud de los trabajadores americanos hacia la revolución española y guerra contra el fascismo. Asi, pues, deberiais enviarle una invitación cuanto antes. O me la podeis enviar a mí para hacerla seguir a Nueva York.

Un revolucionario y fraternal saludo de,

ernal saludo de,
Emma Salinas

P.S. Acabo de recibir una carta del camarada Galves relacionada con la conferencia de la Internacional Obrera Socialista y de la Federación Sindical Internacional, pero llegó demasiado tarde para que yo pudiese hacer algo, aunque de cualquier modo me parece que nada hubiera podido haber hecho. Esta reunión en Londres estaba bajo la jurisdicción de la 2a. Internacional, opuestos siempre a nosotros, por lo que no creo hubiesen admitido a ella un representante de la C.I.T. Pero no vino un representante de la C.I.T. a la reunión. En consecuencia, me parece mejor telegrafiar. Buenas las cartas. Amor. M. J.

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28257



12 de Marzo de 1937.

Secretaria,
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo,
Comité Nacional,
Calle Landerer,
VALENCIA.

Queridos camaradas. Salud:

Aun cuando todavía no he recibido contestación a mi anterior, aprovecho la oportunidad de encontrarse en Londres el portador de la presente para escribiros de nuevo.

He recibido vuestro acuse de recibo de las L57, las que, de acuerdo con carta recibido del camarada Souchy, podría usar para atender a los gastos de la campaña emprendida por mí en Inglaterra a favor de vuestra heroicacaña. Desde luego, considero bastantes las instrucciones de Souchy, pero como quiera que me habeis pedido que os consulte directamente en lo futuro, me gustaria tener vuestra confirmacion sobre este punto. Ademas de las citadas L57, he recaudado otras L223 en Londres y provincias. Os acompaño un estado de las sumas recaudadas y lugares correspondientes. Al enviarme los recibos os ruego hacerlo de acuerdo con el texto adjunto en ingles y español, enviándome dos recibos para cada partida, pues he de remitir uno a los compañeros y el otro lo reservo para mí. Os estrañara porque lo pido así, pero lo comprenderiais si estuviessais al tanto de la campaña aqui en desprestigio de la CNT-FAI. Se ha dado el caso de periódicos de ideas avanzadas que han dicho que si Franco ganara los responsables serian losanarquistas, por no cooperar con el Gobierno y no someterse a la unidad de mando tantas veces solicitada. En vista de las constantes y urgentes apelaciones de la Soli y del Boletin, precisamente en favor de estas resoluciones, tales mentiras hacen esta campaña aun mas criminal y más difícil el trabajo a favor de España. Aun cuando no tengo pruebas concretas de que los ataques menan de los comunistas, casi me inclino a saber que así es, dado que todo el personal que integra la redación de uno de estos periodicos es comunista, manteniendo dicho diario una politica de silencio en todo cuanto concierne a nuestros asuntos aqui de propaganda, etc. No han anunciado ninguno de nuestros mítines ni han publicado el trabajo

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25259

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Otra cosa que me gustaria publicar aquí es el trabajo del camarada Hígider, "¿Qué representa la CNT-FAI?". No podeis formaros una idea de lo importantes que están los trabajadores ingleses sobre Anarco Sindicalismo, especialmente de la heroica lucha sostenida por vosotros desde 1911. No se cuanto costará la emisión en Inglaterra, ya que que temo no será barata. No obstante considero de la mayor importancia el propagar el manifiesto entre el elemento obrero de este país. Por supuesto, podría ser vendido en lugar de repartirlo gratuitamente, y lo mismo podría hacerse en America. Espero vuestro parecer sobre estas ideas mías.

Tengo otros planes: Una manifestación en el punto mas historico de Londres, Trafalgar Square (Plaza de Trafalgar). El impedimento en los momentos actuales es el tiempo horrible que por aquí padecemos y que haria que no acudiese toda la gente que fuera de desear, así es que habremos de esperar a que se ponga mejor. Poseo otros planes en relación con la CNT-FAI; pero en Inglaterra

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tarda mucho en cuajar todo cuanto tenga visos revolucionarios. Voy a procurar entrevistarme con varios miembros del partido laborista a ver si se pueden organizar algunas delegaciones obreras que visiten España.

Supongo habeis mandado la credencial a Rose Pesotte. Su visita a España en compañía de otros miembros de organizaciones obreras de izquierda, resultaría de la mayor importancia para la actitud de los trabajadores americanos hacia la revolución española y guerra contra el fascismo. Así, pues, deberíais enviarle una invitación cuanto antes. O me la podéis enviar a mí para hacerla seguir a Nueva York.

Queridos compañeros, tengo grandes deseos de regresar a España mas tarde, pues necesito obtener nuevas impresiones que me ayuden en mi labor aquí, asino como hablar sobre mi campaña futura en Inglaterra, cosas que no se pueden tratar por correspondencia. Además, mi influencia seria mas grande viniendo fresca de vuestro campo de operaciones. Ignoro qué dificultades encontraré para pasar por Francia. Entiendo que los guardianes ~~en~~ franceses en la frontera se comportan como los cosacos de los Zares. De todos modos, estoy dis uesta a marchar, aun que sea por corto tiempo, suponiendo que los compañeros en Perpignan me podrán hacer las cosas fáciles. Podria ir a Valencia con un informe para vosotros y al mismo tiempo recibir instrucciones.

En estos momentos me ocupo de la organizacion del primer grupo Anarco Sindicalista en Inglaterra y pronto creo poder enviaros el programa que se esta preparando. Esto es completamente aparte y distinto de mi trabajo de propaganda por la CNT-FAI.

Espero pronto vuestra contestación a mi anterior. Especialmente vuestras indicaciones acerca de los fondos recaudados, en mi poder.

Digo con gran interés todo cuanto se publica en la Prensa acerca de la lucha en España, si bien no puede uno fiarse en nada de la pervertida prensa capitalista, que todo lo tergiversa.

El hundimiento del Lar Cantabrico ha sido un rudo golpe. Pero no pierdo mi confianza en vuestro triunfo final. Es imposible que tanta abnegación, arrojo y heroismo como esta desplegando el pueblo español deje de alistar de una vez para siempre el monstruo fascista.

Un revolucionario y fr.ternal saludo de,

P.S. Acabo de recibir una carta del camarada Galves relacionada con la conferencia de la Internacional Obrera Socialista y de la Federacion Sindical Internacional, pero llego demasiado tarde para que yo pudiese hacer algo, au que de cualquier modo me parece que nada hubiera podido haber hecho. Esta reunion en Londres estaba bajo la jurisdiccion de la 2a. Internacional, opuestos siempre a nosotros, por lo que no creo hubiesen admitido a ella un representante de la CNT. Porque no vino un representante con los demas delegados españoles? Para otra vez seria mejor telegrafiar, pues las cartas tardan mucho.

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[Letter] 1937 March 12, London [to] Karin Michaelis, New Rochelle, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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18, Castletown Road,
London, W. 14.
12th March, 1937.

Mme. Karin Michaelis,
Remington Place, 135,
New Rochelle,
New York, U.S.A.

Dearest Karin,

I was glad of your letter of the 21st February. I did not know whether I should still reach you in The States, and I see from your letter that you will probably remain there for some time, so I am again writing to New Rochelle.

I do not see why you should wonder that I believed you might have undergone a change towards me because of your infatuation with the Stalin régime. After all, Agnes changed, and several other very close and intimate friends of bygone days. They not only changed but they became relentless enemies of mine; some of them stooped to the lowest methods in attributing to me every crime in the calendar, because I will not accept their god. It was therefore natural for me to think that perhaps you too had gone the way of all flesh. I am very happy indeed to know that this is not the case, that whatever differences we have in regard to Russia, our friendship remains, and our understanding for each other. That is so rare, and hence doubly precious.

Apropos of Russia, I cannot see how anyone can still have faith in Stalin's régime after the dreadful "purges" he has undertaken in the last month. It merely goes to prove the blinding power of a myth, if the most intelligent people can go on clinging to it though there are a thousand positive proofs that the myth is a web of lies and inconsistencies. To say that anything constructive and vital can come out of such tactics, as employed by the master of Russia, is indeed a commentary on the incapacity of the human mind to free itself from delusions and snares.

But I suppose there is no use arguing the matter. Superstition is stronger than facts, at any rate for people who are detached - who live in a realm of their own fancy and not in the life that streams past them. All I know is that I am certain that you and other dear people would never endure the deadly "Dictatorship" for long, were you forced to exist under its régime.

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- Mrs. Karin Michaelis.

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12-3-1937.

You will agree, dearest Karin, that it is one thing to go on a short visit as a Government guest and it is another to live in the strait jacket of an iron régime. Actually all the defenders and apologists in England, of Soviet Russia, never fail to end their psalm-song by the argument that the Dictatorship would "never do for us! free-born Englishmen." But it is different with the poor Musiks. It is the old old saugness of the "better than thou" attitude - people who always think themselves superior to others are only too prone to justify the most terrible methods to keep the others in leash - methods they do not think necessary for themselves.

Dearest, I don't mean this applies to you, but it certainly does apply to the majority of the intellectuals who are making shameful advances to their 'love' Stalin. I am not emphasising Stalin's regime as worse than the regime of Lenin. He has merely drawn the last consequence of the Dictatorship. If he does it more clumsily and brutally, it is only because he was not as shrewd and suave a politician as Lenin. For the rest, you will see by the enclosed copy of a letter to a very dear friend of mine how I feel about the barbarous events that have already taken the lives of the Old Guard and will take more.

I am glad you met Roger. He was once a pupil of mine and probably still is, except that he always had a tendency of being all things to all men. It must be a comfortable feeling to be able to be that way. I frankly admit that this is not for me. Still, Roger is awfully nice. He is working on a vice for me, with what success has yet to be seen.

I am sure Mooney will need sympathetic understanding and affectionate help, to find his bearings in the world, but whether he will find this in the quiet of your place, after solitary confinement of so many years, I am rather doubtful. That was the terrible thing with Sasha in the first few years after his long imprisonment. He always escaped people yet he could never be alone for a day, though he always thought that he loved solitude! For Mooney's sake I hope he may not go through the same tortures of taking new roots in the larger prison which the world represents. Besides, it does not look as if they will ever let him go. The conspiracy goes on and on and seems to be growing ever deeper.

About Spain:- I too have grave fears in regard to the struggle there. It seems such an uneven battle, uneven not only because of the determination of all the powers to crush the Spanish Revolution in the bud, but also because of the hatred hidden at the present time on the part of the so-called allies of the CNT-FAI, the Republicans, the Socialists, the Communists.

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[Letter] 1937 March 12, London [to] Karin Michaelis, New Rochelle, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20217

Mrs. Karin Michaelis,

12-3-1937.

Some of them would deliver the Anarchist Syndicalist to Franco's knife, if they were only assured of safety to their skin.

In point of truth, they do enough insidious work to undermine the stronghold of the CNT-FAI, on the imagination and the feeling of the Catalonian people. They would do more, if they dare to do so openly.

Not so outside of Spain. In England, for instance, there is a conspiracy against the CNT-FAI, and against Catalonia. Of the thousands of pounds raised here by different Societies for Spain, Catalonia has not received a single penny. In addition, there is the beginning of a campaign to make it appear that the CNT-FAI, are sabotaging Madrid; that if Franco succeeds it will be the fault of the Anarchists. That they will not consent to go under a Single Command, and so on and so forth. A damnable and vicious campaign, which makes it more difficult for my work. It is the old poisonous feud started by Marx and Engels against Bacunin and handed down from generation to generation - and what is more, it is directed from Moscow. I know what I am talking about, dear Karin. I am sorry to have to hurt you with this fact.

Since I wrote you last I have had several successful meetings in London and some of the provincial towns. I raised at a London affair £80, and £100 in Bristol. I have another meeting on the 31st of this month and I am at work on a big theatre undertaking, the details of which you will find in one of the enclosed letters.

I am sorry that you did not get to meet my niece, Stella Ballantine. She is leaving for her little country cottage on the 18th March, so unless you have met her there will be no further chance. I am sorry because she is most interesting and has always been as my own child, devoted beyond belief to me and my work - and how she loved Sasha! She felt his death deeply.

With love,

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688

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 12, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19911

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

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Telephone : Central 3196
Telegrams : Iper, Ltd, London



Secretary : A. FENNER BROCKWAY
25 St. Bride Street
London, E.C.A.

12th March, 1937.

Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road, ...14.

Dear Emma,

Forgive me for not having written before. Honestly this has not been due to indifference. I am at it almost night and day.

I enclose the cheque with my endorsement. I think it best that you should keep all the collection money until the accounts are settled up. I have just seen Frank Gant, our London Organiser, and he tells me all the ticket money is not yet in.

I will not say that my conscience is disturbed but I very much regret that I have had so much to do in one hundred directions that I have not been able to grip the administration of the Spanish Exhibition. I agree that the expenditure has been inexcusable. I do not anticipate that there will be any surplus on the Ludgate Hill Exhibition, but as it travels from place to place it should make some surplus. My consolation is that I think the Exhibition within its limited scope is effective. It was disappointing on the opening day but now is really quite good.

Elizabeth asked me if I would arrange for Maxton, McGovern and others to speak for three minutes during the lunch hour at the Exhibition. Really this idea is not practicable. If one advertised the speaker everyone would be disappointed if he did not speak longer. If he did speak longer the people who came in to see the Exhibition would be irritated by a standing crowd listening to him which prevented them from going the rounds. On the original and bigger scale I think speech making would have been good. Under the present circumstances I do not think so.

- 1 -

The Emma Goldman Papers

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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldenen Archive.

I am all good wishes,

Fraternally yours,

12-1-77

690

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 12, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

20061

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 32 Y 34 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS.

CENTRALITA 14731

SECRETARIA

BOLETÍN ESPAÑOL

BOLETÍN FRANCÉS

BOLETÍN ITALIANO

BOLETÍN ALBÁN

BOLETÍN SUECO

BOLETÍN INGLÉS

Barcelona 12 de Marzo 1937

Emma Goldman-Colton
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N W 14

Liebe Emma,

Deinen Brief vom 9. März habe ich erhalten und beile mich, Dir sofort zu antworten.

Zuerst die Filmgeschichte. Damit hat es eine andere Bewandnis. Nicht wir verfügen über die Filme sondern die SHWP. (Sindicato Unico de Espectáculos Públicos.) Es herrscht da eine Konfusion. Das National Komitee hat jetzt die Absicht die Filmstreifen, die fuer Propaganda bestimmt sind, dem Syndikat abzukaufen und selbstständig im Ausland abzusetzen. Wenn diese Regelung getroffen ist, werden wir Dir die Sache übergeben können. Solange die Sache so ist wie jetzt, bleibt Konfusion. Der Vertreter des Filmsindikats ist noch immer in Paris, wie ich soeben durch telefonischen Anruf feststellte. Ich nehme an, dass Du inzwischen über die Demarche die er fuer den Vertrieb in England gemacht hat, informiert bist. Ganz klar wird die Sache jedoch niemals werden, wenn selbst wenn wir von dem S. die Filmstreifen fuer Propaganda erhalten so wird sich doch das Syndikat das Recht nicht nehmen lassen den Film fuer kommerzielle Zweck selbst abzusetzen. Die Grenze zwischen kommerziell und propagandistisch wird nie genau zu ziehen sein.

Ich erhielt einen Brief von Guy Aldred in welchem er sich ueber Dich beklagt, dass Du nicht mit ihm arbeiten willst. Er moechte gerne, schreibt er mir, mit Dir zusammenarbeiten. Ich werde ihm antworten und Dir die Kopie insenden. Ich habe in "Regeneration" seine Angriffe gegen Dich gelesen und auch mit Ethel darueber gesprochen. Aber sie verteidigt mit Schärfe Guy Aldred und sie behauptet, dass diese Attacken nur eine Antwort seien auf die Angriffe, die im "Fighting Call", also von Dir inspiriert, gegen Guy Aldred erfolgten.

In diesem Zusammenhang moechte ich Dich bitten doch ernsthaft Versuche zu machen einen englisch sprechenden Genossen herzuschicken. Wie waere es denn mit der alten Genossin Doris Zhook? Wir brauchen unbedingt einen Genossen, der die englische Sprache als Muttersprache spricht. Bitte behandle diese Sache mit grossem Ernst.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 12, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

20060

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 12 Y 14 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 1431

SECRETARIA

SOLERN ESPAÑOL

SOLERN FRANCÉS

SOLERN ITALIANO

SOLERN ALEMÁN

SOLERN SUCES

SOLERN INGLÉS

Barcelona 12 de Marzo 1937

2

Ich habe dem Regionalkomitee Deine Absicht Dein Mandat der Generalis-
tast niederzulegen, mitgeteilt. Man hat davon Kenntnis genommen, aber man
weiss nicht recht was man dann machen soll. Man hat keinen anderen, den
man delegieren könnte. Weisst Du vielmehr einen Rat oder kannst
einen Vorschlag machen?

Die Sache mit dem Geld machst Du am besten so, dass Du ganz
genaue Quittungen ausschreibst, wie Du sie brauchst. Es ist Unsinn,
dass Du das Geld hierher oder nach Paris schickst. Wir haben hier
spanisches Geld und kommen das in Madrid in spanischer Valuta fuer
die Zwecke ausgeben, fuer die Du es gesammelt hast. Wir brauchen eine
ordentliche Verrechnung. Du schickst uns eine Quittung, in von uns ueber das Geld,
das eingegangen ist. Und wir senden Dir dann fuer die Ausgaben,
die fuer diese Zwecke von uns getätigt wurden.

Aus Deinen Brief geht nicht klar genug hervor, was fuer
Quittungen Du benoetigst. Wie viele? Du hast Du ja bereits erhalten.
Wenn ich Dich recht verstehe, so handelt es sich um eine Quittung
ueber 230L. Schreibe mir das genau und dann, wenn ich werde Dir die
Quittung schicken.

Deinen Vorschlag den anarchistischen Kongress auf Pfingsten zu
verlegen, werde ich weitergeben.

Wir werden hier eine Photogenie einrichten und allwochent-
lich einige Serien von Photos in's Ausland schicken. Dazu benoetigen
wir in jedem Land Photoagenturen, die in der Lage sind Photos am
besten zu verbreiten. Schreibe uns bitte an welche Agenturen wir uns
wenden muessen. Wir werden dann eine Kopie des Briefes an Dich schicken
und auch die Verrechnung soll durch Dich gehen.

Wir werden Dir natuerlich auch schick weitere Photomaterial
schicken.

Das ist fuer heute alles.

Mit herzlichen Gruessen

Augustin Souchy

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692

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005240

[Letter] 1937 March 12, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Frances Briggs —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20359

THE BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE

INCORPORATING THE VILLAGE DRAMA SOCIETY

President:

LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN

Hon. Treasurer:
ALEC L. REA

Director:

GEOFFREY WHITWORTH

Chairman of the Council:
VISCOUNT ESHER

Secretary: Frances Briggs

Central Office: 9 Fitzroy Square, London, W.1.

Telephone: Euston 2666

12th March 1937

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you very much for your subscription to the League.

I have pleasure in enclosing receipt herewith. I need hardly say we
are very grateful for your continued support.

I am sorry that I could not telephone to you to-day
Mr. Whitworth left early and I was not able to see him before he left.
I am leaving a message for him in case he comes in to-morrow morning
but if you do not hear to-morrow I will telephone you without fail
on Monday morning.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Frances Briggs

Miss Emma Goldman
18 Easttown Road
West Kensington

P.S. On reading through your letter
I cannot find you have given me your
telephone number. Could I therefore have
a card with this information please?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937?] March 13, Birmingham [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Barry Jackson. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19389

THE BIRMINGHAM REPERTORY THEATRE LTD.

GOVERNING DIRECTOR

SIR BARRY JACKSON, M.A.

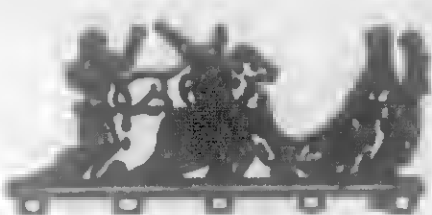
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"BIRMREP, BIRMINGHAM"

Hand 13^d.

Dear Emma Goldman -

I expect to be at the
Aldwych Theatre most of Monday March 15th.
If you are in the vicinity perhaps you
could call if your scheme still goes
forward as I hope. A telephone call
(Temple Jar 3272 or 3271) between
11 and 1 is sure to find me.

Yours
Barry Jackson.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 15 [London to Eleanor] Rathbone, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12340

18, Castletown Road, W.14.
15th March, 1937.

Miss Rathborne, M.P.,
50, Romney Street,
S.W. 1.

Dear Miss Rathborne,

We met at Lady Rhonda's some years ago but you may not remember that occasion or meeting me?

I am taking the liberty of writing you as the representative of the National Confederation of Labour of Spain, and also in behalf of the paper devoted to women, called *Mujeres Libres*. A letter from them a few days ago asked me to put them in touch with all advanced organizations in England devoted to women's rights.

I wonder whether you could tell me how to reach the various organizations or whether you could put me in touch with your own University organization? My friends in Spain have begun an intensive propaganda for the emancipation of the Spanish women. Having been kept in bondage by the Church in Spain and by all other institutions, I found the Spanish women in many respects at least fifty years behind the women of England, the United States and Scandinavia.

I was therefore delighted to learn of the campaign my friends of *Mujeres Libres* are planning. Will you kindly let me know how I am to put them in touch with women's organizations in this country? I mean help me to a list of these organizations?

Sincerely,

Accredited representative of the CNT-FAI.

695

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918183

[Letter, 19]37 March 15 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12381

March 15th 37.

Dear Comrade Galve,

I am sorry to say that the Spanish comrade who always translates my letters into Spanish and the Spanish letters I receive in English is ill with the flu, the bourgeois name for a severe cold. So I am obliged to write you English. If you do not understand this language perhaps you will see our good comrade Mollie Alperine who lives at 23, rue des Volontaires. She will be glad to translate the letter for you.

Your letter in regard to the Labor Conference here came too late. But even if it had come in time I could have done nothing to carry out the request of the CNT to participate in the Conference or large meeting. I am sure the comrades in Barcelona and Valencia could not have known that the Labor Conference was under the auspices of the I.I. International, an organization that has hated and persecuted the anarchists from its very birth. They would never have consented to my presence either in the capacity of the accredited representative of the CNT-F.I.O. or in my own capacity as an anarchist. Our comrades should know this. Moreover, they should know that the Labor and Trade Unions of this country are sabotaging the CNT-F.I. I rather think that this is true not only of the Labor and Trade Unions in England. It is also true of the Spanish delegates who attended the Conference in London last week. My reasons for this are as follows: a young English Italian comrade who publishes SPAIN AND THE WORLD the best paper about Spain in the English language met some of the Spanish Labor people. They did not hesitate to inform him that "the CNT is losing in number and importance, that it was sabotaging the anti-Fascist struggle, and that it was shooting the peasants who will not be collectivised". And a lot more. Need I tell you the amount of harm these men have done here in spreading such outrageous lies? For it is certain that if the delegation found it necessary to tell these stories to our young comrade in a book store, in the presence of others they must have reported this to the Conference of the I.I. International and to a lot of Labor people. In other words they have done the Spanish struggle irreparable harm.

Now the thing that puzzles me is that our comrades of the CNT should not have insisted to send along a delegation of CNT comrades to the London Conference? Surely if the U.G.T. is in earnest in its cooperation with the CNT then our comrades should have been in among the delegation. If on the other hand the unity and cooperation with the CNT is only on paper as it seems to be judging by the misrepresentation spread by the Spanish members of the U.G.T.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 15 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

12382

Then the sooner the comrades know who their enemies are the better for their struggle. Do you not also think so?

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 15 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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12363

Another thing for the comrades in Spain to understand is the fact that they are being shamefully sabotaged by the Labor and Trade Union Party in England as well as the Communists. So much so that not a single word can be gotten into any of the ~~papers~~ news-papers in this city. Not one word has appeared about our meetings for the CNT-FAI. And not one word ~~in reply to the letters~~ of my letters sent to the so-called Liberal press in reply to the stories they printed, among them that anarchists have killed Durruti, that Catalonia refuses to work with the Government, that it is denying help to Madrid and a lot more. This naturally makes the campaign I have started here doubly difficult. Not that I mind that for myself. But I feel the injustice and outrage against our comrades fighting us they do at all the fronts, and the only heroic defenders of the Spanish Revolution. I feel our comrades should know exactly what to expect of the Socialists by whatever name or flag they go.

You will be glad to learn that we have had a number of large meetings in London and a few smaller cities. And that I have collected ~~just~~ 3304 for the evacuated women and children in Spain. I am now at work on a large undertaking, a theatre benefit for the same purpose. I have succeeded in securing one of the best theatres in London for Sunday April 11th. I ~~am~~ already have the promise of cooperation of some of the important artists and I am expecting more. In addition we are getting a lot of help free of charge such as printing and advertising. So I hope to realize a substantial sum for the grand and gallant fight our comrades are making.

From the propaganda view point we have also succeeded in making the CNT-FAI known and we have organized an Anarchist Syndicalist Union that will do systematic work among the trade unions in spite of their corrupt leaders. Later we hope to undertake a demonstration to Trafalgar Square. And we are issuing a Manifesto urging the British workers to use direct action in protest against the miserable pact ~~with the~~ ~~so-called~~ ~~British~~ ~~government~~ ~~supported~~ of the British government supported by the Labor Party with the other Powers to crush Spain. In view of the fact that we had no Anarchist organisations until now and in view of the opposition against the CNT-FAI we have not done so badly.

I am happy we are now in direct touch. Just as soon as the comrade translator is over his illness I will be able to send you letters in Spanish and also to hear from you in your language. Of course if you can write French please do so. I understand French better than Spanish. But I love Spain and the Spanish comrades more than I do the French. Please give my salud to comrade Rocca. I have not written him in a long while. Perhaps you will be good enough to let him read this letter. . Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 15 [London to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20251

18, Castletown Road, W.14.
15th March, 1937.

Mr. Harry Weinberger,
70, West 40th Street,
New York, U.S.A.

Dear Harry Weinberger.

If I did not know your magnanimity, towards me, I should not bear to write you after my neglect of you. That my affections are still the same is best proved by the fact that I have never lost sight of your letter of May 25th and have always meant to answer it. I should be desolated if I did not know that our mutual friend had kept you informed of the many things that have happened to me since May 25th.

You know all about A.B.'s end of course and you can imagine my shock and my grief without going into a painful recital of the dreadful thing. It is difficult to say what would have become of me had not Spain come to my rescue. It has saved me physically and spiritually. Of course you also know that I have been in Spain, and back in England since the 23rd.

The enclosure will give you an idea of both the intensity of my interest in Spain and my work for it. All in all you will realize why I have neglected you. I hope that it may not happen again.

You may want to know about my plans - I wish I knew them myself! Actually I want to go back to Spain the latter part of next month, if only for another few months, to get new impressions and to be close to the grand epic that is being demonstrated there. Then I would like to get back to America. You may know already that Roger is trying to get me another visa? It was rotten luck to lose McCormack, he might have easily complied with Roger's request. Since the new man has not yet been appointed it is difficult to say whether he will be amenable to a visa for me. Roger will not stop until he has succeeded or has been refused. I have suggested to him to ask for a visa beginning in August; "Congress will not be in session then?" Did you know that that was the excuse three years ago why an extension was denied me? Have you any suggestions to make in regard to this? If so, will you submit them to Roger?

699

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 15 [London to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20252

-2-

15-3-1937.

How have you been? What are you doing outside of law? Are you helping the efforts for Spain? I hope you are. In face of the brilliant fight and the consecration of the struggle for freedom from fascism on the part of the Spanish people, we ought to strain every muscle and concentrate all our thoughts on saving Spain from the terrible scourge of fascism. Write us soon, won't you? You are too good a "humanitarian" to make us suffer for my sins against you. Remember us to all our mutual friends. Give my love to Pauline though she does not deserve it. She seems to have completely forgotten me!

affectionately,

Accredited representative for the CNT-FAI

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700

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 15 [London to] Rebecca West, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20265

18, Castletown Road, W.14.
15th March, 1937.

Miss Rebecca West,
15, Orchard Court,
Portman Square, W.1.

Dearest Rebecca,

I had hoped to be able to give you particulars about the definite arrangements of my theatre venture for the women and children in Spain, but everybody moves in snail-like fashion. It takes an awful time to get people going or to impress them sufficiently to make up their minds. Well, perhaps I oughtn't to complain-. While it has taken over a month to get the project launched, I have succeeded in securing the Victoria Palace for Sunday April the 11th. I shouldn't say "I" have succeeded. It was really Maurice Brown an old friend of mine who did the trick.

Other friends in the theatre world have helped me to get one or two outstanding artists, and again an American friend now representing the "Musical Courier" in England, has secured two musicians for the 11th.

Finally, I just spoke to Mr. Alfred N. Wall, the Secretary of The Actors Equity' Association. He has undertaken to induce a few of the best-known dramatic artists to participate in the entertainment of the evening. However, we will not be able to do any advertising or sending out a letter before the latter part of this week. That will leave us a little over 2 weeks to make the affair known. I realise it is little enough but there was nothing else I could do but wait and wait until my English friends in the theatre world would bestir themselves.

My dear, I will have to send out a letter re the sales of tickets. We naturally want to reach people who are sympathetic to the anti-Fascist struggle and are at the same time in a position to contribute to the material success of the theatre venture by means of taking tickets at a price above the ordinary. I have asked all my sponsors to let me have a select list of their own circle of friends and I want you to do the same, dear Rebecca. It would help me very considerably in disposing of the expensive seats. I am not worrying about the others.

Please tell your Secretary about making out a list of the names you will suggest and let me have it very soon.

I also mean to appeal to Mr. Andrews to suggest a similar list. This is the only way I know of reaching various people. In writing them, of course I will give them the list

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 15 [London to] Rebecca West, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20266

Miss Rebecca West,

-2-

15th March
1937.

of sponsors - but it might carry more weight if you would permit me to say that you had suggested their names.

Since I saw you, I have been able to add to the list of sponsors the names of :-

Havelock Ellis,
Barle Listowel,
Sir Barry Jackson,
Gielgud, and a few more.

If I can get artists of the same standing in the world of letters and social affairs, in the city, I will have no difficulty in filling the theatre.

Please, my dear, let me hear from you as soon as possible. We must be able to send out the letter this week-end, or people will rush off for the Easter holidays.

Affectionately,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 15 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / A[rthur]
L[eonard] R[oss]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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March 15, 1937

Mrs. E. G. Colton
12, Castletown Road
London, W.14, England

Dear Emma,

Huebsch now has the manuscript for the Viking Press. I am enclosing herewith Quincy Howe's comment on the MSS. He is the editor of Simon & Schuster.

People who have read the MSS. told me that its chances in America are nil. I am sorry I cannot give you any encouragement. Huebsch himself, when he spoke to me, told me that unless it was particularly outstanding he did not give me much hope. Besides, I do not believe any of them read more than possibly a page of it. They will not go to the expense of translating it. If the little they read is not written in any striking style, and the material of sufficient permanent importance, they will not touch it. I am told that the style has not much to command on. However, I am doing the best I can.

With best wishes, I am,

Faithfully and sincerely yours,

aln/r
enc.

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703

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001090

[Letter] 1937 March 15, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

19342

CASA C.N.T.-F.A.I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURUT, 22 Y 24 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS:
CENTRALIA 1420
TECHNICA {
SOLER 1420
SOLER 1420
SOLER 1420
SOLER 1420
SOLER 1420
SOLER 1420
SOLER 1420

Barcelona 21. 03. 1937

Emma Goldman-Colton
16 Castlemore Road
London W 14

Liebe Emma,

Camillo Berneri hat mit dem ~~in dem~~ italienischen Konsulat gefunden ein Dokument und wird das der Woche in Barcelona von etwa 700 Seiten fertig zu sein. Es handelt sich um Dokumente die die spanische Politik im Jahre 1936, besonders um den Besitz der Salas, betreffen. Eine englische Ausgabe dieses Buches ist von uns vorgesehen. Wir haben bereits mit Frank Jellinek, der die englische Übersetzung besorgen will, gesprochen.

Wir haben die Absicht dieses Buch nicht hier in Spanien, sondern in England drucken zu lassen. Wir denken insbesondere an den Verlag Collanez, der das Buch "The Nazi Conspiracy in Spain" herausgegeben hat. Wir telegraphieren noch heute an Collanez in dieser Angelegenheit. Wir werden dich über den Verlauf der Angelegenheit auf dem Laufenden halten. *Schreib mir deine Meinung dazu.*

Wir bitten dich die Sache noch nicht in der Presse zu behandeln. Wir werden dir mitteilen, wenn es dringender ist.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen

Augustin Souchy

Vielen Dank für Brief, ich antworte Ihnen, dass ich

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704

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001141

[Letter] 1937 March 16 [London to W.] W[inifred] Evans, Halifax [England] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19688

18, Castletown Road,
W.14.
16th March, 1937.

Miss H. W. Evans,
37, Newstead Place,
Halifax, Yorkshire.

Dear Miss Evans,

I received the enclosed wire late last night. It was impossible for me to reply by wire as I was laid up ill in bed. This morning, after thinking it over, I came to the conclusion that it will be better to write, since one can say little in a telegram; but as there is no address given in the wire, I am writing you so that you can inform your comrades.

The 11th of April is altogether out of the question as I am at work on a big undertaking here in the way of a theatre venture - a benefit entertainment for the Spanish women and children, - and I must be in London on that Sunday. While the 19th is still free I don't think it will be worth while to go to a small town for a small meeting. I have so many requests from larger places and with greater certainty of raising subscriptions for the Spanish women and children, that I feel it would be wrong for me to lose these chances. I had an example last Sunday of how little can be expected from small meetings. It was in Southend, -

where your comrades and a few of mine organised a lecture for me. As it happened, I was not able to go because I had been very much under the weather since I returned from South Wales, the 8th of this month. ~~Southend~~ should have had little effect on the audience since no-one knew that I was not going. There were just 90 people in the hall and part of the collection for the women and children had to be used to defray expenses.

I was disappointed to find that this has been done in my absence, inasmuch as I have made it a rule to insist that not a penny should be used from the collections, for any expenses. In any event, I should have wasted a Sunday could I have gone; in addition, neither the I.L.P., or the women in Spain would have gained by it.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001141

[Letter] 1937 March 16 [London to W.] W[inifred] Evans, Halifax [England] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Miss M. E. Evans.

-2-

16-3-1937.

19656

It seems to me therefore that unless larger cities can be covered by your comrades I should have to forego speaking under their auspices, much as I regret it. I will have to confine myself to such towns where we have fairly large groups, and leave it to them to take the responsibility and the expense.

I have written you that I planned to go back to Spain the latter part of April. Should this not be possible owing to the present embargo, I might have dates in May.

I understand that there are all sorts of summer schools and they might be interested in having me speak to them about the Spanish situation. In that case I will be pleased to also meet the requests from your organisations.

But, for the present, I can do nothing about it. Will you please explain to the members of the I.L.P., in Dewsbury?

Yours sincerely,

706

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 16, London [to] Stewart Kerr, New Milford, Conn. / Emma [Goldman].— 1 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

18, Castletown Road,
London, W.14.
16th March, 1937.

Mr. Stewart Kerr,
R.F.D. 3,
New Milford,
Connecticut, U.S.A.

Dear Stewart,

I was pleasantly surprised to see your handwriting on the "Nations" you sent me. True it was not as direct as a letter - still it brought your kindly spirit.

As a matter of fact I am getting "The Nation" through Stella. She sends it every week together with "The New York Sunday Times". So there is no use spending postage on your copy but if you read any other weekly publication I should be very glad to get it. Actually the only link with America, outside my correspondents, is The Sunday Times and The Nation. Nobody even thinks of sending a book or a magazine which they buy for themselves. Perhaps my friends do not think that I need these things, or think that I myself subscribe to a lot of American publications. In point of fact I have not been able to afford either books or magazines. Moreover, I have been so immersed in the work for Spain that I have not had much time left for books, but I do want to get in touch with American affairs.

I am not sure that you ever see any of our friends. If you do, they have no doubt told you all about me. I seem to have lived ten years since Sasha's end. So many things have happened during that time. I am not feeling very extra to-day - nothing serious except the aftermath of 'flu. But I am still too seedy to concentrate on long letters. I am therefore enclosing a lot of copies of letters, all written since I returned to England. They will give you an idea of my doings. Later on, when I have heard from you direct, I may have more to tell you.

I do want to hear from you, my dear, to hear how you have been getting along. Perhaps you will take time and drop me a few lines?

With my old friendship,

Affectionately,

Emma

Accredited representative of the CNT-FAI.

(Enclosures).—

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 16, London [to] Stewart K[err], New Milford, Conn. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20224

18, Castletown Road,
London, W.14.
16th March, 1937.-

Mr. Stewart K.
R.F.D. 3.,
New Milford,
Connecticut, U.S.A.

Dear Stewart,

I was pleasantly surprised to see your handwriting on the "Nations" you sent me. True it was not as direct as a letter - still it brought your kindly spirit.

As a matter of fact I am getting "The Nation" through Stella. She sends it every week together with "The New York Sunday Times". So there is no use spending postage on your copy but if you read any other weekly publication I should be very glad to get it. Actually the only link with America outside my correspondents, is The Sunday Times and The Nation. Nobody even thinks of sending a book or a magazine which they buy for themselves. Perhaps my friends do not think that I need these things, or think that I myself subscribe to a lot of American publications. In point of fact I have not been able to afford either books or magazines. Moreover, I have been so immersed in the work for Spain that I have not had much time left for books, but I do want to get in touch with American affairs.

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I do want to hear from you, my dear, to hear how you have been getting along. Perhaps you will take time and drop me a few lines?

With my old friendship,

Affectionately,

Accredited representative of the CNT-FAI.

(Enclosures).

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 16, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 26 x 19 cm.

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18, Castletown Road, London, W.14.
16th March, 1937.

Mr. Roger Baldwin,
31, Union Square, West,
New York City, U.S. A.

RaB
3-13-37

Dear Roger,

Thank you for your letter of February the 23rd.

Yes, it is difficult for people outside of Spain who have not been close to the heroic efforts made there, to understand some of the things the CNT-FAI., have been forced to do - and it is even harder for people who have stood for non-resistance all their lives to change their point of view. I am reasonably certain that if my Dutch comrades were confronted with Fascism in the real sense they probably would drop their Pacifism, very easily. However, I understand them and while I cannot agree with them it does not change my respect for their position nor my faith in their sincerity.

premises The struggle in Spain becomes more intense every day. Especially since the embargo. Our people, far from growing pessimistic or dispirited are fairly consumed by the divine fire of their Ideal. I do not think it is an exaggeration when I say that nothing so great, like the epic written in the blood of the people, has ever taken place in the world. Just think of the tremendous victory on Friday and Saturday on the part of the Revolutionary forces against the array of arms and of man power, on the part of the Fascists. It is nothing short of a miracle. This valor alone should have been enough to rouse the workers of the whole world. Perhaps the workers would rise, - but they are everywhere being held down in a strait-jacket by their leaders.

This is particularly true in this country. The Trade Unions and the Labour Party are deliberately betraying the Spanish workers - much more so than they did the Russian workers in the beginning of the Revolution. After all, they did inspire the longshore men and the sailors to strike against shipment of arms for the Interventionists in Russia. They have done nothing since the bloody battle in Spain began. Worse still, it is impossible to break through the ring of the Labour and Trade Union leaders. In addition is the conspiracy of silence on the part of the so-called 'Liberal' press.

I am enclosing copies of letters I have written to The Standard, The Telegraph and The New Statesman. Not a word

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 16, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Emma [Goldman]. - 3 p. ; 26 x 19 cm.

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Mr. Roger Baldwin.

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16-3-1937.

of them appeared nor a word about the meetings we have held jointly with the Independent Labour Party, and nothing about the Exhibition of Spanish photographs and posters! This is the more remarkable because the Spanish Exhibition' Committee can certainly not be charged with Anarchistic leanings. They are nearly all Communists or flirt with Communism. They hated to have the CNT-FAI., represented in the Exhibition and they hated the idea of my being in the Committee, and yet - with all their responsibility - it did not induce the News Chronicle and The Daily Herald to write something about the Exhibition.

The result is a large financial deficit, the fault of which is entirely that of the Committee, which has gone into an expense of £28 for the Exhibition, which could have been done for a quarter if not less. My experience of this Committee has convinced me once more of the utter futility of compromise. I have been furious with myself for having permitted Fenner to influence me to join the Committee. I brought marvellous material with me from Spain and I should have gone ahead as I had planned, with an independent Exhibition - but it is no use fretting about what cannot be undone. Only I am quite determined to make no more compromise, not even in behalf of Spain.

Dear Roger, while the wise should begin with August, I think it will be necessary to try for it long before. I mean of course directly the successor of McCormack will be appointed. You know how long it took last time - fully two months, so if you will wait until August to apply for it and it is granted it will mean October before I can sail. So I must ask you to please go ahead directly you know to whom to apply. I do not know what is to be done about the restrictions. It might have some sense to give lectures on Catalan art as a pretext, if I had the canvases, but the canvases have been sent to the Paris Exhibition, which means that they will not be available for a very long time - even if there were not a lot of intrigue on the part of the Catalonian Government against my exhibiting the paintings. And there is no sense in talking on art when one has nothing to show for it - and especially when such a terrible blood-stained battle is going on.

I have an idea which I wish to submit to you. It is this - a group of Spanish intellectual women have been publishing a women's journal called Mujeres Libres. They have started a country-wide campaign for the enlightenment and emancipation of the Spanish women. Both the Jewish and the Christian God know how terribly such a campaign is needed. The women in Spain are at least fifty years behind Western women and you will agree that even the latter require more

-1-

still

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 March 16, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p.; 26 x 19 cm.

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Mr. Roger Baldwin.

-3-

16-3-1937.

equality with men in their status; but the Spanish women - held in bondage by the Church and Feudalism for so long - are completely ignorant of themselves as individuals, social beings, as wives and as mothers. *They have asked me to put them in touch with various women's organizations in England and America.

Now that Stella is returning to Bearsville, I really do not know whom to get in touch with regarding such organizations in New York - but that is besides the point; what I thought was that this might be accepted by Washington as a legitimate purpose.

Let me know what you think of it.

You would laugh if you would see my list of sponsors for the venture I have undertaken. If you please, a live Earl and a Lady!-- but my dear unless you have them you are simply hopeless in anything you undertake. It is certainly amusing. But I am getting considerable help from people in the theatre world - mainly they are English people who have lived quarter-of-a-century in the States. They are really more Americanized than English and so ready to help. I have a long list of sponsors, the very 'cream' in the world of letters. Dear old generous Havelock Ellis is among them; Wells and Shaw have refused; their reasons do not hold water. At least Shaw's letter was amusing; some day I may make use of it.

Do keep in touch with me, my dear. You can imagine I am anxious to know about my chances of return. Keep writing to me to my London address as it is most uncertain about my going to Spain. I want to, passionately, but I understand it is extremely difficult to pass through the French border. What a force the popular front is! And Blum with his pretext and pretence of Socialism! The same old story everywhere, when Socialists get into power.

affectionately

Emma

the theatre venture is to
place myself at the disposal of the Spanish women and
men. April 11th and is far

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001170

[Letter] 1937 March 16, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne Levey. —
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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CHICAGO 0014

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JEANNE LEVEY

SALES REPRESENTATIVE

1884 MERCHANDISE MART

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

—

19708

March 16, 1937.

My very dear Emma:

I was so happy to get your letter the other day. It seems ages since I heard from you and I was beginning to worry lest something had happened. What a dynamo you are! How you carry on! Such a dauntless spirit! Well I have always said you are only one of a kind, there is no one like you. Of course that is a great pity.

Well dear, about the exhibit, I do not have the least idea as to just what the exhibit consists of. But if you send it here with your suggestions as to just how I shall carry on the work, I shall be more than glad to do so. We have been raising quite a lot of money for Spain and I only hope it reaches the proper channels. If you want me to take care of the exhibit, I shall be very glad to do so.

Now about your pamphlet, the original cost of the printing was to be \$200.00. The printer was recommended by our comrade Yehovsky. You know how irresponsible most of those comrades are. I gave him \$50.00 as a down payment, but of my power I then he went out of business, so I had to get another printer. The cost of the printing now will be \$250.00. So far we have raised enough money from the sale of the pamphlets, except about \$66.00. As soon as that amount is raised, we will be able to send you some money.

I believe I can send you a thousand copies to England. While you cannot sell your own literature, I am sure the friends in England can dispose of them and you can probably raise \$100.00 at once. Please let me know if I should do this and I will send the pamphlets on to you without delay. Even if you do go to Spain by April you can have the friends in England dispose of them. However, I will not send them unless you advise me to do so. Or I can send you as many as you like.

Rudolf Rucker will lecture here on April 9th. We expect to have an audience of 500. He will lecture once in Yiddish and we expect to sell a thousand pamphlets at these meetings. I shall be very happy to send you as much money as I can. In the meantime, if there are any friends in other cities, whom you feel I should send some to, I shall be glad to do so. I have sent 200 to Toronto, 100 to St. Louis, 700 to Los Angeles.

Emma, dear, I am still getting literature from Spain, but most of it comes in German and I am unable to read it. Am unable to find enough people who are interested and can read German. Please

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001170

[Letter] 1937 March 16, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne Levey. —
2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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JEANNE LEVEY

SALES REPRESENTATIVE
1834 MERCHANDISE MART
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

19706

write and tell them not to send literature unless it is in English, because it is just a waste of postage to send the German. Those which come in English, I read and pass along to interested friends.

I can imagine what uphill work you have to do in England to break through the stolid Englishman. Since England has assumed such a reactionary stance, it is all the more unfortunate.

As I am writing you the encouraging news that the loyalists have shattered the Italian lines and have captured thirty thousand Italians and much artillery and ammunition. All this is indeed encouraging. Those heroic men have certainly held out against the greatest odds any war has yet imposed.

Angellica Bulabunoff was here two weeks ago and has returned to New York again. She is such a sad individual and such a fine poetic soul. She did not have a chance to lecture here because the Socialist party cancelled the date they announced she would speak just two days before the lecture. They had made the date about three weeks previously. Angellica is just about heartbroken.

Write me a nice long letter Emma dear and let me know all that has happened. You know how eager I am to get word from you. My folks are in sending our sincerest love and good wishes to you.

Always and ever,

Your Jeanne

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001201

[Letter, 1937] March 16 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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509 West 110th Street,

19744

March 16th

Dearest: Birthdays in view of the tragic happenings in Spain hold little cause for celebration. I really do not feel in the mood for parties. So this day is passing as usual -- like every other day.

Yesterday Abe Bluestone, one of our nicest boys of the Libertarian group, came to see me. He leaves for London on the S. S. Paris as a delegate to the conference and wants to be useful in every way. You met him in N.Y. that evening you called the groups together. After talking with me yesterday, he decided to go via London to consult with you, though he planned at first to go to Paris. He wrote the article on Sasha in the Memorial. I told him I would write you direct and he will wire you when he lands. His wife is accompanying him. He has a letter from Van to you, though I told him that was hardly necessary since you know him yourself.

I am glad Clovelly is trying to help. I do hope you succeed with your theatre benefit. So far Frank has had little luck with the major film companies. They call it "too hot for us to handle" It has already cost him over a thousand dollars which he advanced out of his own pocket, he bought the films in the first place, what they call a lavender copy, he had to pay duty, have prints made from the lavender, copyrighted, etc. And he has given it endless time.

Bluestone told me yesterday that the Communists and other people have our albums, the Durruti pamphlets, etc. Souhy wrote 6 weeks ago he was sending me a 1000 copies of each. Nothing has come, and the others are already being circulated. Neither has the P & S received anything. So something is wrong with the distribution at Souhy's end.

Saxe is flying to California on business for his firm. He will be gone three weeks. He feels much better. The change ought to do him good. He will see Lou and Harry, of course. I wish I might have a little change too. I would enjoy it.

Moe and Baba have moved to a little place in Northport, off the post. Saxe just sent them another \$50 and Bessie paid their rent. It caught me just before our checks are due and I have already had to borrow against them for living expenses. This lack of money is so disheartening. How I wish I could earn some -- with so much need about. Poor Saxe, too, carries a heavy load of responsibility.

I wish I had more cheerful news, darling. But Bessie Davidoff just called me up and talked to me for half an hour and that was my birthday. We will have to pool our slender resources and look after Moe.

Teddy, Ian and Davy are fine. We leave for Bearville the end of the month, but until the summer, with Ian staying in N.Y., we will have to count every penny to get through. I am glad our own rent and the studio rent will not have to be met.

I enclose an article in last night's Post by George Selzer which is very good. I am told his despatches have been fine.

Devoted love,

Stella

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 between March 16 and 31, New York to] Emma Goldman, London / Roger B[aldwin]. — 1 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

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20119
Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton,
18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14, England.

Dear Emma:

I hardly need to say more in reply to your exceedingly vivid and welcome letter of the 16th than that I am in hearty accord with your devoted activity and your plans.

How far anything can be done to get you in here remains still quite uncertain. The new Commissioner has not been appointed. Miss Perkins cannot be approached on anything until after Congress is over; and until her bill, not yet introduced is passed, it would be a perfectly useless gesture. Otherwise it well may be if Congress runs a long time that you cannot come in August. Only time and politics will tell us that.

If you really want a list of women's organizations, I can get it for you, but I suppose Stella is able to put you in touch with the right people.

Ever yours affectionately,



RNB*WS.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005106

[Letter, 19]37 March 17 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 7 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20067

March 17th 37.

Dear Augustine.

I received your letter of March 6th asking for addresses for women's organizations, an article by you and your letter of the 12th inst. which came last night. I am glad it no longer takes weeks to reach me. I wish I had the same assurance with my letters to you. I have stopped sending them via Paris because it had taken two weeks ~~and~~ or ten days to get to you. So I have sent my letters by AIR MAIL. Its rather a luxury I can ill afford. But at least I have the assurance the letters will reach you. For the first time last week I heard with from Calve. He wrote me in behalf of the CNT asking to attend the Labor Conference of the 11 International. His letter came too late. But even if it had come in time it would have been impossible to do anything about the matter. Frankly, my dear, I never came across more childish naivety as our Spanish comrades are showing. Do they not know that the 11 International has taught us as much as the Third and that it would never consent to having anything to do with us? If the CNT wanted someone to represent them at the Conference here why did it not insist that some one from their organization should come here with the Spanish delegation? Or is all that unity in Spain with the U.C.T. merely on paper? From what I have learned of the talk of the Socialists from Spain who came to the session of the 11 International the old hatred and antagonism against Anarchists in general and the CNT in particular goes merrily on. Our comrade who edits ~~the~~ SPAIN AND THE WORLD happened to be in one of the radical book shops when some of the Spanish delegates arrived. Whether they did not know who young Recchoni is or whether they did not care who knows what they think of the CNT & I they delivered themselves of a bitter attack on both. They said the CNT & I were now shooting peasants who will not be socialized, that the CNT is losing in numbers and that they were only sabotaging the anti Fascist struggle. Can you not see that these miserable people must have spread these contemptible lies about our comrades at the conference and with in their talks with everybody? How then would it have been possible to attend the sessions or do anything to counteract the lies of men fresh from Spain. As if the Labor and Trade Union parties were not antagonistic enough against our people. The report of the so-called friends of the CNT must have added fuel to their hatred. It is sad but must be faced once for all. There never has and never will be or can be ~~lasting~~ unity between the Marxist gangs, Socialist or Communist and Anarchists. Our comrades of the CNT had better make up their minds to that.

As propos of unity it seems to me that it is all on the side of the CNT. I mean that it is the CNT that is making violent overtures to the U.C.T. and that the latter has no idea of accepting the love advances.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 17 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 7 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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of our comrades. Perhaps I am mistaken. But the last English Bulletin that reached me yesterday and the account of the attack on the CNT by the Spanish labor ~~people~~ delegates seem to bear out my fears. I can see that our comrades are finally finding it necessary to sound an alarm against the sabotage of their so called friends. Well, it is all so sad and painful. To go back to Galve; I have replied to him and just as soon as I hear from him again I will try to write you and Martin via his address. He seems most reliable. So perhaps he will see that my mail goes to Spain by a quicker route than ten days. To days letter will however go by AIR MAIL again.

It is no further use to argue the Film business. It will lead to nothing. I hope you understand that I did not mean to worry you. But it made me ill to see how quick the Communists have succeeded in making a Film about the defense of Madrid, to bring it home and to coin a fortune from its display everywhere. Must the Anarchists always continue inefficiently? Why should it be in Spain where the CNT-FA are supposed to be a power? I could understand the lack of action in England where we hardly have a baker's dozen comrades. But in Spain! Well, as I said no use to continue the argument. It is only the loss of such a golden chance for propaganda and also for ~~not~~ raising a large sum of money for Spain which hurts so much.

Yes, I also thought of Doris Hook. But she is out of the question. Doris is going on in years and she is a very sick woman. Even if she would be willing to give up a job she has held for years she would not last long under the present circumstances in Spain. I should think the comrades have enough to do to take care of all the wounded and sick to be burdened with an extra ~~person~~ patient. For it is sure that Doris could not stand the hardships and that she could not live as you and the others have been doing. We have a comrade in America who is longing to go to Spain. His name is surely familiar to you. He was for a time editor of the ROAD to FREEDOM. He wrote me several weeks ago that he would love to go to Spain if he could be of help. He certainly knows his English, he may know a little Spanish though I doubt it. But he knows our movement and he is a great and reliable worker. I will write him to suggest he should get in touch with you. The question will be his travelling expenses, I am sure he has no means of his own. He has been out of work for several years. But has only recently gotten a job. It is not likely that he has anything saved. But I know he is only too willing to give up his position and go to Spain. Apart of the expense there is the difficulty of getting through France. Anyhow, I will write Van, he goes under the name of W. Starrett, to get in touch with you as soon as possible. But for his lack of Spanish he would be the right person in the English department. He could do nothing else though he would be willing to even go to the front. But he has a wooden leg. So that makes any combatant labor for our comrade ~~impossible~~ impossible. But for editing or speaking over the radio he would be perfect. Well, you will surely hear from him when my letter gets to him.

About the Photo agencies. I had intended phoning Darling to see if he knows some. But I have been sick as a dog for ten days. I caught a beastly cold on my way to South Wales and have been laid up ever since, ten days. I will attend to this just as soon as my voice can be heard and I will write you. About women's organizations I have written to a number of women active in the women's movement in England. I hope to hear from them soon. I will then sent on a list to Ilse.

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20069

One more word about Aldred. It is evident that Ethel Hed-
ley Donald is merely echoing what that wretched man has told her. In
point of fact it is nonsense to say I have influenced the A.P.C.F. —
I did not know of its existence until shortly before I left Spain.
Nor did I have any correspondence with them about anything whatever.
I met two comrades from that group when I came here. So how could
I have influenced him then against Aldred? The rage of the man is due
to the fact that he was stopped from representing the I.A.A. and
the CNT-FAI and from sending his emissaries to Spain to pump the CNT
for money. That was his intention as he wrote in a letter. Now, I had
known about Aldred for years from Rudolf and Chapiro as being a rotter
mouth. But to make quite sure I suggested to Martin who was then in
charge of your paper to ask Chapiro whether he can be trusted. Sanja
was dead against having anything to do with the man. And I myself
be for years because of our stand on Russia. Because I knew the man
was mad with egotism and the hunger for glory, and because he had
misused the movement in England for his own ends. However I never wrote
a word of all this to the A.P.C.F. simply because I knew nothing
about them and did not correspond with them. In conclusion I wish
to say that Aldred has slandered Sanja, Rudolf and me for years —
before the Spanish Revolution and since.

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and long before the A.P.C. ~~was~~

[illegible][illegible]

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871005106

[Letter, 19]37 March 17 [London to] Augustin [Souhy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. - 7 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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in existence. Anyhow you know yourself that there are unfortunately types like Aldred in our ranks whose pathological ambition to shine and to use our movement for their ends ~~innumerable~~ will lead them to go to any extent to denounce everybody who will not be impressed by their importance. I feel the more they are noticed the worse they grow. Publicity and recognition are manna to them. Well, I do not propose to give Mr Aldred either. And I must ask you not to write him if you have not yet done so. He is liable to pervert your letter so better lets not bother about him at all.

Green is of course another type altogether. He too is consumed with vanity and conceit. But he is not dishonest. Nor will he misrepresent everyone who does not take him seriously. Of course I think it ridiculous to send Green to Mexico as business representative and propagandist. I cannot say with certainty that Green has business ability. He may. But he certainly does not have propaganda ability. He can neither speak or write. That you know yourself. As to the comrades in America. Some time ago Mark Kratchny wrote me just this about Green, "he is a windbag". Meaning he is ein Aufschneider. Also it means Windbeutel. I have also heard from the comrade ~~for~~ whom I have already mentioned in regard to Greens supposed work for the paper the Spanish Revolution. "I like Green but he has done nothing for the paper except brag about what he has done. He is too opressed with himself to be of value to any movement.". At any rate it is quite certain that the American comrades have not much faith in Greens abilities, and that they have not commissioned him to represent them. But as I said he may succee in business deals for Spain. I really do not know him from that side.

It is tragic that we have so few able people who could help our brave comrades in their struggle and with their effort to establish commercial relations. But after all neither did Lenin have able people. They had to learn by the process of trial and error. Perhaps Santillan will yet develope into a great financier and Green as an able commis voyageur. One never knows. There is one thing funny. We have in America very able Spanish comrades who ~~would be~~ able propagandists in Spanish and probably also experienced business men why not send them. They are near Mexico, aren't they? Well, I have no intention to interfere. I never before was called upon to protest against utter misfits. I hate to do it now. But since you asked I can only repeat that my only objections to Green are his inordinate vanity, his boastfulness and his incompetence as English speaker, writer or propagandist.

My dear, I cannot see what a representative of the CNT could achieve in the London Bureau of the Generalidad. For the life of me I have not been able to find out exactly what Darling is doing ~~that would~~ except to have all kinds of callers to see him, and perhaps also to perform social stunts. Of course if there were no one from the CNT. I could understand why the comrades would want somebody. But even if I wanted to I could do no more, in fact not as much in the bureau as I am doing in the bureau of the CNT. Actually, Darling was even opposed to my sending out a letter to organizations on the stationary of the Generalidad saying that I am available for lecture dates about the anti Fascist war. His argument against it was if the Home Office should find out that the bureau of the Generalidad is doing propaganda it might not permit it to go on. ~~That is the only reason~~

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In as much as I have not until this day received the directions from Carbo as to what exactly I was to do in the London bureau of the Generalidad, and in as much as it is only too obvious that Darling is opposed to any vital work on my part in any way connected with the bureau I am at a loss to know what good I could have done, or anybody else can do unless he is a nonentity, hence would hardly carry weight in the office. On the other hand I was free to go ahead with the work for the CNT-FAI. I admit I did not move mountains. I have described the conspiracy ~~inx~~ of the Labor and Communist press the boycott of the Communists against everything done for the CNT-FAI, so you and the comrades will realize the uphill and difficult job to get anything done. Especially as we have no organized Anarchist movement. Still we have held a number of meetings, we did raise £304 for the women and children. I spoke in the provinces. I have undertaken the theatre venture which if it can be made successful would be most impressive and help us to raise more money. And most important I think I have gathered up a group of young Anarchists who have organized the first ANARCHIST SYNDICALIST UNION in England. They are working out a declaration of principles and they may prove the beginning of an Anarchist Syndicalist movement in this country. I am quite certain I could not have achieved so much had I joined Darling in his work.

Tell the comrades I will look around for a comrade who might represent them at the London bureau of the Generalidad. But to do so would certainly first have to go to Spain for a while. And as this is impossible for the present I will keep my credentials. As long as I do that Darling will call on me if there is anything important to

Just as soon as I have official approval from Valencia that I might use some money from the fund for our own office and then would replace it for the purpose for which I made my appeals we will get out a Manifesto to the British workers for direct action in behalf of the struggle in Spain. And also the pamphlet Rudiger has put together about the meaning of the CNT-FAI. We need such a statement for our work here. By the way, you sent me a short article about collectivisation. I have read it twice. And what I find is a eulogy of the Russian system of collectivisation and ~~what~~ very little about the ~~efforts~~ sort undertaken by our comrades in Catalonia. I must say I cannot understand this everlasting laudation of Russia. What if it has sent arms. Has it not been paid in solid gold? And is it not now retreating like whipped dogs because of the embrace? I must say I cannot agree with such humiliating attitude to Stalin. But

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but grieved that the Spanish comrades feel the necessity of playing up to our bitterest enemies. How can you do this knowing that ²⁰⁰⁷ hundreds of our comrades and poor ~~en~~ are in Stalin's terrible camps? Besides, it is not fair to the Spanish workers not to point out the difference between the collectivization in Russia by means of fire and sword, and the collectivization in Catalonia which use no ~~force~~ armed force to drive the small peasants into collectives, or sent them to concentration camps, or still worse deliberately brought about the famine to "teach" the ~~Rusiks~~ a lesson. I am sorry my dear but you will have to rewrite your article if it is to be used here. I am quite sure the comrades would protest very strongly against having it appear in SPAIN AND THE WORLD, or in any American paper. There is enough material to write about the collectivization our Spanish comrades have achieved without dragging in Russia. You know how I feel about your work. I would do anything to make it known to English readers. But your last article is really impossible. Forgive me for saying so.

Give my love to Ilse. She will hear from me just as soon as I have names and addresses ~~for~~ of women's organizations in England. I am also writing to America for some.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1937] March 17, Jerusalem [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Zelda] Kirschner. — 3 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

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17 Rambou Street
Rechavia
Jerusalem
March 17

Dear Emma Goldman,

I wrote to you
some weeks ago + enclosed £5
for your Spanish fund, but
my sister says that you
received neither my letter nor
the £5 - - My sister Mary Fewell
met you when she was
in London as you'll probably
remember.

I am terribly sorry
about the money + at the
moment can't send you any
more but I hope to be able
to later on. In my letter
to you I wrote how terribly
glad I was to have the

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opportunity + honour to write to you. Nathan + I spent endless hours discussing you + your book - 'Living my life'. We both feel indescribably grateful to you for writing it. I wish I could meet you + talk to you.

I am moving into a flat of my own in about two weeks - if you could come to Palestine I most sincerely + cordially invite you to stay with me + I am almost sure that we would be able to get you a room for ~~stay~~ which to exhibit your Spanish pictures - a friend of ours has already said that he is prepared to arrange that only I do not know whether the Palestine Government would allow you to come

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to Palestine or if you were allowed
in, whether you'd be allowed to
exhibit or lecture. If you are
seriously thinking of coming
it would be so wise for you
to make all enquiries about
these things from your end
as we are completely unable
to get any information this
end or to offer you any help
in this respect.

I hope his letter reaches
you -

I am glad there are people
like you in the world - it
somehow makes it easier to go
on during through these times

Yours sincerely

-Zelda Kirschner

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871005040

[Letter, 19]37 March 18 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 6 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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March 18th 37.

Dearest Martin, I was ill in bed when your letter arrived, and laid up with the Influenza, the fancy name for the old time cold. You have no idea how much your letter cheered me. Just the friendly warm tone was enough to make me forget the pains and aches I had in all my old bones. Thank you a lot my dear. I am glad you can write me in French especially now when my poor translator is also ill, much more serious than I was. I am very concerned about his condition. He is such a rare comrade with all the splendid traits of our Spanish comrades ~~and~~ ^{and} more efficient because of his years in England, and I rather think also with a broader outlook and understanding. I don't know what I shall do if he does not get well soon. He has been such a help. For you must not forget that we have very few comrades here, and among the few only one or two who ~~is~~ ^{are} helpful. Worse luck not only our Spanish comrade, but also Burr is laid up. The Flu has been frightful in this country, hardly a house that has not one or two people laid up.

You have probably seen Vidal who left here ~~last Saturday~~ ^{last Saturday}. He carried with him a bundle of POSLEKINI for you. When you write again let me know without fail whether you want me to continue sending you the paper. Actually my subscription has expired. But if you want it I can renew it. So you must not forget to let me know. Vidal also carried a letter to the comrades of CNT Valencia with him with a list of the moneys I have collected and an English text of how to acknowledge the receipts. I had received a receipt through Souchy for the first £57 and Souchy's suggestion that I could now use the amount for the expenses here. Ordinarily I should have considered that enough to go ahead. With with the rotten opposition to the CNT-FAI from all sorts of groups, Labor, Trade Union and Communist parties, and such miserable slander from Guy Aldred I cannot be too careful about using money from the Fund I have raised without official directions from the National Confederation of Labor in this case Valencia. Also I must have the assurance that the money used here will be replaced at the other ~~hand~~ ^{end} and for the purpose for which the money was contributed, namely the homeless women and children. I hope the comrades will not think me too exacting. I do not mean to be. But I simply must guard myself against any emergency where I might be called to show receipts and official instructions. I never needed it before in my public life. But the air in this country is surcharged with intrigue, defamation and lies about us of the CNT-FAI.

Our dear comrades in Spain seem to be utterly oblivious to the attitude to them on the part of ~~the~~ ^{the} rotten leaders in labor

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ranks. Else they could not expect that I would be given a chance to represent them at the session of the 11. International. That's what ¹⁹³⁷ they instructed Calve who represents them in the Paris Bureau of the Generalidad. He wrote me saying I must immediately get in touch with that Conference held here last week, and I must try to speak at the large meeting held by the Labor Party. It happens that Calve's letter came too late. But even if it had come in time I could have done nothing. For I know that nothing has changed in the attitude of the British Socialists and Labor gang from 1896 when at the Congress of the 11th International our comrades were dragged out by force by the police called in by the Socialists. Actually the hatred is deeper now than it was then because of the importance of the CNT-FAI. And in addition is the black hate of the Communists. It is a poisonous atmosphere to work in I can tell you.

What surprised me about the comrades is that they did not send along a delegate from Barcelona or Valencia ~~XXXXXX~~ to represent the them. Now I do not know who the Spanish delegates were. All I know is that they seem to be as much opposed to our people as the British outfit. Just imagine, young Recchioni who is getting out SPAIN AND THE WORLD met some of the Spanish delegates in one of the radical book shops. They thought they did not know who the boy is, (he speaks Spanish) they did not hesitate to deliver themselves of a violent attack against the CNT-FAI. Among other things they said that the CNT-FAI have lost in numbers and are daily growing smaller and less important. That they are shooting peasants because they will not join the collectives, and that they are sabotaging Madrid and a lot more. Now you can understand if they said as much in a book shop to a perfect stranger to them what they must have said at the Conference and to the Labor leaders with whom they associated. It is heart breaking to see our comrades so blind to their enemies within and outside of Spain. Anyhow the work here is often exasperating. But I am not losing heart. In fact I think we have done better than we could have hoped for. A number of meetings have been held and several more will take place both in London and the Provinces. We have raised £304 pounds. We have a large undertaking for a theatre benefit April 11th. And we have organized the first Anarchist Syndicalist Union in England which I hope is going to remain a permanent organization to gather up the discontented workers in the Communist, Labor and even I.L.P. So we have not done so badly don't you think? Yes. it is necessary to have an account in the Soli or the Majors Libres, or the Tierra about the work done here. I see by the Soli ~~XXXXXX~~ that our comrades are enthusiastic about the results of the Conference of the 11. International. It is to weep I can tell you.

In regard to the I.L.P. No indeed we will not tie ourselves with them in any political sense. They are Marxians after all. And not matter how eager they are to join up with the CNT now because of the POUM I am certain that they will not hesitate to do some mischief if they need us no more. They have been of very little help really except to speak at some of our meetings. But in no other way. You can rest assured that no political party will ever get me into its net. However, I was surprised to learn from Inner Broekway that he hopes to have joint sessions of the POUM with the FAI at our Conference. He claims Soucy is in favor of that. Have you heard anything about it. Now I don't mind the joint meetings. But I sincerely hope the FAI will not be roped in

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into any deal with the I.L.P. Mind my dear as individuals the I.L.P. members are much broader than any group of Marxists I have ever dealt with. Fenner Brockway their general organiser is very fine so is Reginald Reynolds whom I had hoped the Propaganda office of the Generalidad would consent to have to represent the Socialists in the Bureau here. And several others I have met. But as an organisation they are politicians and they could do the comrades in Spain very little good. Well, we will see at the Conference. I am very anxious about it of course. I want to attend it as I have already written you. But I am also wanted here. Actually I am only beginning to rouse people. As an example I had calls from four cities for dates. Everybody want the 25th of April or the first week in May. I am holding them up until I hear from the P.S. whether the Conference can be postponed for later in the summer, end of May or June. Will you see the Commission at once and write me. I am so glad you agree with me that the Conference must take place in Barcelona or not at all. It would lose all moral significance if it were held anywhere else in the world except Barcelona. But with the difficulties in getting to Spain next month it seems to me that no one from Europe and certainly not from America or Canada could risk the trip. What really would be lost if the Conference were held a month later? Anyway talk to the comrades at once and write me. I would even prefer if you could send me a ~~late~~ telegram if the comrades decide to change the time of the Conference. I would then be able to go to the various cities who want to have meetings. And also we could then go ahead and organise a First of May demonstration at Trafalger Square we have been planning for a long time.

I am certainly happy to know that you are back in the propaganda department. At least I will have someone who will attend to matters of importance. The inclosed came from Chicago. I wish you would see that they get the Bulletin and some other important material in Spanish French and English. I have nothing I can send them because I must use my material, it is little enough, for England. Our Spanish comrade who acts as my stenographer knows Spaniards and he has been feeding them with my copies of the Bulletin which I get regularly now. The Soli I am also receiving. It goes to an American woman after I am through. She is in London and she is worth while. So you had better supply the Chicago people with material. I don't know anything about them. But their letter explains itself.

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I have been trying to practice Spanish. I understand quite a lot of the stuff in the Bulletin. The Soli is simply blinding me the type is so small. The Tiorra has wonderful print and I can read it quite well. But speaking is out of the question. I do not know whether I have written you that I rented the record of what is called THE LINGAPHONE SYSTEM. Friends of mine helped me to the loan of a radio and that also has an arrangement for records. They go by lessons. But unfortunately I have been so crowded with work I have not been able to apply myself to the study of Spanish as I had planned. I am determined to make up now, take one or two lessons every day. I want so much to be able to speak enough Spanish to make myself understood to the comrades when I return. I wish you were here. You would have to speak Spanish to me.

Yes, I know of the feud between Rudiger and Souchy. It is too bad. I had hoped the magnitude of the struggle in Spain and the danger from all sides to the CNT-FAI would eliminate all jealousies and personal feuds. But it seems human nature is small and petty. It permits trivial, insignificant matters to overshadow matters of world importance. It is truly tragic. But as far as the German Bulletin is concerned I was under the impression that it was Rudiger who has had that in hand from the very beginning. Yes, I know that Souchy had the entire propaganda in hand. Now I am very fond of Augustine. I know he is a great worker. But also I know that it was a mistake for him to have everything to direct. It was too much and he simply could not manage it all. That's why much was not attended to at all, or not attended to well. The business of the Films is a case in point. He took up this matter, and here we have six months and no films to be seen. Not so the Communists. One of their men Ivor Montague rushed over to Madrid, made a film in two weeks, came back to London and he has been showing that film all over London and the provinces making a fortune for the Communists, or they say Spain. I hope part of it is reaching its destination. I consider it scandalous that our film should not have been finished in like speed and efficiency. Well, Souchy undertook the job but because he had more than he could do that and many other matters have been sadly neglected. Perhaps now that Rudiger is having part of the responsibilities it might help Souchy to do his work better. Let us hope so.

In regard to the English Bulletin it is certainly disgraceful that we can not find someone who knows English. Well, I have written Souchy that a very able and reliable comrade in New York has begged me to let him know how he might get to Spain and what he could do. He would be the ideal man as far as English is concerned, he was editor of our paper the ROAD TO FREEDOM. Unfortunately he does not know Spanish. But the work could be arranged as when I was there, I see who has gained considerable experience in translating could do it for our comrade Starrett and he could edit the Bulletin to bring it out in a literary form. He could also speak over the radio. He could do a lot of other things. I am writing him tomorrow suggesting he should go to Spain. The drawback will be his fare and his getting into Spain. I have written Augustine all about it. And I expect an answer from him about that.

About the attitude of the comrades to Russia. It is a rather painful matter to me and to all of us who know the situation and the continued persecution of our comrades. What strikes me as ridiculous is the idea of the comrades that they must smear honey over everything Russian because of the help they have received. Have they not paid for

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everything with gold. What more does the master of Russia want? I have no desire to tell the comrades what they should do. But we outside, especially we who have worked for twenty years to show up the deadly dictatorship cannot feel very happy to see the murderous face of Stalin in the same magazine with Durruti. And to see the so called new Constitution discussed with so much admiration in an anarchist publication. Couldn't you get a copy of the HORIZONTES. It is published in Barcelona. The Constitution is an insult to human intelligence and the spirit of Revolution when you consider the horrible things that have been carried out since the Constitution was given to Russia. But more than that is an article Souhy sent me dealing with collectivisation. He actually compares the great venture of our comrades with that in Russia saying not a word that Collectivisation in Russia was brought about by fire and sword. By the death of tens of thousands in exile and through famine. Do I say tens of thousands? Millions would be more to the point. Naturally we could and would not bring such a travesty in any of our publications. I told Souhy that. As to your material, when the time comes I will see what can be done with it. You know the old saying "nothing succeeds like success". Russia from the point of government is a great success. And by this it has blind folded all of Europe and Asia. It is therefore extremely difficult to get a publisher for anything that shows up the real face of Stalin's regime.

While the press has absolutely silenced the work I am doing here for Spain there has been an occasional report. One in a Labor Weekly in Bristol copy of which I inclose. A very small account appeared in the ~~Free~~ FREE THINKER. I also inclose that. I would have sent an account for publication in the Soli or Tierra if I myself were not involved. But as it is I am glad Mercedes will write something. Perhaps you can write a short account or still better translate the inclosed and let Soli bring it. It should encourage the comrades in their great fight that there the revolutionary workers are with their heart and soul. Next week I will send you a copy of our resolution which we mean to get out on about thirty thousand copies.

I have explained to Souhy that I really could not have accomplished more than I have if I had been in the Bureau of the Generalidad because very little work of importance has come from there. So what sense is there for the CNT-FAI to be represented in that Bureau when it is represented and made known from our own Bureau the CNT-FAI which I have established here. However, I will not send back the mandate until I have returned to Barcelona and have given a report about all that has been achieved. Tell this to the comrades.

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Soudy wrote me that he had talked to Mc Donald about Aldred. Of course she had defended him. She is his echo and ~~as~~ as he claims that his attacks on me is merely the response to my attacks on him she believes in it. Actually, the man has been attacking me for years. I have never replied or paid any attention to him. That is just his tragedy that I will not reply or notice his ravings. It is true that I helped to prevent his scheme of using the Spanish Revolution and the comrades for his own ends. Well, he really is not important enough to worry about except that he interferes with the work of the comrades in Glasgow. But as to myself. I really do not care.

The 31st we have another meeting here in the East End. I will speak in English. The comrades have invited Steinber to speak in Yiddish. The comrades are working very hard for it. The 4th of April I will be in Bristol again. The 11th we will have the theatre undertaking. It is a very large and difficult affair. Through my connections in the theatre and literary world I have gotten one of the best theatres free outside of the ushers light and other incidentals that will amount to about thirty pounds. Through a very good comrade who is in the advertising line we will be getting most of the advertising free. My friends of mine are also trying to get the support of some of the best artists. The trouble is we have only three weeks for publicity. Still I hope for success. It has to be kept on purely humanitarian grounds for the homeless women and children in Spain. For the 18th I have four applications Liverpool, Norwich, Plymouth and Glasgow. Of course I can only be at one place at a time. For this reason I am so anxious to know about the Conference. If it will be postponed I will be able to give the 25th to Plymouth and perhaps the 3rd of May to Glasgow. But of course I will go to Spain if I have to ~~cross~~ over the Pyrenees. I must be at the Conference now more than ever because the comrades of the Fr. Arb. Stimee have written me that they want me to represent them. And I expect the comrades in of other groups in the U.S. and Canada will ask the same. Certainly our newly formed Anarchist Syndicalist Union in this city will ask me to represent them.

Dearest Martin do write again soon. Give my affectionate greetings to all the comrades, to Mercedes? Where is Jeannette and Michael?

I embrace you my dear good, faithful comrade.

Salud.

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[Letter] 1937 March 19 [London to] Havelock Ellis, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
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19th March, 1937.

Mr. Havelock Ellis,
24, Holmdene Avenue,
Herne Hill, S.E. 24.

Dear Havelock Ellis,

When I received your letter of the 7th instant, I immediately wrote to Constable's suggesting a popular edition of your beautiful work "The Soul of Spain". I heard from them two days ago and this is what they say :-

"We are considering reissuing a new edition of
The Soul of Spain, in the near future."

I am not quite clear whether it means a popular edition. I hope so. I am certain that there would be great interest in the work, but most of the people who would like to read it are not in a position to pay a high price.

Dear friend, I don't agree with you that your name is known only to a few. I hope that England has finally recognised your great contribution and your importance not only in psychology and social thought but also in letters.

But even if it were true that you are known only to the few, it would still carry considerable weight. After all, the interest in the heroic struggle in Spain is felt only by the few - in comparison with the population of England. Anyway, your name means more to me than millions of British people so centered in their own little world. And I am sure that it means as much to a great many people whom I happen to know.

It is quite true that much is being done in England for Spain. But unfortunately there is a decided indifference towards Catalonia. I suppose because the dominant force in that part of Spain is represented by the CNT-FAI. If anyone had told me before I came here of the deliberate silence as regards Catalonia, I should not have believed it. My stay here has given me many proofs of the direct sabotage practised by all so-called Spanish friends in regard to the CNT-FAI.

One among many examples may prove to you that I am not exaggerating; it is the silence of the radical press. Neither the News Chronicle, Herald or even the New Statesman have shown anything like justice to the organization I represent. They have ignored large meetings in behalf of the struggle of the CNT-FAI, and they have even lacked the decency to accept corrections of some of the misrepresentations that appear in their columns. On the other hand is the Tory press never writing about the Spanish situation without villification. "The Standard", "Telegraph", have repeatedly written the most contemptible stories about

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the actual events. Of course one expects that from Conservative papers. But what is one to say of The New Statesman, whose correspondent indulges in all kinds of gossip picked up on the streets of Barcelona, discrediting the CNT-FAI., - yet this paper will not print a reply that refutes the silly charges!

I am mentioning all this merely to show you how difficult it is to rouse public opinion in behalf of the people who are sacrificing their all in their allant fight not merely against fascism as such but for the ultimate establishment of economic and social freedom in their country. With so many odds to contend with, the friendship of you and others of the few truly big people in England is a great boon indeed.

You will be interested to know that some headway has been made with the theatre venture in behalf of the homeless women and children in Spain. Friends of mine have secured the Victoria Palace for Sunday April 11th, without charges. They have also enlisted the co-operation of a few artists. I am hoping that by the end of this week the list of outstanding men and women in the profession will be completed. We only have three weeks for publicity but we are very determined to carry the project to success. Now I would love to have you present, but I know that is impossible. I am sure you will be with us in the sense that you feel as keenly as I do with the wonderful Spanish people and their aspirations.

Affectionately.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 19, London [to] E[mma] Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately. — 1 p. ; 32 x 20 cm.

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20247

THE SIX POINT GROUP

Telephone No.
HOUNTVIEW 1727.

31, BROOKFIELD,

WEST HILL,

LONDON, N.6.

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MISS VERA BRITAIN
CAPTAIN CAZALET, M.P.
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.. Social .. MISS E. MAITLAND

Hon. Secretary: MISS MONICA WHATELY,
TO WHOM ALL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED.

19th March, 1937.

Miss E. Goldman,
C.N.T., F.A.I.,
18, Castletown Road,
W. Kensington, W.14.

Dear Miss Goldman,

In answer to your letter of 18th March, we never give a list of our members to any outside organisation, but we circularise them ourselves in the event of our wishing to get them interested in any particular work which deals with the emancipation of women.

As one who was recently in Spain, and since I came back have been speaking almost every day of the week in support of Spanish democracy, I am very much interested in your scheme for having an intensive campaign for the enlightenment and the emancipation of the women in Spain, and I wonder how we can best help you. Perhaps it might be possible for us to meet and talk over matters.

I am extremely busy for as a member of the London County Council, I have a great deal of local Government work to do, as well as my National and International work, but if you could ring me up, we might perhaps arrange to meet in town.

I feel sure that that would be more satisfactory than our writing.

With all good wishes for the success of your work.

Sincerely yours,

Monica Whately

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 19 [Montreal to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Rose Pesotta]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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[From Rose Pesotta]

March 19, 1937

E. J. Colton,
11 Castletown Road
West Kensington, W.11,
London England

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of the 8th of February travelled so c before it reached me. I am constantly on the go, but mail reaches me sooner or later. It is best to send it to N.Y. and from there mail it to my present address—it is safer too. I am stopping at the Mount Royal Hotel for the past several months, save for the occasional trips I am making to the states this hotel will be my home until we succeed to organize the French-Canadian dress makers into a union free from the catholic church, free from the bosses, free from the busy-bodies who are now standing around here to offset our plans.

The reason for our not getting into the swing these past several months, and not through the left wing section of the labor movement, but through the most conservative part—the miners chiefs. The reason for that, as I see it, unless the workers in the mass production industries are organized, the United Mine Workers of America, one of the most powerful unions in the country will lose its hold on the workers. The Steel barons had their own mines organized into company unions "captive mines" as Lewis calls them. It looked pretty tough for the miners, most of them had to look for work elsewhere. When they came into the mass production industries they found a well prepared ground for legitimate unions: the company unions gave their workers a good training in administration, legislation etc. as well as in industrial unionism (company unions are organized along plant lines not craft lines). These miners got busy and began to bore from within. During the recent strikers wherever I went, whether among the rubber workers in Akron, auto workers, steel, or radio workers those most active carried a United Mine Workers Union card.

Unfortunately some of our I.W.O. who survived the crisis in their own organization cling to the past rather than look towards the future. They hardly come in contact with the masses these days, the socialists, and various groups of all shade of communists are on the spot wherever

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[Letter] 1937 March 19 [Montreal to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Rose Pesotta]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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a strike or a campaign is on. And most naturally one would not expect them to not Lewis et al to give credit to I. . . of the past or anyone else.

On July 5th 1936 a mass-meeting was held in Homestead Pa to commemorate the Martyrs of 1892. I went there pleading with the committee to mention the fact that Sasha was one of the men who actually put Homestead on the map. I met with an emphatic refusal on the grounds that they are anxious to organize the steel workers would not dare to bring in anything that might reflect upon their political views as being in accord with an anarchist act. Of course they do not mind if someone speaks in his or her own name anything they like. Hence if I happen to be on the scene or someone else like Hapgood, or Leo Arsyk the socialist, we do not fail to mention all those who paved the way for this movement; we call them the crusaders of industrial unionism. But most of our people are not connected with the labor movement at times are apt to even disapprove of my association with it. So will readily understand that not Lewis has taken the wind out of the sails of the I.W.O. but that the I.W.O. are simply asleep, like the A.F.O.T. and Lewis is reaping the harvest.

Now about my going to Spain. I wanted very much to go there several months ago, but when I mentioned it to the people here, they would not hear of it. So I thought that if I'd have something to show them it might be easier. Mind you I do not mean that I want to go as an organizer. I want to help the revolution that is all. In my present capacity as "labor leader" I might be able to utilize the labor press (there are now plenty of labor publications published by all these newly organized mass-production unions) which is read mostly by the masses, giving them reports etc. Soucky did send a letter alright, but now I am in the midst of a campaign in Montreal that will culminate in a general strike and it will be impossible to take a leave soon. I do expect to be through here about the middle of May.

The I.L.W.U. Convention is held on May 3rd in Atlantic City and I must be there to give a report of the past three years activities. So going to Spain for May First to the International Conference is out of the question. I know that someone from the U.S. will be sent. I think Abe Bluestein is the delegate.

I shall take up the visa matter with Dubinsky, but I do not want to write him about it. He will answer the letter but hardly be able to refuse when I speak to him in person. He is very much interested in Spain and the monies we collected were used to buy food and clothing; sheepskin coats, shoes, shirts etc. Our own comrades are also helping as much as they can with clothing and food. We know that Spain is not Catalonia, but the war rages in and around Madrid and this the news of the day. We are the only ones who tell what is going on in Catalonia along constructive lines.

Let us hope that we will meet in Spain soon—in Spain free from fascists and mercenaries, where we'll be able to show the world what anarchists could do in building a new life.

As ever.

Shane is here working as usual. He and Emma send their love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 19, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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11
1927.

287 Wetherston Road,
Knightswood,
GLASGOW. W.3.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18 Castletown Road,
LONDON W.14.

19th March, 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I am writing this note privately in case of any trouble with our group. An attempt has been made to bring Aldred's group and ourselves together. We demanded as a prelude to unity that all the slanders made by him would be withdrawn. Anderson withdrew and made a fine gesture for peace, but Aldred remained silent. I am suspecting some intrigue by Dick; you will remember he was your chairman. However, we will see what next Wednesday brings out.

Regarding the "Fighting Call" the question of discontinuing this is mainly a matter for the groups concerned, as we retain our rights of autonomy on this question. The "Fighting Call" did certainly not have many original articles in it, but why was that; was it not because of a desire to reprint Bulletins received from Barcelona, and you know the furors that was created by our attempt to print other articles. Our "Paper Advances" was merged with the "Freedom" in order to publish these Bulletins. When "Spain and the World" came out I suggested to Kell that we mutually advertise each other, and we have as you know advertised "Spain and the World" by leaflets etc. in Glasgow, but we received no response from Kell, I had not even a reply to my letter. Why, if we are all in the same cause should we not help each others organisations and publications. I have suggested that one national paper would be far more satisfactory than two, and would certainly help us to pool our resources, but each organisation participating in this movement should have a share in the production of same. However, this is only as it affects us here in England. What I am suspecting very much is, that both yourself and us are being sabotaged and discredited in Barcelona by Ethel MacDonald, and an attempt made to put Aldred on the crest of the movement here. Personally, I think you should go to Spain as soon as you possibly can in order to clear the issue there, as I am confident the truth is not being told. How can/

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871005030

[Letter] 1937 March 19, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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#019920

can a man be recognised as a Comrade in the movement when he spreads such scandalous lies. I agree with you that Alfred is a danger to the movement, and the sooner he is exposed the better it will be for all concerned. I am confident that in Glasgow if it had not been for him our work in support of our Spanish Comrades would have been considerably advanced.

Captain White will report on matters here when he returns to London. I understand he is going to-day. Best wishes to all comrades.

Yours truly
Frank Leech

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871005031

[Letter] 1937 March 19, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 1 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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19929

Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.

Secretary—Frank Leech,
287 Netherton Road,
GLASGOW, W.3.

Treasurer—J. B. Andrew,
207 Waddell Street, S.S.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18 Castletown Road,
LONDON W.14.

19th March, 1937.

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for yours of the 17th.
Regarding the matter of a meeting here on the 18th.
I will have to leave this matter to the group
which meets on Wednesday.

We have made a preliminary suggestion
for an Anti-Parliamentary Demonstration on the 18th.
but events since seem to have spiked this.

I am enclosing cheque for £7, this
being the amount that was collected at White's
meeting. I am very disappointed with this amount,
though we had about 500 people present. Comrade
White brought the matter of the manifesto before
our group, but we had not much time to discuss it
owing to our other matters.

Yours fraternally,

Frank Leech
SECRETARY.

739

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001089

[Letter] 1937 March 19, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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A. I. T.

F. A. I.

FEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO

FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA SERRAVENTURA SURUR, 23 Y 24 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

1937

Barcelona 19 März 1937

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
LONDON W 14

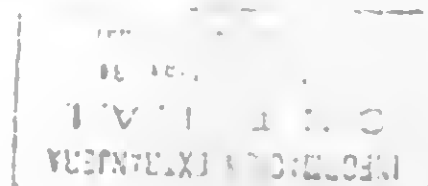
Liebe Emma,
ich nehme Bezug auf Ihren letzten Brief in dem ich
Dir über die geplante Herausgabe eines Buches, das Deinet
geschrieben ist, unter Angabe der italienischen Dokumente usw.,
Mitteilung machte.

Ich erhielt von
Jellinek ~~xxxxxxx~~ Gollanen die Antwort, dass der
Verlag sich für die Herausgabe des Buches interessiert. Jellinek
schreibt an Gollanen, dass Du mit ihm in Verbindung treten wirst.
Ich bitte Dich also zu Gollanen zu gehen. In seinem nächsten
Brief schicke ich Dir eine Vollmacht von Gollanen. Du kannst dann
in seinem Namen einen Kontrakt machen, und die Sache soweit ge-
eignet ist. Wir werden Dir wahrscheinlich eine Kopie des Manu-
skriptes zuschicken.

Das ist für heute alles, mit herzlichen Grüssen

Augustin Souchy

Mit gleicher Post geht ein grosser Umschlag mit Prop. Material ab.
Gruss Ilse



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 20, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, London / Frank Leech. — 1 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation.

1938

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.

Secretary—Frank Leech,
287 Netherton Road,
GLASGOW, W.3.

Treasurer—J. B. Andrew,
287 Waddell Street, S.E.

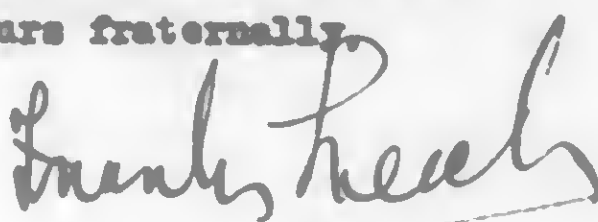
Miss Emma Goldman,
18 Castletown Road,
LONDON W.14.

20th March, 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I am enclosing cheque I omitted from yesterday's letter in error. I am also sending by next post the Glasgow Weekly Herald which contains some reference to your meeting in Glasgow.

Yours fraternally,



SECRETARY.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 20, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / B[oris] Yelensky. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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FREE SOCIETY GROUP

COMMITTEE TO HELP

The SPANISH WORKERS and THEIR CAUSE

Chicago, Illinois

NO PASARAN!

(THEY SHALL NOT PASS)

3332 Potomac avenue
March 20, 1937

Dear comrade Emma:-

Your letter of February 17, 1937 received

I hope you have had ~~and~~ huge success with your exhibitions in England.

We had a proposition to take over the exhibition that they had in Paris, but our comrades in New York, were very cold to this proposition and it died away.

Concerning, the Anniversary magazine: It has been delayed, but when it will appear, it will not be a magazine but a book and we expect to have the book ready, at the end of summer.

At present we do not know if anyone will go to the International Congress; in the case no one is sent, I am certain the Free Society Group will entrust you with representing them. This question will be decided in a week or two.

At present we are very busy with a nation-wide contest for Spain and we hope we will be able to raise a large sum of money.

We are receiving SPAIN AND THE WORLD, but it does not say in the paper under what name we should send the money. Please, inform us, or let them inform us.

Next week, Millie and Rudolph will be in Chicago for a for six days.

Regards from all the comrades,

With Revolutionary greetings,

B. Yelensky

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022128

[Letter] 1937 March 20 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Alexander Schapiro]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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12236

Shapiro to E G.

20 March 1937

Dear Emma,

Goldman Archives.

I should have answered immediately your last letter, but, somehow, a certain laziness had crept over me, and I am in the process of getting rid of it, and you are my first victim.

I was very glad indeed of the fighting spirit and terms of your remarks. This rouses a desire of imitating you.

First of all about whatever might have been the gist of our conversations in Russia: not that I remember them as exactly as you do. But even if all you say of these conversations was correct, you should not forget that there is a certain difference between my 'friendly' attitude ~~towards~~ towards bolsheviks declaring that they are doing anarchist work (remember Lenin telling Shatoof about having taken over all the anarchist slogans) and my 'unfriendly' attitude towards anarchists doing bolshevist work!!

Besides, yes, the Russian Revolution WAS an experience. Was it not for you? I would be very sorry for you if it wasn't.

Another point: whatever I, or any other Anarchist did or said in Russia, our organizations never gave to anybody any mandates and none of us ever represented them in governments or political bodies. The only time when we sent a delegate - and even then as observer solely - it was ~~at~~ to the Democratic convention in Moscow in 1917. We worked in Ministries, in Unions individually, mandateless, doing our little propaganda whenever we could. That's all. Our experience in Russia showed us that we were right to keep our organizations outside political intrigues and responsibilities.

Was your experience different? It looks it, considering that you find that what we had no right to do in Russia, we CAN do in Spain.

Your taunt that now is not the time to criticize (how well we remember this remark during all these years in Russia), but I should have done it earlier (for example, you say, when the elections were on in Spain), shows how little, very little, you know of what happened in our movement in Spain since 1931.

When the IAA Congress was held in Amsterdam in 1933, I presented a report on the cardinal mistakes of the CNT and FAI. I sent you a copy of this report. I know you did not read it.

When the next IAA Congress was held in Paris in 1935, a detailed report was presented giving our opinion about the 1933 insurrections and the October 1934 movement. I sent you a printed copy of the report. I have no doubt you haven't read it.

When the period of elections approached in Spain, we again told the CNT what the danger was in participating in the elections. It was published in the January 1936 Bulletin of the IAA.

And finally when the May Congress of the CNT was held in Saragossa in 1936, a long letter was written telling the CNT the precipice it was digging for itself, - a letter which roused great ire at the Congress and which almost brought a split with the CNT ...

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 20 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Alexander Schapiro].— 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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12237

I am sorry you know nothing about all this, otherwise you would not have called out the broad smile - shared by Carbo, who happens to have been here when your letter arrived - when you wrote "why have you not found fault then: that was the time and not now."

I am sending you ~~the~~ some of these materials again - although you will, as always, be too busy to read them.

As to your saying that to find fault with the CNT-FAI when one is ~~in~~ safe in Paris was not fair, - I wonder how much you permitted yourself while you were in Russia. It is only when you were safely out of it that you turned towards the New York Times. As to myself, I published nothing against the CNT. You see, I do not have the habit to send my letters in dozens of copies, press inclusive. TWO copies were sent ~~it~~ out, besides the original. One to Mratchny, the other to Carbo (so, you see, I was not afraid of telling my thoughts to the Spaniards). I kept to my personal friends because I felt I had a duty towards them, as they asked me what I thought of it all. And I remember, not what you may have said in 1918, but what you told me in October 1936, in the Offices of the Comité Regional, - that before you leave Barcelona you would give our comrades a bit of your mind... Has your mind changed since?

Our Spanish ^{Comrades} know exactly what ~~it~~ I think of their mess, in Barcelona and here in Paris. I did not wait to go out of Spain to tell it them - altho' it ~~was~~ became much worse since I left Barcelona.

About the 'Espagne Antifasciste', - you will excuse me, dear Emma, but here again you know nothing of the inner workings of the machine, and your comparison with 'Fragua' shows how little you understand problems of censorship - where it cannot be used (as yet) and where it is possible to use it. (I don't know whether you have seen the rag, called 'Le Journal de Barcelone', which has replaced an anarchist paper known as 'L'Espagne Antifasciste'.)

And at last, the last broad smile was when you protested against my reference to your representing the Generalitat... I was premature, it seems. Yet, in the very same breath you admit that you accepted a credential from the Generalitat ... but did not use it. Considering that in my letter I said that you were the accredited representative of the Generalitat in London, and that you repeat that you accepted the mandate, I fail to see against what you protest. It was far from premature, it was the pure truth. That you do not intend to make use of your mandate shows that you accepted it rather light heartedly. It was you who were premature in accepting it.

You are a good polemist, Emma, but for heaven's sake, even in polemics one must know the subject one talks about. Have you not found out that you still know little, very little of our Spanish movement to be able to be its spokesman? I was in the thick of it since, at least, 1931. All the documents I send you were written by me. The CNT admitted officially, as months and years passed by, that I was right (that's why I am so frankly disliked among the "officials" of our Spanish movement). That the momentous struggle of the last 8 months will lead to a miserable and shabby semi-democratic régime very similar to what was before the

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022128

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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12237

the 19th July, is no taunt against the fighting spirit of our comrades in the trenches, but is a condemnation of the compromising spirit of our comrades "on top". And, unfortunately, it is those "on top" that lead ... and mislead. We have proved to be no better than ordinary politicians; and to say, as you do, "that our people had but one of the two things to choose - either dictatorship or their participation in the government", is, in the mouth of Emma Goldman the undaunted the greatest condemnation of anarchism that could be imagined. I am deeply sorry for Spanish Anarchism if it had no choice between these two equal evils.

But, happily, this is not true. And that is my fight with the CNT. Not with you, of course, as you just repeat what you have been told ceaselessly in Barcelona by those who never were actually in the thick of the CNT work, like Santillan (latest arrival in Spain, imbued with his Argentine wrong ideas of organization), Federica and the like.

Ever yours

Sawyer

Mratchny wrote that the Jewish Federation was unable the taking over to New York of the CNT-FAI Exhibition: they have neither money nor people to attend to it. On the other hand, Chicago wants the Exhibition but cannot carry all the expense, altho' willing to share it with New York. So that, so far, nothing is being done. Chicago and New York are still corresponding about it.

745

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001203

[Letter, 1937] March 23 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19740

709 W. 110th St March 23rd.

Dearest:

This will be my last letter from here. My next will be from Bearsville. I am very glad to be going home. I accomplished so little this winter and keeping up a furnished apartment and studio has been so expensive that I have been worried about every nickel we spend and that is no fun, as you well know.

I wrote you last week that Abe Bluestone was leaving next Saturday, March 27th. It seems he has changed his sailing to April 1st. Anyway you will hear from him as soon as he lands.

Frank called me yesterday. He has had a hell of a time with the films. Canvassed all the major companies, they won't touch it, CFT and FAI. The North American Committee want it but want to make changes, so does the Nation but they want to add things on and I think tone the character of the CFT FAI out of it. You know how timid they are and what influence the Communists have with them.

Did I tell you that I spent an afternoon with Angelica last week? She is very gloomy about things in general. She is waiting for another extension. She wants to stay on here, there is no place for her to go, but the Communists make it impossible for her to do any work, especially after she spoke at the Trotsky meeting. Max Eastman has prepared a historic and entirely unbiased film called from Tsar to Lenin and there are several splendid shots of Angelica, of Jack Reed and etc --all old news reel shots, very ably edited with a running comment by Eastman. The Communists are furious about it and are actually picketing the place.

Frank plans to return shortly. His own business was finished three weeks ago and he is eager to get back but the film is holding him up. He has worked hard. The colored albums arrived at the F A S but there have been none sent me here.

xxx

I have heard nothing further from Koe. He is taken care of till Sam gets back from California. Sam flew there Friday night and landed 15 hours late. Lou and his bride Rodie met him. Our Beary seems to be very happy. I am so glad for him. Ruth continues about the same, so depressed. Kattie Ross went over to see her to reassure her that she suffered the same symptoms and would get well.

You know how restless one gets as one begins to pack. I am much in the same state, eager to get away. There is nothing like one's own place, especially as it costs the least.

I wonder if you got your theatre and are going ahead with the benefit. The rout of the Italians is great news, isn't it? If only our people can keep it up, Spain will be the hope of the world.

Ian, Teddy and Davy are very well and send you their love. I want to catch the Queen Mary tomorrow, so I am not waiting for your letter this week. I sent Evelyn's letter to her address care of Creighton Scott. I confirmed it through calling Mrs. deSilver and I

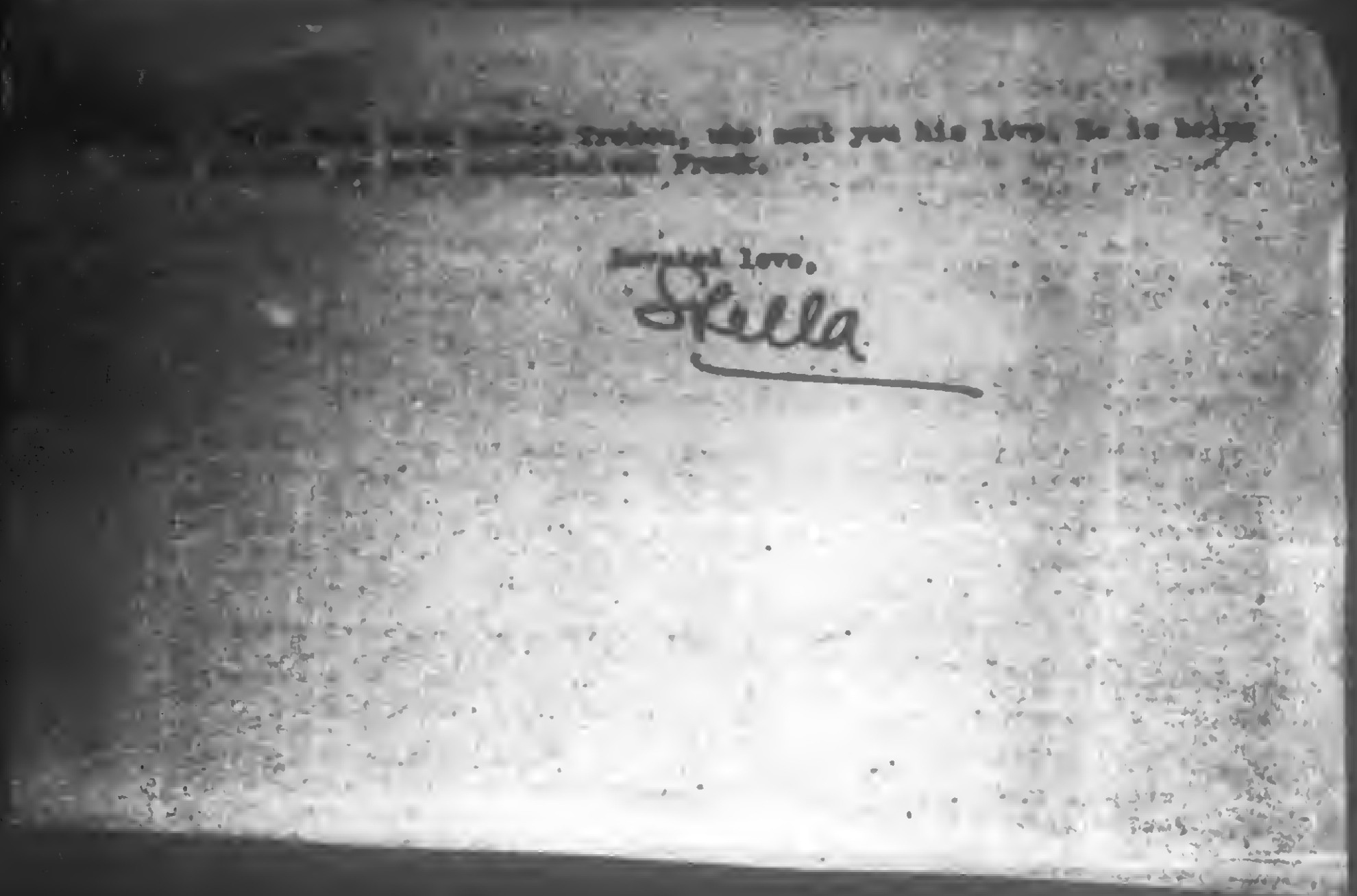
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] March 23 [New York to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 24 [London to] National Council of Women, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20254

24th March, 1937.

The Secretary,
The National Council of Women,
23, Gower Street, W. C.

Dear Madam,

I am here representing The National Confederation of Labour for Spain.

I have received a letter from the Women's section of The Confederation asking me to put them in touch with women's organizations in England and the United States. They are beginning an intensive campaign for the enlightenment and emancipation of the women in Spain. Naturally they want to put their case before all thinking women in every country.

I wonder if I might ask you for a list of organizations you represent? Just at present I am frightfully busy with the organization of a theatre entertainment for the homeless and destitute women in Spain. It will take place on April the 11th, in Victoria Palace. Mr. Paul Robeson - the great singer - is our principal artist but we will have more.

If you are interested, perhaps you will help me to reach either the organizations, or individual women of The National Council? I would like to send them an announcement. Time is terribly short and the Easter holidays are intervening, but we are fortunate in getting publicity and advertisements free of charge, so we must begin with an intensive campaign to make the affair of April 11th widely known.

May I ask you to write me at your earliest convenience?

Sincerely,

Accredited Representative of the CNT-FAI.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 24 [London to] Fenner Brockway, [London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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19913

24th March, 1937.

Mr. Fenner Brockway,
Secretary (of the)
Independent Labour Party,
35, St. Bride's Street, S.C.4.

Dear Fenner,

My comrades of the London Committee of the CNT-FAI., have decided last night to proceed with the Manifesto on their own.

They feel that too much time has already been lost and that more valuable time will be lost if one from your party and one from the London Committee will begin editing the manifesto. They agree that the MS., as it stands would be too large for a manifesto but (on the other hand) they feel - and I am completely in accord with them in that - that you have left out the most important part, the very thing which would appeal to the workers. I am sorry we cannot have it together, but perhaps in another undertaking later on.

I hope you will understand.

Nothing has come of my going to Yorkshire. Miss Evans tried, I am sure, but your comrades in Leeds either don't know that I can fill a hall and also do not seem to appreciate the drawing value of anything on Spain. Anyway, they couldn't take a large hall, because they say that they cannot afford it. They wanted me to come to some small towns. I confess that I have not the time to do that, nor do I consider it worth while under the circumstances. If I definitely lived in England and had plenty of time on my hands, I should not hesitate to go to the smallest hamlet to reach even a few in behalf of the CNT-FAI. But my good friends in Barcelona have loaded me with enough work to keep a dozen people busy. Most of it I have to do myself. So I cannot take on more than is possible. Besides that, I have actually no Sundays left in April. I am returning to Bristol for the 4th April. The 11th will be the affair in the Victoria Palace for the fund I am raising. The 18th has been asked by four cities. I have decided to give it to Liverpool. The comrades there want very much to have a meeting. I wrote them the day before yesterday, giving Miss Jones and the address, who might be willing

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Mr. Fenner Brockway.

- 2 -

24-3-1937.

to co-operate, to really have a large meeting.

The question is the hall. They wrote me that so far they were not able to get a hall for the 18th. They want the 25th. If nothing comes of Liverpool, I will probably give Norwich the chance. I have been definitely asked back to Glasgow, and to Plymouth. The reason I do not want to tie myself to the 25th April is that I may have to rush off to Barcelona. I am still hoping that the International Conference arranged by the F.A.S., can be postponed. I should think it will be extremely difficult for young men to get through from France to Spain, but I must be ready to go in case the Conference takes place on the 1st of May. I understand that you and Kingshott intend to attend the Conference of the POUM. When would you leave?

About this affair at the Victoria Palace, I have met all kinds of difficulties in my life but I never went through such painful experience trying to get people of the stage to participate in the entertainment. Perhaps I might have been more successful had I been able to reach the snobbish profession myself, but I had to rely on go-betweens - Wall of The Actors' Equity, and a friend who is in the Paramount. After we lost six weeks, we discovered that we have not a single artist who was interested enough to give ten minutes on a Sunday evening. It was exasperating. I had almost decided to give up the whole thing, though it has been very unlike me all my life, to give up anything I begin; but everything looked so hopeless.

Fortunately, my good friend Paul Robeson arrived from Africa just at the critical moment. With his usual generosity he immediately consented to sing. His name is enough to fill a hall but he cannot give a concert except under the auspices of his agent. He can only give a group of songs.

I also have two other musicians - Miss Sybil Crawley; an English singer (whom I understand has a beautiful voice); and a young Austrian violinist - but these three are not enough to make up a programme. Finally last night I was assured that we can have a String Quartette of wellknown artists from the B.B.C. and a Pianist, and we are also hoping to get Mr. De La Motte who is wellknown in the profession.

We only have just a little over 2 weeks and the Easter holidays will of course interfere greatly but we must take a chance. If we do not, we would lose free advertisements and publicity, which we could not buy for less than £150, so we must go ahead.

Dear Fenner, I am telling you all this because I want more help from you. I want you to send me a selected list of people interested in Spain and would also like to hear Paul Robeson. I want to send them a letter. Perhaps they are in a position to buy guinea seats or buy boxes. Elizabeth Wilkinson promises to help in that direction, but I would like you to make up a List.

I know you are busy but it is for the

cause you and I believe in deeply, so please

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 24 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19544

March 24th 37.

Dear Augustine.

I have been waiting for Gollancz to phone me as his secretary had promised so I could let you know what he has decided. That accounts for my delay in writing you in answer of your two letters of the 15th and 19th inst. Today I phoned Gollancz again. ~~He~~ He did not come to the phone, but his secretary told me that in as much as he has not yet received the MSS he could not tell me whether he would publish it. She said Gollancz understood that the MSS is not even ready in the ~~Italian~~ Italian. I cannot understand that. From your letter I got the impression that the translation is all done and ready for shipment. In fact I thought it was already ~~in~~ in the hands of Gollancz.

Of course the right thing would have been to send me the MSS and authorisation and to let me deal with Gollancz direct. After all I am supposed to be the representative of the CNT-FAI. It is funny that neither you or the others fail to remember that. It is of course not the first time things are being done and comrades from Spain arrive without my knowing a thing about it. Doris Zhook told me yesterday she had accidentally met two Spanish comrades from the Educational Dept. They were here a few days without looking me up. Perhaps they did not even know that I am in London and that there is such an organisation as the CNT-FAI bureau. Please do not think I care a damn for myself. It is the work for Spain I care about. It means superhuman effort to achieve anything here. At least I ought to have some cooperation from you and the others. Can you not realize that it would give the bureau prestige if important matters were transacted from the bureau. And can you not realize how harmful it is to work from different ends. The matter with Gollancz is proof of that. In other words I can do nothing about it unless I have a copy of the MSS, and an authorisation. When you send both I will go to Gollancz. I cannot do it otherwise.

The comrades in Valencia sent me a questionnaire put to them by some labor people who had visited Spain. And the answers the comrades gave. They asked whether I could put this in the English Press and also help organise labor missions to visit Spain. Their naivety makes me want to weep. There is no paper in England who cares a scrap about the CNT. Absolutely none. Not even the non Communist paper. I have written that on the questionnaire.

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[Letter, 19]37 March 24 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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of their misrepresentations about the CNT-FAI in particular and Catalonia in general. Of course they will not take the questionnaire. But I have had it translated. I inclose a copy. We discussed the matter at the meeting of the Committee of the CNT-FAI here. The comrades all agreed that it would be useless to send the questionnaire to the executive bodies of the trade ~~unions~~ unions and the British labor bodies. It might be worth while they said to send it to the districts. But even there it is likely to be thrown in the waste basket. But I have an idea which the comrades thought most practicle. It is to print some copies of the questionnaire from the English text and to mail it from Barcelona to the district secretaries. Two comrades have undertaken to get a list of names and addresses of the local unions. Just as soon as I get it I will mail it to you to send on to the ~~National~~ CNT in Valencia together with the English text and tell them what I wrote here. I will also prepare a short letter that should go with the questionnaire and I will send it to you in my next letter. There is no doubt that a letter direct from Spain and from the CNT, would carry more weight than a letter from here. I therefore urge the comrades to accept my suggestion and work on it.

I am also going to get a list of labor organizations in America that will be sent to you to do the same thing as I have suggested. I will write Rose Pesotto who by the way has never received the invitation to come to Spain. This is a great pity because she is most important in the labor movement in America and she could do much for the CNT-FAI. Can you do something about it?

I am writing Ilse in regard to the request of Mujeres Libres for addresses of women's organizations. I wish I knew what they want me to do here. Is it only names of organizations? If so I will send some. I have gotten two lists but I am trying for more. The main thing is that the ~~man~~ secretary of a women's organization called The Six Point Club Miss Monica Whately is going to Spain. I am giving her a note of introduction to you and you get her in touch with Mercedes. I do not remember her family name. Anyway with Mujeres Libres. Then she can find out what is wanted and we will do it here. I am having lunch with Miss Whately tomorrow. She seems very interested in the Spanish struggle and very willing to be of help. So give her every assistance you can, and anything for me you want to send along.

Mariano Vasquez is no more reliable to write when he gets a letter than the comrades of the Comité Regional. I wrote him a long letter in reply to his and sent another one with an itemised account of the money so far raised at my meetings with Vidal. That is two weeks ago. But I have not had a word. I had planned to send a statement of all expenditures but our comrade Barr has been quite ill and he has all the accounts. I hope to have time to go over everything and send a complete statement. Then have the Spanish comrade here translate it. That will give the comrades an inside to what was done here and what the monthly expenses have been.

I wish I would know definitely whether the FAI Conference is going to take place May First or whether it will be postponed. The Anarchist Federation/ and the Freie Arb Stimme have asked me to represent them at the Conference. I have suggested that in view of the difficulties in getting through France it might be a good idea to

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 24, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers].— 2 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

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20186

Chin Drive
Scarboro Bluffs
Ontario, Canada.

Mar. 24th. 1937.

Emma Dearest,

I was so pleased to receive your letter. I only punish myself by not writing to you oftener. But I think you understand. I have cheerful news again. The debate we were anticipating was held last Sunday in the Labour Temple and was a great success. Sam Weiner came from New York but officially he was Sam Thorn of the Toronto Libertarian Group. His activities in the States have brought him the unwelcome attention of the authorities. The subject for debate was "Which movement will liberate the world, Communism or Anarchism?" The debaters had twenty minutes each for statement and fifteen each for rebuttal. Then a general question and discussion period followed. The hall was packed. There must have been nearly 700 people there. Sam Weiner is a very good speaker and an able one. His ~~book~~ anarchism is sound and his historical knowledge of the movement splendid. Our opponent was of a split from the Trotskyites, (They support the POU in Spain) and he was much out-classed in every way. His discourse sought to discredit anarchism than to establish the truth of his own ideals. It was a splendid evening and we are all more than satisfied. I only wish we could have such meetings often but we simply can't get the fare together very often. The other expenses were of course shared by the other group. Admission had to be free and the collection taken goes to Spain. We are sending our half to the CNT-FAI and the other goes to the POU. The collection was, I thought, rather poor \$37.02. (We collected \$28.50 from less than a quarter of that number of people) However the propaganda both for anarchism in general and for the CNT-FAI was excellent. We sold literature and pins and had a most satisfactory time.

On Sunday Mar. 28th. there is to be another meeting here at the Bluffs. I am speaking on "Social Reconstruction in Spain" and Thorn on "Anarchism". We use a CCF Hall on Kingston Rd. It is a funny little place and our audience of sixty or seventy people looks quite a crowd. We make it look bright with our Spanish posters and pictures and the people who come are really looking for information about Spain and about Anarchism. This is a request meeting.

I have established correspondence with Mollie Alperine and she is sending photo albums from Paris for us. We can sell a few here. I received two posters and four pictures of Durruti from Barcelona last week. I have written twice to CNT-FAI in Barcelona but we are not sure whether mail is getting through. We sent our letter re the Congress through the address they gave us in Perpignan. By the way that brings us to the International Anarchist Congress.

Your letter to Joe was read in part at our meeting last Saturday. We had the meeting that evening so that Weiner could be present. We are so glad to hear of your success in England. We have heard from various sources of the good meetings you have had in London and quite a detailed account of one in Glasgow. The accounts were glowing. The only regret expressed was that you were not remaining longer. But we can appreciate your desire to get back to Spain. I think that we would all like to go there. How heavenly it would be. But our battle front is here.

In your letter you suggest that we should make you our delegate to the proposed Congress in Barcelona. We are only too glad to do so. It was stupid of us not to have thought of it ourselves. Comrade Weiner told us that you would also be acting for us—was it the Jewish Anarchist

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 24, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers].— 2 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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Federation. Do I have to send you an Official credential?. I am enclosing a copy of the letter we sent to the organization committee, also of one we sent to the International Anarchist Youth. Since writing to them and saying that there was no Youth movement here another interesting thing has happened. I think I have told you that we have had members of the IWW meeting with us. At our least meeting, the proposal came from them that we should form a joint youth group. So a provisional committee has been set up to get this Youth group under way. Said committee consists of Millie Desser, Paula Thornberg, and Marie Tibalui. from our group and three of the IWW boys. The boys are very serious, and intense and we hope that something will develop.

I am enclosing a cutting from today's Star. Frederick Griffen has just returned from a three months' stay in Spain where he was reporting for the Star. While his articles were not as good as VanPassen's, they were fair and reasonable. He, however, was cautious enough to avoid any mention of the church and the clergy and so remained on the staff. I heard the radio address of which the cutting is a report. Griffen's speech was really good. He is definitely on the peoples' side. He says he does not understand anarchism but he believes it is time that the Spanish people were given the opportunity to free themselves from their feudal lords. I was quite surprised that he gave such an address to the Conservative and Imperialistic Empire Club. They seemed to like it but it couldn't have been good hearing for those who still wish to have a finger in the exploitation of the Spanish workers. There are some millions of Canadian dollars in the Power company of Barcelona.

Thank you for the enclosures. I am going to Dein's tomorrow to share your letter with her. She is not really well. She has a goitre, you know, and I am sure that her health will not improve until that is attended to. Her sister is going back to Northern Ontario soon and Dein and Tom will have their own home again. I think they will be happier so. The other couple have not retained their early ideals and there is not the close companionship Dein expected.

I am sending you Jacob Margolis's letter. Sam Weiner says that Margolis is now a convert to the Social Credit idea. Isn't that extraordinary? We also hear that Walter Starrett is again active. He dropped out of things for a while last year. The Jewish Anarchist Federation have called a conference to discuss organization of literature and propaganda publication and distribution. This is for the end of next month. There is a slim chance that we shall send a delegate. There are only one or two of whom we can cross the border easily. But we have not thoroughly discussed the matter yet.

I must close now it is getting very late. I must finish this tonight. There is only one mail out tomorrow, the day being Good Friday. When I think back and remember what those religious days used to mean to me I am filled with wonder at the time it took for me to grow up. How childish and even primitive those observances seem to me now. And how terribly they retard our development.

Goodnight and best love,

Dorothy

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[Letter, 1937 March 24, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Dorothy Rogers].— 1 p.; 30 x 21 cm.

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24052

TORONTO LIBERTARIAN GROUP.

Toronto, Ontario
Canada.

International Anarchist Conference
Barcelona,
Spain.

Dear Comrades;

This is to certify that at a regular meeting of the Toronto Libertarian Group our comrade, Emma Goldman, was unanimously elected as our delegate, to fully represent us at the forthcoming International Anarchist Conference.

With revolutionary greetings,
Fraternally,

TORONTO LIBERTARIAN GROUP,

Dorothy Giesecke.
Dorothy Giesecke, Secretary.

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20188

TO Hans Kullsten Sec.I.A.M.B. Holland.

Toronto Feb.5th.1937

Dear Comrades,

Your letter of Jan.4th. was received and discussed at our meeting of Jan.22.

The subject is indeed timely one since, among ourselves, some uneasiness has been felt over the military situation in Spain. In the discussion of your letter our own position has become clarified. Our stand is the same as that of the majority of the secretariat of the I.A.M.B.. We are not against the armed struggle in the defense of the revolution, but the guerilla warfare of individual groups, which is the type of defence envisaged heretofore by most anarchists, is quite inadequate to cope with the highly trained and mechanized armies, navies and air forces with which the capitalists now wage war. This has been demonstrated most recently in Spain.

We fully realise the dangers of the militarisation of the people, as do the Spanish anarchists, who are most decidedly on guard against them. The menace of Fascism is so appalling that in our opinion the Spaniards have no other course than to crush it in the only possible way, with an organised armed force.

Our attitude to the military organizations and munition-making plants of our bourgeois governments is the same as ever, but for the defense of the Spanish revolution, the CNT-FAI have our whole hearted material and moral support.

As to the International Anti-Militarist ^{Congress}, we think it is very advisable to hold one. We could neither send a delegate nor could we do anything in support of it except morally. We do offer the suggestion that if held in the near future this congress should coincide ~~with~~ in date with the proposed International Anarchist Congress to be held in Spain.

May we be permitted to add to our statement re the support of Spain that we think the attitude of those anti-militarists in Holland who are limiting their support of the CNT-FAI is short sighted and illogical. If the armed struggle in Spain is not supported the Fascists will enjoy a speedy victory. A fascist Spain means a fascist Europe, a highly militarised Europe in which all freedom of speech, movement and even thought will be wiped out. The struggle going on in Spain is not only a Spanish affair. We would also like to bear in mind, even while maybe criticizing our Spanish comrades, that as Emma Goldman wrote this week, "Far from having betrayed our ideas, the CNT-FAI are today the only gallant fighters and defenders of them. Actually they are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to fight and die for it"

Revolutionary greetings to the comrades there from the comrades here,

fraternally,

TORONTO LIBERTARIAN GROUP

IL GRUPPO LIBERTARIO.

Dorothy Glesecke, Sec.y.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 24, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. — 1 p. ; 21 × 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

19972

C.N.T. - F.A.I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURUT, 22 Y 24 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

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Barcelona 24 de Marzo 1937

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road, London W 14

Querida Emma,

Acabo de recibir un correo de Valencia
en el que me ha comunicado que tu has
querido quedarte allí, como ya te he
escrito. Nosotros desde aquí lo
calcularemos. Por eso es necesario
que nos digas exactamente los
números. Se ruega también que
te dirijas directamente al
Comité Nacional.

Esto es todo por hoy. Cordiales saludos

Augustin Souchy
INFORMACION EXTRANJERA
C.N.T. - F.A.I.
22, Via Layetana, 34
BARCELONA (España)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 25 [London to Margaret] Ashby, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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25th March, 1937.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby,
31, Upper Richmond Road,
Putney, S. W.

Dear Mrs. Corbett Ashby,

You probably have forgotten our meeting at Lady Rhonda's in 1925? It is a long time and so many things have happened since. I have always retained a kindly feeling for the interest you showed me at the time.

On this visit, I am representing The National Confederation of Labour in Spain. I was in Spain and made a very extensive study of the marvellous efforts the workers are making. I really hated to leave, but my friends were very keen on having me go to England to rouse interest in their heroic struggle. I have since heard from a group of University women publishing a paper called Paleros Libres, (The Free Woman). They have started an intensive campaign for the enlightenment and emancipation of the Spanish women. I don't have to tell you how frightfully held down the women in Spain have been by the Church. My friends have asked me to get their names and addresses of women who have done much for the emancipation of their sex in England and The United States. I have already written to The National Council of Women; to Miss Eleanor Rathbone - from whom I have received a reply and suggestions; and to Miss Monica Whately; also to Mrs. Flora Drummond. I am to see Miss Whately to-day and Mrs. Drummond has promised to send me a list of names of women.

I wonder if you would be good enough to do likewise. My Spanish friends are very anxious to get in touch in an international way with all women. Please let me hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

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19546

March 25th 37

Dear Augustine. I was interrupted in my letter to you, so will finish it now. First, the inclosed letter from Gollancz speaks for itself. Evidently he knows that even the Italian material has not yet been completed. So what was the use of writing him. Another thing is unless Jellineck knows English perfectly and can do a good job from the Italian the original MSS should be sent when it is ready. There are any number of people here who know both languages and would do a good job. MSS like that is not a Bulletide. The latter is bad enough. But a MSS, I shudder when I think what might be made of it.

A letter from the Freie Arb St has this to say about Green: "HE HELPED TO ORGANISE THE LIBERTARIAN GROUP AND FOUNDED THE SPANISH REVOLUTION. BUT HE WENT TO SPAIN ON HIS OWN ACCOUNT AND PAID HIS OWN BARE. HE DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY GROUP IN AMERICA." On the other hand Mark Mratchny writes "I HOPE THE COMRADES IN SPAIN HAVE FOUND OUT THAT GREEN IS EFTY HEADED AND A BRAGGART. For myself I think I would rather close this business about Green. People are as they are. One cannot expect more of them than they are capable of giving. So the chapter is closed.

Affectionately

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

19971

CASA C.N.T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 22 Y 24 - BARCELONA

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SOLERA FRANCÉS 25

SOLERA ITALIANO 25

SOLERA ALEMÁN 25

SOLERA JÚDEO 25

SOLERA RUSO 25

Barcelona 25 de Marzo 1937

Emma Goldman-Colton
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N W 14

Liebe Emma,

soeben erhielt ich deinen Brief vom 17 - 3 - 37 und will mich beeilen Dir gleich darauf zu antworten.

- 1.) Die Sache mit der Konferenz in England, an der Du auf Aufforderung Calves haettest teilnehmen sollen, musst Du nach Valencia mitteilen. Ich und auch wir alle hier machen uns keinerlei Illusionen darueber, aber in Valencia scheinen sie zu glauben, dass mit den Leuten der II. Internationale etwas anzufangen sei. Um ihnen diese Illusion zu nehmen, musst Du das, was Du mir geschrieben hast, auch mitteilen.
- 2.) Ueber die Unity. Einigen
Die Kampagne geht nicht um Verschmelzung der CNT mit der UGT sondern um eine revolutionaere Allianz und Einigung beider Zentralorganisationen auf einem Minimum-Programm. Es ist vielleicht gut, wenn Du bei deiner Propaganda oder den Informationen die Du gibst, darauf hinweist, dass die CNT zwar Einigkeit wuenscht, aber nicht um jeden Preis, d.h. man will nicht alles aufgeben der Einigkeit wegen, was man bisher vertreten hat.
- 3.) Aus deinen Zeilen ueber die Photoagentur entnehme ich, dass Du mir darueber mehr schreiben wirst, sobald Du Adressen bekommen hast.
- 4.) Die Frauenbewegung geht langsam vorwaerts. Wir erwarten Deine Nachrichten, sobald Du die Adressen in England und Spanien zusammen hast.
- 5.) Ich habe zur Kenntnis genommen, dass Du das Mandat der Generalitat noch halten willst, bis Du eine andere Person empfohlen hast. Schreib das aber auch an Carbó.
- 6.) Dein Artikel ueber die Kollektivisierung war fuer die hiesige Presse, die ihn auch veroeffentlicht hat. Es war kein Lob auf die Kollektivisierung in Russland, im Gegenteil. Solidaritaet mit den russischen Arbeitern und Bauern werden wir immer predigen, das hat nichts mit der russischen Regierung zu tun, das ist eine andere Sache.

Ich hoffe, dass inzwischen Deine Gesundheit wieder hergestellt ist. Mit herzlichen Gruessen *Augustin Souchy*

The Emma Goldman Papers

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24 de Marzo 1937

Guy Aldred
145 Queen Street
Glasgow G1.

Dear comrade,

I received your letter of March the 8th, 1937. I can not enter into details of the differences you have in England as little as I can enter into all the different internal struggles and antagonisms inside our movement in other countries. We have to think now of how to get a big public opinion in favour of our antifascist struggle in general and our anarchist aims in particular.

From this point of view we can only regret that the - anyhow very small - groups of our anarchist movement in England are fighting each other internally.

The National Committee of the CNT and the Peninsular Committee of the FAI have charged me to tell you that we want all these little differences from every part to cease. I hope you will also recognize the necessity of harmony among our comrades.

It surprised me very much to find in "Regeneracion" Nr. 2 a little note entitled "Funds for the struggle", in which you call for immediate donations to assist the work of comrade Jane Patrik and comrade Ethel McDonald in Spain. As we repeatedly told you, Ethel McDonald is paid for her work like every other comrade here and does not need support from abroad. Comrade Patrik has been in Madrid for some months. She lived in the best hotel, got full board and needs no money either. We think, that if one makes appeals for money it should not be done for individuals, but for our struggle in general.

In Nr. 1 of "Regeneracion" we read an article attacking Emma Goldman. Comrade Emma Goldman is our delegate of the CNT-FAI in England, and we do not think that you are furthering our case by such publications. You should not give people outside of our movement the impression that we are fighting each other. This is very bad indeed. I hope that you will understand the necessity to stop that.

From your letter I see that you have the intention to come to an understanding with us. I hope that this will be possible.

With my best greetings, yours and for the cause.

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761

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005305

[Letter, 19]37 March 25, Norwich [England to Emma Goldman, London] / A. Bird. —
3 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20244

38 Patterson Rd
Norwich
25.3.37

Dear Comrade

I wish to inform you of the position I have reached in connection with the proposed visit of Emma Goldman. I have met members of various bodies, namely, Socialist League of Youth, S. L. P. and the Anti Capital League, with the result that a committee has been formed from these for the purpose of organising a meeting for her visit. It was agreed to hire a large cinema for that purpose.

But the question arose as to funds for same. They have instructed me to write you to learn two things.

- (1) If we make a charge for seats
Can the amount obtained be used for the expenses of the meeting?

P. T. A.

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20245

(2) Can the London committee
advance the hire money for the
hall about £8. 0. 0.
To be refunded in full after the
meeting. With the understanding
that all balance after the meeting
shall be either sent to you or
handed direct to E. Goldman.
You see among us there is not
sufficient money for the purpose.
~~It~~ It is understood that the
whole of the collection which
Conrad Goldman would appeal
for at the end of the meeting
should be handed to the fund.
I may say I feel sure the meeting
would be a success. I am already
soliciting donations.
Will you reply to this at your earliest
so that I can make further arrangements
also inform the above mentioned
Committee. If you should agree to
Y. H. O.

763

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 25, Norwich [England to Emma Goldman, London] / A. Bird. —
3 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

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It will you let us know
date the has vacant in May
Sunday of course.

Yours & Fraternally
A Bird

2-30

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 26 [London to Nemesio Galve, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12384

26 de Marzo de 1937.

Querido camarada:

Tu habrás recibido mi carta en contestación a la tuya que la camarada Mollie Alperin te llevo. Hoy te escribo la presente para tratar de un asunto de suma importancia. Este asunto te sería presentado, estoy segura, por nuestro compañero Vidal, pero caso de que así no sea, deseo mencionar que el asunto se refiere a una compra de una partida de mercancías que nosotros hemos contratado aquí con los vendedores. Nosotros teníamos la esperanza de que el camarada V. nos hubiese escrito inmediatamente en contestación a la oferta de dichas mercancías. En lugar de esto un telegrama ha sido recibido de Barcelona, firmado por individuo con el nombre de Jonov y enviado a una persona en esta plaza desconocida de nosotros. No tengo en este momento en mi poder el citado telegrama, así es que no lo puedo trasladar a ti textualmente; pero mas o menos decía lo que sigue:-

"Oferta satisfactoria venga a Barcelona vea Galvez a su paso por Francia"

Este telegrama no fue recibido por nuestra casa de comercio, sino como ya he dicho, por un ruso que vive en Londres a quien nosotros no conocemos. Naturalmente, la casa con la cual nosotros hemos venido negociando se han extrañado mucho que un asunto que nosotros teníamos entre manos haya ido a parar a manos de extraños. Un representante de la firma vendedora de la mercancía, el Sr. SMITH ha salido para Paris esta mañana. Yo le prometí que te enviara a ti una carta por correo urgente preparandote y dandote detalles sobre la confusión habida en el asunto. Dicho Sr. te explicara a ti todo. Confieso que estoy muy extrañada y no comprendo como el plan, los pormenores del cual fueron llevados por el camarada V., haya sido transferido a un ruso en Barcelona en lugar de haber sido manipulado por nuestros propios camaradas. Podrá ser que despues de todo es verdad que todo el poder político en Barcelona esta en las manos del Consul de Rusia? No me atrevo a creerlo; pero ~~mas~~ por el giro de ciertas cosas casi estoy en la creencia de que hay cierta verdad en ello.

Desagoto, que ido compañero, que me escribas a vuelta de correo, dandome una cuenta detallada de todo lo que hay en este asunto. Me puedes escribir en español. Mi traductor que ha estado enfermo ya esta bien y podrá seguir traduciendo mis cartas.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 26 [London to Julie Gibson, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23996

March 26th 37

Dearest Auntie.

I received your letter and the inclosed statement of the Fulham Borough Council for £5. 5.10. Knowing that I had never permitted my bills to lay around for more than a few days without paying them, and also that I had issued a check for £3.10.6 which you had sent to me I understood at once that there must be some error. Ralph has been to the electric people and has found out that the three pounds ten and six I paid was for the use of the electricity up to end of Dec. 1937. Since then ~~which~~ I have sent a check for £2.2.10 which paid up until the 11th of Feb. the day I left your flat.

The £2.3.4. is the charge for the unexpired term of a two years agreement you entered into. Naturally your new tenant will have to pay that as he will want the stoves and other electric fixtures that remained in your flat. I certainly do not want you to lose anything by dear or to be the cause of any inconvenience to your other tenants, but neither should I be expected to pay for the use of the stoves and boiler in the kitchen for another year when for people I have nothing to do with. I hope you will see the ~~point~~ that while I certainly do not want you to be the loser neither can I pay for your new tenants. All I can offer is to pay part of the cost until Feb. 11th. I hope my dear you will not feel injured or peeved with me.

I have no idea what is to become of Erny. I am sending her a monthly allowance which while not enough to step out on it ~~xxx~~ should keep her foot warm. I wish I could do more. But I simply cannot. I think she has written to Stein and he may help her. As to her condition I fear it will continue to the rest of her life. Nellie wrote me that E. now claims the operation was not done well. I do not see how she can get well if she does not keep to her bed for a time. Nancy leaving the hospital two weeks after the operation. She claims they made her go. If that is really true than the people in the hospital are brutal and should be exposed. But I have ~~syndoubt~~ about it. They never drove Sasha out.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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I appreciate your fear of seeing M. Still I hope if you will find a half day or while you are in Nice you will see her. She is an unfortunate case.

Our experience this year with an affair for International Solidarity is like last year. Some musicians backed out at the last moment. We had to postpone it until after Easter. I will know Monday or Tuesday just what date we can have it. It is the same struggle and no end. No end to the suffering of the people in Spain. But nothing moves the masses here not even the frightfulness of the last raids of Barcelona, or the calvary of the people in Austria. I am sure human sensibilities have become atrophied since the world war. No wonder it can so easily be driven to the brink of another conflagration.

I see Stella is to speak at a protest meeting Monday in Friends House. I may go to hear her.

With love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918185

[Letter] 1937 March 27, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve. —
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BUREAU DE PRESSE ET D'INFORMATION

30, Rue Saint-Augustin, 30

PARIS-III^e

Téléphone : OPéra 57-69

Paris, le 27 Marzo 1937.

12385

Emma Goldman.
18, Castletown Road West.
LONDRES.

Querida camarada,

He recibido tu telegrama y carta del 26 corriente;

Se me ha presentado en el despacho el señor que me anuncia en la tuya y debo decirte que no comprendo ni media palabra de todo cuanto me hablas en la tuya, puesto que no estoy al corriente de nada ni mucho menos sabía que en Londres se estuvieran tramitando asuntos de esta naturaleza.

Como comprenderás, pues, mi extrañeza llega a tal punto que, antes de hablar extensamente con el compañero citado he creído pertinente ponerme al habla con Barcelona, para saber a que atenerme de todo ello. No obstante, el lunes recibiré al camarada en cuestión para que me dé las máximas explicaciones y detalles sobre el asunto.

Puedo garantizarte que mientras no veo las cosas claras yo soy un compañero que no obro ligeramente, maxime cuando no tengo la menor noción del asunto.

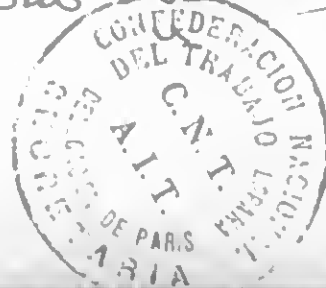
Te debo acuse de recibo de tu penúltima carta, la que por el interés que encierra y teniendo en cuenta las cosas que comunicas, le he hecho traducir al castellano y he enviado copia de ella al Comité Nacional.

Si necesitas material de propaganda de nuestra organización, yo puedo enviartelo de aquí todo lo que tengo, tanto albums, como calendarios, folletos, manifiestos, etc y toda la clase de prensa que recibimos.

Esperando, pues, tus gratas nuevas, te saluda anarquicamente tuyo y de la revolución,

Nemesio Galve

PD. Adjunto remito una carta para ti, tal como me ha sido entregada.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 27 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].— 2 p.; 21 × 14 cm.

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20196

5, RUE DELAIZEMENT - XVII^e
TÉL.: ÉTOILE 83-77

27-3-37

Liebste Emma,

wir haben eine ganze Weile nichts von uns hören lassen, denn es geht uns beider nicht sehr gut. Anita bekam ein Zahngeschwür und musste sich einen Backenzahn ohne Betäubung ziehen lassen. Sie können sich vorstellen, was sie ausgestanden hat! Dabei sind Folgen noch immer spürbar. Und Fum hat Grippe mit Bronchitis und Fieber. Dabei mussten wir die ganze Zeit noch an dem Buch arbeiten, um das französisch noch einmal gründlich zu korrigieren; in einer fremden Sprache ist es doch nicht so einfach wie in der eignen. Jetzt ist es endlich im Druck und in drei bis vier Wochen wird es auf dem Markt sein. Uebrigens haben wir die Reihenfolge der Kapitel geändert und auch das Schlusskapitel ein bisschen umgestaltet. Und zwar sind wir etwas deutlicher gegen die Kommunisten geworden, denn ausserhalb Spaniens genießen sich die Herrschaften auch nicht. Alles kann man ja leider immer noch nicht sagen, was man gegen sie auf dem Herzen hat, aber immerhin muss man schon ziemlich deutlich sprechen.

Dass wir nichts Günstiges aus England und Amerika über das Buch hören, betrübt uns natürlich sehr. Ist es denn wirklich unmöglich, einen Verleger in diesen Ländern zu finden? Wir möchten so gern, dass es durch Ihre Vermittlung zustande käme, denn sobald das Buch auf französisch erschienen ist, bekommt der hiesige Ver-

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20197

leger die Hälfte von allen Uebersetzungsrechten. Wir wissen, dass Sie alles versuchen, was in Ihrer Macht steht, aber vielleicht können Sie doch noch einmal der Sache einen Stoss geben. Wir können uns nämlich gar nicht vorstellen, dass Ihnen überhaupt etwas unmöglich ist.

Die militärischen Nachrichten aus Spanien haben uns selbstverständlich sehr glücklich gemacht. Die Haltung der Engländer scheint sich nun ja auch etwas zu wandeln, sicher ist Ihre Tätigkeit dabei nicht ohne Einfluss geblieben. Neulich hörten wir im Radio eine Reportage des englischen Radios aus Madrid. Wir dachten uns sofort, dass Sie sicher auch damit etwas zu tun hätten.

Sie haben auch eine ganze Zeitlang nicht geschrieben. Wie geht es Ihnen eigentlich? Was macht vor allem Ihre Reise nach Amerika? Neulich haben wir allerdings gefunden, es sei sehr gut, dass Sie Engländerin sind, denn sonst hätte man Sie bestimmt auch herausgeschmissen wie Basch und mit Ihrer Tätigkeit wäre es aus gewesen.

Mit Interesse haben wir gelesen, dass Sie zusammen mit White in einer Versammlung gesprochen haben. Hat er schon die Formel zwischen seiner Kirchenfeindschaft und der katholischen Liebe gefunden? Aus dem Bulletin haben wir gesehen, dass unser Freund Hem Day wieder in Barcelona ist. Wie gerne möchten wir auch wieder nach Barcelona!

Schreiben Sie bald und seien Sie herzlichst begrüsst von Ihren

Anita
Hann

770

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 28, London [to] John Cowper Powys, [Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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COPY.

18, Castletown Road, London, W.14.
28th March, 1937.

Mr. John Cowper Powys.

My dear good Friend,

The longer I live in England the more I cherish your friendship, your ever-ready response to every appeal I have made is among the rarest I find here. I cannot thank you enough for it.

Perhaps it is my fault that I make so little headway in reaching English people. I may not know how to get at them or to penetrate their rigid reserve. I admit I have always been a heathen as far as conventions are concerned. I am hopeless when it comes to "playing a part". I am absolutely no good at smoothing things over or pretending what I do not feel. All these things seem to be necessary to succeed in this country.

Some years ago while I was working on *Living My Life*, and living in Paris, I was suddenly confronted with an order of expulsion that had been issued in 1900 and was signed by Waldeck Rousseaux. I had been in France numerous times since then, but French Bureaucracy needed 31 years to discover the order of expulsion, which had been pigeonholed somewhere! Is not that just like the French? During the 31 years, the world had been upside down; wars and revolutions had taken place; politicians rose and went down in a heap; monarchies were proved the cheapest article in human society, but the French continued sticks in the mud. When I protested the official looked quite surprised. He said: "Why are you so angry? Do you not realise that this experience represents rich material for another chapter in your book?" Well, my experience in England in connection with the theatre venture I have tried is indeed material for another chapter. I would almost say for a whole book.

For 2 months I had been led to believe that I would have a galaxy of artists of the stage. I was repeatedly assured not to worry. Their participation was certain. At the end of that time I was informed that not one single artist consented to give his or her services for the starving and homeless women and children in Spain. Of course they were not so blunt. They gave excuses of engagements for the 11th; of rehearsals, of a lot more, but in reality it was just their miserable fear that the affair of the 11th would be "political" - as if anything in life to-day can be non-political!

I had fully determined to make it as non-political as possible - to make the entertainment entirely humanitarian, but nothing availed. I found myself without a single man or woman from the stage who would do their stunt to help suffering women and children. However, I was fortunate in getting the consent of my old dear friend, Paul Robeson, and he certainly did not need assurance that the evening will be non-political. He consented at once. I also found a half-dozen

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Mr. J. Cowper Powys.

-2-

28-3-1937.

musicians who were less "timid" (nice term for cowardice, isn't it?) - only too willing to participate. So I again pulled up my strength to go ahead, although the time was short and it meant galley-blaving. Then the day before yesterday another thunderbolt from a clear sky came down on my sinful head. The theatre manager refused to let us have the theatre, although he had given his promise in a letter to our friend Maurice Brown. His reasons were a lot of technical difficulties of Sunday performances, but I am sure there is more than that to his refusal. I have an idea that the trouble Stafford Scripps had with the Albert Hall and the present tense relation between England and Italy must have put the fear of God into the Manager of the Victoria Palace. In other words, there was nothing to do but to give up the whole affair for the 11th April.

I need not tell you how dejected the experience left me. Of course it takes more than all that to break my spirit. I mean to try the venture again but at a later date (25th of April). It will all depend on whether we can get a different theatre or decent Concert hall that will not consume whatever money we will make. I feel that every penny raised for the needs of Spain is so important that it is criminal to spend it on a lot of rents and other expenses. I will see what can be done.

The marvellous news from Spain makes my difficulties here insignificant indeed, though the strongest of us cannot escape frustration when the obstacles and odds are so great. If only the so-called 'democratic' powers were determined, they would morally force Mussolini and Hitler to withdraw their so-called volunteers from Spanish soil. I cannot forgive Blum for his crime against Spain in his insistence on non-intervention. One might have excused it in a reactionary Premier but from a man who has always pretended Socialism it is despicable. Without support to Franco, Fascism would have been exterminated in Spain long ago. And even at this late hour it would not take long for the Revolutionary forces to conquer Franco. They have the entire Spanish people on their side. Franco only has a few decrepit generals and a few officers. He has then besides the Moors and the Foreign Legion, but what could he do against millions of people imbued with a great ideal of Freedom and courageousness to the point of recklessness, to sacrifice themselves on the altar of Liberty?

Unfortunately Mussolini and Hitler have terrified England and France. They will not withdraw their troops. It is a frightful situation. Nevertheless I do feel encouraged. Whether my people will conquer or be conquered, the last 9 months represent the greatest epic in the heroic struggle for freedom. I do hope passionately that some great creative artist will be found who will pen this epic, this united effort of a whole people, this grand fortitude. No I am not discouraged and I shall not give up.

(P. t. o).

The Emma Goldman Papers

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-3-

I plan to go back to Spain the latter part of next month. It may only be for a month — the highest, two. But I am famished for the atmosphere of enthusiasm. England freezes my blood. I need to be with my people — so wonderfully simple, unspoiled and warm-hearted. My address will continue as above as I am keeping my apartment.

As I have said, I intend to go ahead with another trial of the project. If I succeed I will need as many names of people who might be interested as I can get. I wonder dear friend if you could give me a select list of your friends, especially those who are in a position to contribute to the fund for the women and children, by way of buying guinea seats or boxes?

Affectionately.

773

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005299

[Letter, 19]37 March 28 [London to A.] Bird [Norwich, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20229

March 28th 37.

Dear comrade Bird.

Comrade Barr came to see me yesterday to let me read your letter of the 25th inst. I am delighted to know that you had gotten together a group of difference organisations who are willing to help organise a meeting on Spain. But it is rather unusual, isn't it to ask that we should advance the money for a hall. Of course the London Committee of the CNT-FAI has no means whatsoever, and the Bureau for the CNT-FAI I am managing is also not flushed with funds. In point of fact I have to be extremely careful with every penny spent not to put our comrades in Catalonia to great burdens than they already have to carry. However, I am willing to extend the loan of £8 for the Hall. But it must be understood that the amount will be safe whether the meeting is a success or not. What I mean by that is that the £8 must not be taken from the collection to my appeal for the homeless and destitute women and children in Spain. I have made it a rule for our London meetings and wherever I lectured in the Provinces that nothing should be taken from the collections for the expenses of meetings and my railway expenses. So far the comrades have sustained no loss from any of my meetings. And I feel confident that Norwich will not lose. Still to avoid any misunderstanding of any sort, I have to repeat that the £8 you have asked are a loan to be returned from the sales of tickets and not from the collection. I hope that is understood.

I will not be here during May as I am returning to Spain the last week in April. ~~For~~ Not to lose time I have asked comrade Barr to wire you to night to say that my only free date is Sunday April 18th. It means almost 3 weeks in which to arrange the meeting. That ought to be enough for a town like Norwich that is after all not very large. I hope you can find a Cinema or Theatre for that date. I should like to know without delay whether you can go ahead with the 18th because the comrades in Plymouth want me back for another lecture. I ~~was~~ was there Feb. 7th. I wish I had more dates because Liverpool has asked for one, and Glasgow where I spoke Feb. 14th also wants another date. And I am going back to Bristol next week end for another meeting. The first was very successful. I collected £100 pounds there. I feel sure wit

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a competent group of people to do intensive work a meeting in Norwich should also bring a large Marx audience.

Please let me know first of all whether you can find a Hall for the 18th. Perhaps you will wire me so as not to lose time. I will then mail you a check for £8.

The inclosed handbill is very striking. Do you not think so? You can take the same subject if you wish. Or the one I will treat Wed. at the East End. Tix Though for a first lecture the contractive side of the Revolution will not be understood if the forces leading up to the Revolution is not explained. So unless you and the other comrades who want to help will decide on the PART OF THE CHURCH IN THE MILITARY CONSPIRACY, have the one that reads THE SPANISH REVOLUTION AND THE FORCES THAT BROUGHT IT ABOUT.

Hoping to hear from you by return mail with kind greetings to yourself and fraternal regards to the comrades.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 29 [London to] Frank Leech, Glasgow Scotland / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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1937
29th March, 1937.

Mr. Frank Leech,
The A.P. C. F.,
287, Netherton Road,
Glasgow, Scotland.

Dear Comrade,

Since I wrote you last about the possibility of returning to Glasgow, I have heard from Liverpool. The friends there wanted me to come for the 25th April. I wrote them that I cannot tie myself to that date as I may have to leave for Spain the latter part of April - but I did give them the 18th. I am not yet certain whether that date will suit them, so I must hold up my suggestion of a return to your city on that date; since I have not yet been in Liverpool, it seemed to me more important to go there than return to Glasgow.

The chances would be greater there. Besides it would help to break the ice so please decide nothing definite until you hear from me again.

Thank you very much for your note of the 20th inst., with a cheque for £7 enclosed, for the fund for the women and children. I have written the comrades in Valencia to send me receipts for the money collected. As soon as I have them I will send them on to you or a copy.

Fraternally,

Accredited Representative of the C.I.R.I.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 29 [London to] Frank Leech, Glasgow [Scotland] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19928

18, Castletown Road, W.14.
29th March, 1937.

Mr. Frank Leech,
A.P.C.F.,
287, Netherton Rd., Glasgow.

Dear Comrade,

I have your long letter of the 19th inst.

I did not mean to depreciate the service rendered to the Cause of Spain by "The Fighting Call". I merely meant to say that as a monthly publication it would have to be of a higher order consisting exclusively of original material. You know yourself that we have no-one in England who can write in a style that would appeal to people outside of our ranks and I myself am so loaded with work I simply cannot pledge myself to articles every month. On the other hand, "Spain & the World" has a number of contributors in foreign languages, of course. Fortunately, the young comrade who is the editor and really the soul and spirit of the paper, knows Spanish, Italian and French, and he can translate.

That makes it so much easier to have interesting and vital material in the paper, and that is why the comrades in Spain feel that "Spain and the World" should be supported by every possible means.

Actually, Keell has nothing to do with the editorship or the launching of "Spain & the World". He has merely given his name because he is known in our ranks. Whereas the young comrade who is doing all the work is not known and he feels that for the present his name should not appear. I don't know why Keell has not answered your letter. He has been bitter against the Freedom Group owing to the disagreeable experience he had with the old comrades. I am sorry that he should keep it up his opposition but that is probably the reason of his silence.

However I don't agree with you that a paper should be divided in ever so many parts, each group having a corner.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005028

[Letter] 1937 March 29 [London to] Frank Leech, Glasgow [Scotland] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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25221

Mrs. Leech

-2-

It loses its individuality and its importance. There is no objection of course for your group to contribute an article to "Spain & the World" - provided it is well written and deals with Spain. I don't think that the comrades launching the paper would object to that, but I myself should be opposed to any argumentative material to go into the paper or to have the unfortunate disagreements that exist between one group and other being aired in the columns of "Spain & the World". I am quite sure it would kill the paper and certainly do your organisation no good.

I am sorry that even if I do go to Spain I shall not bother about G.A. The comrades have more serious and more important work to do than to pay attention to the man. It is precisely what he wants, - to be recognised and to be given publicity. I am firmly convinced that he is in no way important and the only way to keep him out of the ranks is by ignoring him. I think you are wrong about the idea of being boycotted by Ethel McDonald. I heard her over the radio on Friday night and, would you believe it, she announced your group and the address, naturally A.O.'s little sheet, the Freedom group and "Spain & the World". The only thing she didn't announce was my position as representative of the C.I.T.-M.I., nor did she give the address of its London bureau. So you see, dear comrade, if there is any possibility of boycott, the latter is directed entirely against me and not against the A.P.C.F.

I feel that if we will only go ahead with our work without any regard to what anybody else does against us, we will remain true to Spain and true to ourselves. I have made that a principle all through my public career and I strongly advise you to do the same. You are no doubt correct when you say that McDougall is trying hard to bring G.A. and your organisation together. It will be a pity for your organisation and yet perhaps you can work with him? If there is a possibility, why not test it? After all, our comrades are working with all kinds of people in Spain though most of them are sabotaging our comrades. Perhaps you will achieve more by co-operation with the man.

/P.G./

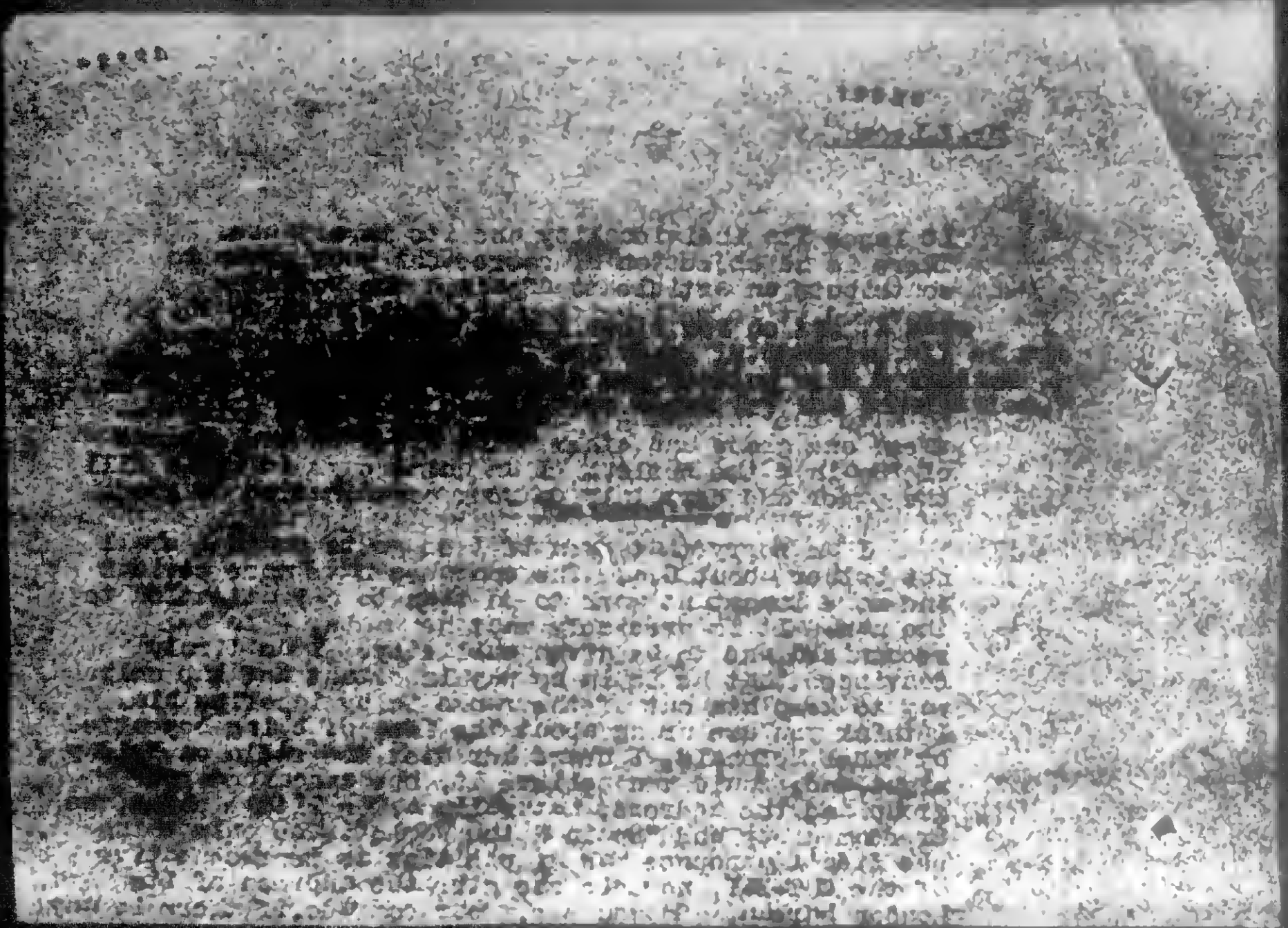
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778

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 29 [London to] Frank Leech, Glasgow [Scotland] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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[Letter] 1937 March 29 [London to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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29 de Marzo de 1937.

Atención del Comité de la F.A.I. de la
Conferencia Internacional Anarquista.

Secretaría,
Comité Nacional,
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo,
VALENCIA.

Queridos compañeros. Salud.

He escrito a Martin Gudell y a Agustín Souchy, rogándoles se comunicasen con vosotros y me diesen a conocer si hay intenciones de aplazar la Conferencia Internacional que habría de celebrarse en el mes de Junio próximo; pero hasta la fecha no he recibido ninguna contestación.

Las razones por las cuales me he permitido sugerir el aplazamiento de la Conferencia se fundan, primero: en las disposiciones actualmente vigentes que hacen casi imposible el poder entrar en España a través de Francia, y, segundo: a que yo todavía tengo muchísimas cosas que hacer en la oficina en Londres de la CNT-FAI, lo que haría muy difícil el que pudiese atender a la Conferencia.

Ello no obstante, mi decisión es asistir a la Conferencia, celébrase ésta cuando se celebre, especialmente ahora que la Federación Anarquista Judía de los Estados Unidos y nuestro semanario, "Freie Arb. Stimme", me han enviado sus credenciales para que vaya como delegada de ellos. Esto mismo me parece será el deseo de los camaradas en California, Toronto (Canadá) e Inglaterra. Pero no será sólo la Conferencia Anarquista lo que me hará emprender el viaje, sino varias otras cosas de importancia, relacionadas con las actividades desarrolladas por mí en Inglaterra en representación de la CNT-FAI, si bien, como ya he dicho, se nos haría más fácil, tanto a mí como a los otros camaradas, si la Conferencia fuese aplazada por unas cuantas semanas.

Os ruego, pues, el favor de escribirme a la brevedad posible, indicándome el plan que habeis adoptado; y también la manera en que uno pueda trasladarse a España sin grandes dificultades. Posco pasaporte inglés, pero no deseo pedir visa, cosa que no ha sido necesaria en otras ocasiones y que ahora también quiero evitar. Os agradecería mucho vuestras indicaciones sobre

./...

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[Letter] 1937 March 29 [London to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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- 2 -

este extremo.

El próximo sábado espero la llegada de un camarada de los Estados Unidos. Viene como delegado del Grupo Libertario de Nueva York. Tengo entendido que unos cuantos compañeros americanos se encuentran ya en Barcelona.

Podéis escribirme bien en español o francés si no os es factible hacerlo en inglés.

Cordial y fraternalmente os saluda,

781

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 29 [London to Stanley] Unwin, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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20248

29th March, 1937.

Messrs. Joe Allen & Unwin, Ltd.,
Publishers,
40, Museum Street, W. C.

Dear Mr. Unwin,

My name may not say anything to you, and perhaps it might?

I am representing the Catalonian Government in England and in connection with this I am also authorized by a well-known German writer to act as his representative. I know Dr. Karinasky because he travelled with me all through Catalonia, Aragon and The Levante. I can testify as to the authenticity of his material which he has turned into a very interesting M.S. I wonder whether you would be interested to read it? It is in German.

Inasmuch as the topic is very timely, I should like to be sure that if you are interested you will have the M.S., read without delay.

Please let me know by 'phone, if you will, or by letter.

Sincerely,

Accredited Representative of the
CNT-PAI.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005056

[Letter] 1937 March 29, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

FEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

19973

C.N.T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA SUYAVENTURA DURRU, 22 Y 24 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELEFONOS:
CENTRALIA 14701
SUCURSAL 14702
SUCURSAL 14703
SUCURSAL 14704
SUCURSAL 14705
SUCURSAL 14706
SUCURSAL 14707
SUCURSAL 14708
SUCURSAL 14709
SUCURSAL 14710

Barcelona 29 de Marzo 1937

Emma Goldman-Colton
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N W 14

Liebe Emma,

in Laufe der naechsten Woche werden 2 companeros aus
Valencia zu Dir kommen. Sie sind Vertreter des Obstexportyndikates
und ich bitte Dich Ihnen in jeder Weise zu helfen. Vielleicht
kannst Du bereits Adressen linksstehender Obstimporteure etc. aus-
findig machen. Alles Naechere werden sie Dir selbst erklaren.

Western rief mich Calves aus Paris an. Dort befinden sich
2 Englaender(oder Amerikaner), die von Dir an mich geschickt seien.
Man sagte, dass ich benachrichtigt sei. Das ist aber nicht der Fall,
ich weiss nicht worum es sich handelt. Schreibe mir bitte BY AIR
and return was das Betreffende sind und wozu sie hierherkommen.

Somit heute nichts. Mit herzlichen Gruessen

Augustin Souchy

783

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726337

[Letter] 1937 March 29, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [W.S.] Van Valkenburgh]. - 3 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

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29 March 1937

419 East 5th Street-New York N Y

24030

My frightfully neglected E G:

That fellow who said "procrastination is the thief of time" certainly knew whereof he spoke. I have undertaken on so many occasions to acknowledge your last letter, written, I believe about the sixteenth of February, and each time something has prevented my finishing- so here I begin again, fondly hoping nothing will intervene this time.

As to Sprintzer She has definitely given up the idea of going abroad and instead has played the part of benefactor in behalf of the young comrade Abe Bluestein who is being sent as a delegate to the conference. Bluestein is a product of Stilton and has been consistently active in our affairs ever since I can remember him. I have given him a note to you in the event you do not recognize him or know anything about him. I think he is a most sincere young fellow, capable and willing and potentially valuable. I am certain he has the undivided good will of all our people insofar as it is possible to get them to be in unison on anything. Sprintzer is disappointed, of course, but I think many people have discussed the subject with her and she has come to the conclusion that she was moved more by emotion than by reason in concluding that he should go over... She is somewhat beyond the age of fertility and perhaps she overestimated her possible usefulness at this time. I fancy she may have written you ere this- I do not see her often.

About Frager, I again suppose he has written you. He is quite another proposition for he is young and fiery- that is to say, he is much younger than Sprintzer- about 35 I surmise, but he has had a wealth of experience and has travelled considerably. He lived for a time in South America before coming to the US and of course he saw plenty in Russia. He has done all the preliminary work in bringing out Santillan's book in English. Frank, I understand has translated it, and it will soon be ready for distribution.

Frank is giving a good account of himself-Stella has placed him in the way of meeting a great many people I never knew and she has been a tremendous help to him. I do not know how he is making out in his commercial mission. He is rather reticent and does not disclose much of his business. Up till last Sunday night, I know he had not yet made any concluding arrangements for the films. Stella has seen them as has Radinowski and some other of the comrades and they all pronounced them remarkable. No doubt Stella or some one else closer to Frank is keeping you informed!

Stella is about to leave for the country since the lease on the apartment is up or the people who formerly occupied it are returning - I don't know just what the situation is beyond that she is planning to move to the country about the first of the month.

I have seen quite a little of her lately for one thing or another but now I suppose we will be strangers again.

Now I must tell you something you must accept in the spirit in which I am trying to set it down- In one of the copies of letter you sent me- I think it was one to Tom Bell- the suggestion was made about a private fund being raised where-with to tide you over during your stay in England. I remember the details for I read it over very carefully. I was sure then, as I am sure now that TB would not be able to do anything. Nevertheless, the proposition seemed so reasonable and desirable to me that I bethought I might do something. So I went to Stella and opened my heart to her. Now I am sure you know that Stella would move heaven and earth for Aunt Emma and so would many another not so closely related - But there are always so many buts and ifs and ands to everything one undertakes requiring cooperation that the simplest matters oftentimes develop into unforeseen complications and the mole hill becomes a mountain.....Stella was not over-enthusiastic- rather she viewed the matter very practically. We all understand that you have a certain reputation for being an independent soul and that you never have and never have intended to be under obligations to this movement or that movement for any wherewithal for personal purposes. This is well understood and admired. But you also have never been just so situated as you are now- and you have never been delegated to the job you are now carrying out in

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EG#2

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England under the specific direction of the CNT. I pondered long over this matter before I approached anyone upon it. Finally, after turning matters over again and again, I spoke to Abe Grosner (formerly with FAS) He seemed to be very much elated with the idea and volunteered to help do something about it. Our first thought was to see Stella because she know so many people outside the movement or on the fringe of it.....when we laid the whole thing before her she began explaining-. Of course she was not hostile - she knows how hard up you are and have been and she agreed it would be nice little tribute if a group of people who know you well were to subscribe fixed amount to be paid into a common fund monthly or semi monthly during the period of your stay in England. However, this objection came up not only from Stella but from a number of folks who do not even know her- and I hope you will not think I am trying to pass the buck or blame Stella for anything. When it comes to money- everybody suddenly becomes practical and conjures up all sorts of reasons why the thing shouldnt be done just that way! The one ever recurring argument we met with was this: The CNT officially sent you there and you are doing work specifically outlined for you- comrades from all over the world are being admonished to help the CNT with everything they have- and some of them are doing it, but not many from Americans so far as I can gather. Therefore, those who are sending money in to the CNT are doing all they can. To undertake to establish a special fund for an individual would seem unnecessary and to a great many undesirable. Now I know you meant that should such a thing be undertaken it should be done just among personal friends and that is what we tried to do. Stella didnt think that a great many who have already contributed for other things should be approached on this for numerous reasons, one of which was that they might have to be approached in the event that a visa is granted and that ace in the hole should be saved for another day. I would have approached such people as Ben Capes in the movement but nothing could well be done here in New York so the subject was given up..... Believe me, EG had that great fortune of mine ever materialized as I believed it would, you would not have had worry your little heart about such a mundane thing as mere money, but as far as it has gone it has not even begun to pay my debts, let alone leave any residue for an emergency. I have had to sell everything I possessed-lost all my insurance policies though allowing them to lapse. Oh I can begin to tell you how hard put I have been through these last five years! That, then being out of the question, I could only try out a few friends-mutual friends and there could possibly be gotten together the promises of enough to bring a weekly stipend of about 5 or 6 dollars if they all came across...But of course the thing had to be done quickly since your stay in England is limited. Abe and I worked on it for some three weeks or more before we decided that it just could not be done- I hope you will not feel hurt about it. Indeed there is no reason why you should for the proposition was advanced in such a way that no personal issue was involved. So thats that!

Stella is moving to the country about the 1st of the month and I forgot to get her address the last time I saw her. I went to see Moe in the hospital a few weeks ago before he went to Washington. After a fashion he recalled who I am and he remembered the day he was with Leon and the little party in the automobile coming down from Schenectady - and that was a long time ago EG - all of 18 years ago, easily. I havent seen Moe since he came back from Washington so I do not know how he made out with the people he had to see down there. My heart goes out to him in his trouble but it leaves one so helpless to see suffering and be unable to help even in ever so little away! But I suppose it is all a part of the life we have to live through to the end. Some seem to have so much that is sweet and good and others naught but the bitterness.

You will, whenever you can, let me have all the new details of things behind the scenes. I suppose every comrade feels that this is the one thing he should know all about for the whole struggle is so close and personal to each and all of us and there is so much loose and independable information in circulation. I understand Green is on his way back and will arrive here early in April---

I am most sure I would never be able to return to the States under the stress

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#3 G

24032

of the historical events now taking place. But then again, perhaps I would- who knows? Only as I feel now, if ever I do go it will be with the intention of leaving my bones there. But I shall feel terribly cowardly to go there after all the danger and suffering is over, as though to march in over the bodies of those who have fallen that I might partake of the fruits of their heroism! Of course I read Spanish very well and I write it well enough for a Spaniard to understand me - it is the speaking that I have neglected- Some folks speak and understand a language but can neither read nor write it- I am just that contrary that I can read and write it and understand it but cannot speak it- of course this is just a matter of practice and I shall not neglect it now that there is some reason for concentrating upon it. The comrades of Cultura have very much flattered me by offering me a paid job to look after the commercial end of a proposition they have under consideration....First of all they are awaiting final word from B- through the arrival of a representative of the Generalidad as to the setting up of three bureaus here. One- a bureau of commerce- two: a bureau of information for travellers etc etc and finally an unofficial bureau of Propaganda.....The whole question is very much involved and all seems to depend upon the arrival of this personage a Mr Torreo. I have suggested M Olay and Olay is in New York now, getting ready to go to work on the thing. I will work with him and I have already enlisted the services of Arthur L R as legal adviser. I have a small time job which promises to develop into a permanent one- it is probably the last job I will ever be able to find and well I know what a Hell of a time I had in getting it. The comrades, you know are all excited over the thing, but they are also very much in the dark as to what they are to do and as to how far they will be able to go: how much funds they will have to begin with and a host of other things that must be clear and definite....I was most pleased that they flattered ~~with~~ with so much confidence....We meet about once each week to talk things over. You know of course about their air school, dont you?

The United Libertarian Organizations are staging a mass meeting Sunday-April 4th. I will send you the details after I see what the results turn out to be. You will let me know when you are to leave London, please, and of your new address, also if I can do anything here that cannot be done by anyone else- what are your plans and above everything whatever is new or interesting that I would not be likely to hear about Spain through other sources. Forgive the long interval between letters and I join you in the fervent hope that our comrades will achieve their ends and that finally, after all these years and all the suffering- there shall be one place under the sun where man at last is free -

I greet you with all the hope in my weary old heart
van

van

786

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[Letter] 1937 March 30, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I.

London 30/3/37

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 30th March 1937

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6619

Mr. Samuel Freedman,
(Fr. Arb. Stimme),
45, West 17th Street,
New York City, U.S.A.

Dear Comrade,

That is what I call promptness! I don't remember the time that I ever got a letter from the F.R. Arb. Stimme, so quickly, in answer to mine. I congratulate you. I hope you will keep it up.

plainer
Your example has evidently made a salutary effect on our friend Mark, for he not only wrote at once but he actually wrote several pages. That is an event. I only wish his handwriting in Russian were ~~plainer~~ when I write him I will have to ask him to use the typewriter or to write plainer. I realise that I have no right to throw stones against anyone when it comes to handwriting - I know mine is rotten. That is why I use the typewriter, although I have to admit that my own typing is not much better than my writing. Still, with an effort it is readable. So my dear old comrade Mark will have to take to the machine, if he wants me to know what he is writing.

Please thank the comrades of the Federation and your group for their confidence in me as their delegate. I will have to have a credential as well as the resolution Mark wrote me about in his letter. Send it soon. It is just possible that the Conference may be postponed until June. I have suggested that because of the difficulties now in getting through France to Spain, but in case the comrades feel that they must go through with it for the first week in May, I will go of course. That is why I want the credential and whatever else you wish to send me for the Conference.

I am delighted to hear that the Libertarian group have elected comrade Pluestein as their delegate. Is he actually going to Spain? I hope he will have no difficulties in getting in. Mark you, there are no difficulties at the Spanish end. It is the French border officials who act like the old Tsarist Cossacks.

I am delighted to see the circular letter sent out by the Federation in regard to official propaganda. It is sad indeed that

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Mr. Samuel Freedman,

Page 2

30-3-1937.

our people don't yet realize its importance. We have stressed it all our lives. I do hope that the Conference to take place on April the 24th will result in something tangible, that systematic work in the English language will be carried on.

I have not the time now but next week I will send a letter to comrade Grishkan for the Conference. I will try to impress the delegates of the desperate necessity of concentrating on carrying our ideas to the American people.

The package of "The Truth about Spain" has not yet reached me but I received this ~~letter~~ ^{two months ago}. The pamphlet is being sold but I fear we will have to reduce the price. You cannot hope to dispose of literature in England at a higher price than twopence per copy ~~which~~ ^{and} over that is too much. I mean in meetings attended by working men. They simply cannot afford to take off too much for literature from their ~~small~~ ^{meagre} or their ^{date} earnings.

I am kept hard at work in behalf of Spain, in fact there is so much to do that it is almost impossible for one person to attend to it and we don't have many comrades here who could do the necessary work independently. You will be glad to see that a new group, consisting mostly of young people, is in the process of organization. It has already a name. It will call itself, 'The Anarchist Syndicalist Union'. They will be a permanent body to carry on work for our ideas in this country. In addition to this, I have organized the London Committee of the CNT-FAI. It consists only of a dozen comrades, very willing to do a lot of work but without a way of reaching the large Masses.

The idea is to canvass the Unions, especially with the questionnaire sent me by the CNT., - copy of which I enclose. Would it not be a good idea to have it translated into Yiddish, and to circularise the Unions in America with it? It would show Organized Labour that our comrades are really doing constructive work. Perhaps it would help to induce Labour delegates to go as a Mission to Spain, to see with their own eyes what our people have achieved since the 19th of July. Heroic and miraculous as the fighting of the comrades in Madrid is, their constructive work in the midst of war and Revolution is no less gigantic. Suggest this idea of the spreading of the Questionnaire and if possible rouse all the more Radical Unions to action.

I am terribly sorry, dear comrade, but it is impossible for me to write regularly for your paper. Believe me, I am not exaggerating when I tell you that I am working very many hours, often through half the night, in behalf of Spain. I therefore cannot find the time or the peace of mind for ~~any~~ ^{any} kind of writing.

sent in the C. a long time to meet a group of people

know

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NY 5, Freedom

Page 1

30-3-1937

Yes, I know that the Federation decided to send Marie ten dollars a month. That is splendid of the comrades. By the way, she is no longer in Czechoslovakia. She is in Paris and her address is:

c/o The American Express Co.

11, RUE SCRIPPE, P a r i s.

That will be her permanent address, while she is in France. When I write her, I will tell her to go to the Express for her mail.

Remember me to all the comrades and to your family - especially your daughter Clara. I understand that she is a very great musician. I wish she were here. I would invite her to play at the theatre entertainment I am organizing for April the 11th. We have Paul Robeson and many other outstanding artists. It would be fine if we could also have her.

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman

Accredited Representative of the CNT-FAI.

*I also inclose an appeal
the comrades in Spain have sent
me. Perhaps you will use it in
the Beech Hill Summe*

Enclosure.

Dump

*just arrived
CJ*

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(See page 2).

19790

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Mr. S. Freedman.

-Page 2-

30-3-1937.

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The package of "The Truth about Spain" has not yet reached me but I received this order two months ago. The pamphlet is being sold but I fear we will have to reduce the price. You cannot hope to dispose of literature in England at a higher price than twopence per copy and over that is too much. I mean in meetings attended by working men. They simply cannot afford to take off too much for literature from their "dough" or their meagre earnings.

I am kept hard at work in behalf of Spain, in fact there is so much to do that it is almost impossible for one person to attend to it and we don't have many comrades here who could do the necessary work independently. You will be glad to see that a new group, consisting mostly of young people, is in the process of organization. It has already a name. It will call itself, 'The Anarchist Syndicalist Union'. They will be a permanent body to carry on work for our ideas in this country. In addition to this, I have organized the London Committee of the CNT-FAI. It consists only of a dozen comrades, very willing to do a lot of work but without a way of reaching the large masses.

The idea is to canvass the Unions, especially with the questionnaire sent me by the CNT., - copy of which I enclose. Would it not be a good idea to have it translated into Yiddish, and to circularise the Unions in America with it? It would show Organized labour that our comrades are really doing constructive work. Perhaps it would help to induce labour delegates to go as a Mission to Spain, to see with their own eyes what our people have achieved since the 19th of July. Heroic and miraculous as the fighting of the comrades in Madrid is, their constructive work in the midst of war and Revolution is no less gigantic. Suggest this idea of the spreading of the questionnaire and if possible rouse all the more radical Unions to action.

I am terribly sorry, dear comrade, but it is impossible for me to write regularly for your paper. Believe me, I am not exaggerating when I tell you that I am working very many hours, often through half the night, in behalf of Spain. I therefore cannot find the time or the peace of mind for decent kind of writing.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001228

[Letter] 1937 March 30 [London to] Samuel Freedman, New York / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Mr. S. Freedman.

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30-3-1937.

Yes, I know that the Federation decided to send Annie ten dollars a month. That is splendid of the comrades. By the way, she is no longer in Czecho-Slovakia. She is in Paris and her address is :-

-P/O The American Express Co.,

11, RUE SCHEUR, P a r i s.

That will be her permanent address, while she is in France. When I write her, I will tell her to go to the Express for her mail.

Remember me to all the comrades and to your family - especially your daughter Clara. I understand that she is a very great musician. I wish she were here. I would invite her to play at the theatre entertainment I am organising for April the 11th. We have Paul Robeson and many other outstanding artists. It would be fine if we could also have her.

Faternally,

Accredited Representative of the CNT-FAI.

Enclosure.

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About the Exhibition :- Of course, if and when I will send you the material, I will give you all instructions and make suggestions, but at this writing I don't know whether we can part with it. If I had any assurance of a visa to the States I would send the material and ask you to keep it until I arrive. But I fear that the effort Roger Baldwin is making is nothing but a wild goose chase. Originally he wrote that if I could bring an exhibition (consisting of Catalan art) and I could speak on the subject, it might facilitate chances of a visa. Unfortunately I was left high and dry in this project, as I had then in England with the venture of a theatre entertainment. Don't misunderstand, but the failure I met with in Spain was not due to any fault of the comrades. It was due to the intrigue and manoeuvres of some of the members of the Catalan Government. These people had led me on for nearly two months. They had assured me that I would get not only primitive Catalan objects of art but also Romantic paintings. In fact, they laughed about my idea of an art exhibition and in the end nothing came of it.

To be sure there is such an exhibition in Paris but it is under the patronage of the Catalan Government. In other words, I find myself in the position of scores of inventors whose brain children were bought by unscrupulous promoters for a song, while they themselves are in poverty, unknown and unsung. I suppose I should feel flattered that the Catalan Government accepted my idea and acted upon it, but I am not. I was heartbroken over the whole affair and so there are no paintings to be taken to America. On the other hand, it would be stupid to talk on Catalan art without an exhibition and at a time when the fields of Spain are being drenched in the blood of the Spanish people.

The next possible means for a visa is a campaign for the enlightenment and emancipation of Spanish women.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 30 [London to] Jeanne Levey, Chicago / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 26 x 22 cm.

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I have submitted that to Roger Baldwin, but have not yet heard from him in reply. So I don't know whether that will work. This idea came to me through the request of our women comrades in Barcelona, who are publishing a wonderful paper called Mujeres Libres, (Free Woman). They have begun an intensive campaign to raise the status of their sex. Until 1931, it was fifty years behind the status of women of any country of Western Europe or the United States, and heaven only knows that women are still not treated as equals of men. During the ill-fated Republic, some advance was made but the bulk of the Spanish women are still frightfully benighted. Our blessed comrades have been the pioneers of a great many things in Spain and they are also in their efforts to emancipate and educate the bulk of Spanish women. The paper was started by a group of University women who have continued for two years and who are now carrying on an intensive campaign. They have asked me to get them in touch with women's organizations in England and America, which of course I am trying to carry out. It was this, then, that gave me the idea of using the campaign as a possible means of getting a rise, but really, dear, we must not depend upon it too much. And that is why I am waiting for the material for the propaganda exhibition.

For your information, I wish to say that it consists of marvellous photographs of both the constructive work and the Anti-Fascist struggle, and a lot of striking posters also demonstrating the life in Spain. The Exhibition arranged in Paris was entirely dedicated to the CNT-FAI, and while only 3,000 francs were cleared it was a tremendous educational event. It would have been the same here if only I had stuck to my original decision of a similar Exhibition. But, like a fool I permitted myself to be drawn into the toils of a Spanish Exhibition Committee, which had been organized before I returned from Spain and which was planning a large Exhibition. I did not realize at the time that the majority of members of that Committee were either Communist Party members or great adherents to Russia. The only saving grace were the I.L.R. members. It was really their Secretary (Fenner, Brookway) who induced me to change my plan — much to my sorrow. To make a long story short, I fought for weeks for every step in behalf of the CNT-FAI; I fought equally against the terrible expense of nearly \$500. In this tussle weeks were lost and I realised that if I would then have made my own independent Exhibition, an avalanche of abuse, attack and misrepresentation would have ruined the chances of any publicity; so I had to go ahead. Not only was not a single penny cleared, but the Committee has even \$100 deficit. I don't know how they will raise it and I don't give a damn. As it is, I contributed for the CNT-FAI, \$30. You will bear me out, my dear, that I have never before compromised. I feel ashamed and miserable that I did it in this case.

So if anything is done in America or wherever the next Exhibition will be, I will stress the need of making it absolutely CNT-FAI. Let the others look after their own affairs. They not only will not support us but they are already beginning to stab our comrades in the back. That is another chapter. I will write about it when I am less harassed. Anyway, the longer the Spanish situation lasts, the more convinced I am in my original attitude to the wrong steps our comrades have taken;

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...the unity with the Communists and their entry in the Ministries are likely to break the backbone of the Revolution.
About my pamphlet:- It would be useless to send me 1000 copies for England. You have no idea how little literature is sold here. In the first place, the masses are frightfully poor. If they buy anything at all, it must be at a penny. Besides, the English workers are not in the habit of buying lots of literature. If they read at all, it is the daily and weekly papers, and the more intelligent get their knowledge through the lending libraries, of which there are many. In all the meetings I have had since my return from Spain, I doubt whether we sold 1000-worth of literature. So it would be useless to send so large an amount of my pamphlet but you could send 100. The comrades who are having open-air meetings in the summer may be able to sell them but until they do I don't want to load them with more. As to friends in America I am afraid I have given you all I know who would undertake to sell the pamphlet. I am sorry, my dear, that I cannot be more helpful. Why not try to approach the Jewish-Anarchist Federation? You can do that through M. Grishkan, C/o N.A.A. of America, 45, West 17th Street, New York City. but you must make sure that he will be responsible for the money. I know from experience that our groups whether English or Jewish as regards literature are not very responsible. I wish I had the money now for the literature we sent out during the existence of "Mother Earth". I would be assured for a number of years that I had a living; so you must find out whether they will hold themselves responsible for the number of copies you send them. I dare say you will have to give them some discount. Have you gotten in touch with the Vanguard group? I see that the comrades of the Libertarian group have chosen a delegate to the International Anarchist Conference in Barcelona. In fact he is leaving to-day for England, Stella writes me. His name is Bluestein - among the best.

(p. 1.0-1)

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[Letter] 1937 March 30 [London to] Jeanne Levey, Chicago / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 26 x 22 cm.

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-Page 4-

The Jewish Anarchist Federation and the Fr. Arb. Stime, have sent me credentials to represent them. Is anyone going from Chicago? How I wish you could come! It would be a marvellous experience for you. If no-one can and the groups are willing for me to represent them, I will be glad to do it. They might send me Resolutions to voice their attitude towards the Spanish Revolution and our movement in general. You can take it up with them if you wish, but I am rather afraid that our comrade Yellensky, who is such a fanatic, will probably not think me 100% Anarchist. Anyway let me know.

With the present embargo against Spain, it will probably be extremely difficult to get through France, especially for young delegates. I understand the French border officials are acting like Tsarist Cossacks. They are making it impossible for anyone to get into Spain through France. I may have trouble, though heaven knows I am not going to go to the front. I have therefore suggested to the comrades in Barcelona to postpone the conference if possible. The situation may change. For the rest, you will gather from the enclosures the mountains of difficulties I have to overcome to accomplish anything for our brave comrades.

Poor Angellica; her case is very tragic indeed. With all her marvellous brain she cannot free herself from the hold of Marxism, no matter how many blows it has struck her. The thing is to split like a drowning man to a straw and as the Marxists are split into a hundred factions, poor Angellica can find no point of contact with any one of them. She is left hanging in the air. Her case is particularly tragic because she has never really lived. She has dedicated herself and her great talents to the movement of her comrades just as completely as the early Christians dedicated themselves to their belief in Christianity. Outwardly that nothing exists for her. She therefore has nothing to fall back upon. I cannot tell you how deeply I feel for her. Though sometimes I feel like shaking Marxism out of her bones, I have been so fond of her all these years that I never had the heart to hurt her; but neither can I do much more for her. I wrote her a letter but really don't know where to address her. I wonder whether you do? If so send it to me. What about the Halperins? Do they ever show interest in Spain? You never mention them. Surely nothing has happened to keep them apart that would be too bad indeed. Remember me affectionately to them, anyway. My love to J, and lots of it to you. Affectionately,

(Enclosures).

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001202

[Letter, 19]37 March 30, London [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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London March 30th 37.

Darling Mine. You made me very rich this week with two letters dated March 16th and 23rd. Strangely enough they came with only a few days between. The 16th arrived Friday, the 23rd this morning. It is always like a ray of light when I get your letters. Believe me I need such rays often. For the English sky as far as I am concerned and my work is always black. Really my Stella it is hell and purgatory put together to achieve anything in this damned town. Talk about the sabotage of the Communists in New York. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Frightful and disgusting as it is it cannot be worse than here. Every day brings a new shock to ones sensibilities.

As to the theatre ventures you will see from the inclosed copy to Fowys what I have gone through and that I had to let it go for the 11th altogether. It almost got me back on my back. The Flu left me pretty shaky anyhow. And the bitter disappointment to have been let down by all the good people who had assured me time on end they would help just knock me flat. The one I am most disappointed in is Clovelly. I realise he is a busy man. But why undertake to do things. He was so cock sure of getting every American artist in London. He could not understand why I worried so. Instead of really seeing his people he waited until the last week and then wrote them letters which no one outside of Mary Morris answered, and she was so vague it was hopeless. In short Clovelly did not get a single artist and did not even let me know he had failed. That is a bit cheap I must say.

The man from Equity was not better. He too kept assuring me he would get his people. And not a single solitary soul did he get. I myself could have had Flora Robson with a large cast of outstanding men and women. But it was too late to get them together. And they could not have given the play anyway because of the blue law restrictions of Sunday which are strictly enforced by the London County Council. It was a mess. I can assure you. But even all that would not have mattered had not the man at the Victoria backed out. That was the last straw.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 March 30, London [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Well, I mean to go ahead for the 25th. But I will have to let a man I not expect once in getting up theatre and concert entertainments organise the show. Of course he is not going to do so out of love for Spain. He will want to make something. I am seeing him Thursday noon, and if his price is within reason I will engage him. I cannot face it alone. It is too much. Of course blessed Paul stands by his gun. He will sing the 25th he said. And I have five or six artists. Nothing Paul of course. But they will do to fill the evening. The one who has been of the great help is a friend of Searchingers, also now she represents the Musical Courier from N. here. She got me four musician, violinist, singer, pianist and a cellist. And I got two myself, an internationally known cabaret performer and a Discuse, a Russian woman who I understand does very fine work. I will let you know after I have seen the man and have come to some understanding with him.

Auntie has gone back to the South of France. She had a rotten winter. And the last week was altogether awful. A Dr friend of ours who treats me as well as her, has taken her in his car to the hotel near the boat. Yes she sailed. She could not have gone by train. I had a note from her before the boat sailed that she was feeling better and she hoped the trip will do her good. I miss her awfully. She has such a rich sense of humor and she is so gay. Now I am with a furnished apt on my hand. I cannot sublet it when I go to Spain because I would again be without a roof over my head when I return. Nor do I know when I will go to Spain. The embargo and a lot of other difficulties may delay my going. Anyhow I must hang on to the apt. I will give it up of course if I should be able to go to the States. But I am not banking on it.

You said in one of your letters I was penny wise and pound foolish because I regretted the expense of furnishing a place that was not mine. Darling when one has only pennies and that not much, every pound counts indeed. It was a great expense more than I had the right to undertake. But I dragged Auntie to London, and so I had to stand all her expenses for coming here and going back. Besides her living expenses. It has just drained me. Just now I have no idea how I am going to manage. I will have to start with the old hateful business asking Libby for another bit of money. If you think she is not too hard up perhaps you will write her.

Its horrible about Moe and Bessie having to depend on Bessie Levin and on Moe's own flesh and blood. I have written Sandstrom to try his best to get rid of my place. Auntie may find someone who might buy it. So many English people come to Moe and she knows them all. I pray that she may succeed, or that Sandstrom will. I feel Moe's plight terribly. I want so to help him. I wish I knew how to reach him with a line. Tell me what to do.

I am glad Mattie went out to see Ruth. If only

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[Letter, 19]37 March 30, London [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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a change of scenery as Mattie had, come abroad or go to Glair.
I am sure she too would recover. But all of us are so poor.

Dearest what about Sasha's stamp collection. Why does it
take so long. Is it not worth anything? You see I could have
sold it here. London is the world market. And I know one or
two people who would have helped. Naturally I felt surer with
Ian. Whatever he could get. I wish he would dispose of the
collection. My who refuse to touch anything of Sasha's the
moment he went is now asking about the collection. Please
do not mention it to her when you write her. But she actually
feels that all of Sasha's friends myself included owe her a
living. Heaven only knows how that will end. Why in the name o
of Jesus does not Stein come over and marry her. He could
get her into the States as his wife. He seems to care for her
So why doesn't he relieve it all.

I hope dearest your summer will be grand
at your place. How I long to see it and be with you and Teddy
as well as the kids. David I am fanished for him. But I dare
not hope too much.

Love to Teddy and the boys. Love to you my
beloved and ever faithful child.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1937 March 30, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, [London] / Camillo Berneri. — 1 p. ; 21 x 21 cm.

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Authorization

I authorize Miss Emma GOLDMAN-COLTON to negotiate and sign a contract for the English edition of my book: "Mussolini e la conquista delle Baleari" for me with Victor Gollancz, 10 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2, London.

Barcelona, 30 th of March 1937

Camillo Berneri

Camillo Berneri
32 Via Durruti
Barcelona

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005236

[Letter] 1937 March 30, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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20352

HARRY WEINBERGER

COUNSELOR AT LAW

10 WEST 40TH ST., NEW YORK

LONG ISLAND 2-3858-3883

March 30, 1937.

Mrs. E. G. Colton
18 Castletown Road
West Kensington
London W. 14, England

My dear E.G.:

It was good to hear from you directly, written on the 15th, with your usual extra copies of different letters so that I get a full aerial view of all your activities and opinions without repetition. Of course, every now and then I hear what you are doing from Stella or Fizzie.

I got the copies of your letters re A.B. and the explanation all came as a tremendous shock and it is good that you have found some other work to take your mind, enthusiasm and physical vitality as well as enlisting your ideals. I never had got it clear whether A.B.'s physical condition meant absolute invalidism of pain and incapacity. How he too would have loved to be doing the work you are doing. Practically all of thinking Americans who think at all are on the side of the Loyalists. Many are helping. I have sent some money, attended some dinners, sponsored some dinners and meetings out in Hollywood where I went on a case, and at the present writing it would appear that the Loyalists are on their way to victory. Here's hoping.

I will try to see Roger in the next week or so and discuss whether there is anything for you that I can do about getting you a visa, but of course he knows any time that if there is anything I can do for you I will always be delighted to do so, though I think Roger's connections in Washington are as good as any just now. If you come over in August perhaps I can see more of you than I did last time.

For the past year I have not been doing much outside of law. The number of people that one has to help both in time and occasionally in money, seems unending because while the depression may be supposed to be over, there are still millions unemployed and many of our old friends are in need.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005236

[Letter] 1937 March 30, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Mrs. A. G. Colton

Page 2

I saw Tom Mooney in the San Francisco jail twice and spent a few hours with him each time and saw ~~Mat~~ Schmidt in San Quentin. I could not get up the Sacramento to see MacNamara and Billings. Mooney of course is hopeful on the new move but I am not so sure though the lawyers seem to think there is a good chance. Of course if the Supreme Court of California is afraid, they might over rule the Referee on the facts and the law. But if they support the Referee on the facts and law, personally I am afraid the U. S. Supreme Court will not interfere.

I enclose herewith, a little check for you to get some flowers for a week. Just to remember your lawyer in New York. I also enclose a picture of myself to show that I also get flowers though I occasionally buy them myself.

While intellectually I am opposed to war, I think that if I was in Spain I would be taking part on the side of the Loyalists or at least be helping somewhere in the work.

I am as always with all best to you,

Sincerely,



HW:BW
Encs.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005233

[Letter] 1937 March 30, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / J[ohn]
C[owper] Powys. — 2 p.; 20 x 26 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Oh do you have in your list of actors sympathisers.
The name of Gerald Brennan (Capt Brennan in the war)
who was living near Malaga, & since he's returned
has been doing good propaganda
for the side of your people.
I have a cousin — and all the rest are
little women living on little
income, now, earning by
writing a lecture by
and I've
been
writing
from that series of
victories by the
Madrid defenders —
No my dear Emma Goldman —
I don't know any people
who could afford
exclusive seats or boxes —
in fact I cannot think of
anyone I saw totally unknown
to me of the type of
hard-pressed writers, or
elderly women living on some
small income in a flat. There is my
niece's husband Mr Herbert Marks
whose address is
"Hodders",
Ox Ted
Surrey
He is a Hebrew & an Accountant
He has very liberal notions —
No it's a queer thing (when you
ask me point-blank to give
your names) how few people
in London I do know.
If only my Architect brother
A.R.P. had been
alive he might have
been of real use, but
his widow's poor.

Yours most sincerely & affectionately
my dear Emma
J.C. Powys
303
7 Cae Coed
Corwen
Merioneth
N. Wales
March 30
1937
Age: my dear Emma, what
you have been through
No I can assure you
from experience that
the difficulty of getting
a hearing of all this
obstacles of all this
reserve & timidity &
submissiveness & slow
caution that you
come up against arent
your fault or any
unconventionality in
you. There are, &
we're not to confer
it, our national
peculiarities from
which the exceptions
if not I could
He's not a rich man but he is very strongly on your side.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005233

[Letter] 1937 March 30, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / J[ohn]
C[owper] Powys. — 2 p.; 20 x 26 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

able by returning to writing to dodge
having to believe in any social evils.
But your request is people's money in
the hands of the individual
has to break away
that's why in various
original Englishmen
like the author of "Arabia
Deserta", old Doughty,
and Cunningham Graham,
& hist. characters like
Tom Paine, or a person
like Edward Carpenter,
are so extremely original
because they've had to break
thru' so much —
That is indeed a comical
story about that Exclusion
Order going back to 1900
in France & this
Theatre Project, if you
had (as you may have!)
made notes in your diary
of people's excuses, w^d
certainly be sadly amusing
reading.
But it was almost worth it
from a psychological
point of view —

to get the full Contrast, 20347
which you must have
appreciated, or the great
Paul Robeson's
magnanimity &
friendliness — what a
significant thing!
Well! we'll see what
happens with your next
date April 25 — but I
think you're wise to steer
clear of too big a rent —
for after all in this case
it's the actual money
you want. We have
friends over there
more than propaganda
or publicity.
Yes it is indeed wonderful
to read of the overwhelming
defeat of that Italian
army — I was struck
by observing that in
the Daily Telegraph they
had a whole column
by some military correspondent
on the military lessons
to be learned

That's nothing to myself — all my friends are
the sort — except my nice, husband & I
not a rich man — that a quinner
totally out of the question.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005053

[Letter] 1937 March 30, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, [London] / D[avid] Antona. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Nacional



SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Calle Landerers, 1 ☎ Teléfono 10168

Valencia

30 de marzo de 1937

A la compañera Emma Goldmann

Estimada compañera. Saludos. Por conducto del camarada Nemecio Gálvez, representante de este Comité Nacional acerca de la AIT. en París, hemos recibido una carta en la que informas detalladamente de tu gestión en Londres.

Antes de entrar a comentar las indicaciones que nos haces hemos de decirte que a partir de este momento procures tener relación con el Comité Nacional que es en buena lógica a quien debes dar informe de tu trabajo, por esas tierras. Hasta la fecha no hemos recibido ninguna carta tuya a pesar de que dices haber escrito unas cuantas.

Ahora veamos: el compañero Gálvez dice haberte comunicado con tiempo la conveniencia de que asistieras a la Conferencia Antifascista que los elementos de la Segunda Internacional y de la Internacional Socialista Unidas, celebraron en Londres hace algún tiempo. Si este compañero hizo eso fue porque él entendía que el Delegado del Comité Nacional en Londres debía procurar extraer el mayor beneficio posible para nuestra causa, de la referida conferencia. No fue, pues, el Comité Nacional, quien comunicó esto, aunque se hace solidario de lo comunicado por el referido compañero.

No nos sorprende las apreciaciones que haces sobre la labor de los marxistas por ahí. Nosotros a su tiempo, aquí en Valencia, requerimos al Comité Nacional de la UGT. para que propusiera a la Segunda Internacional, la aceptación de nuestra participación en las tareas de la Conferencia. Alegaron para su negativa que era una cosa exclusiva de las dos Internacionales, la Sindical y la política de tendencia marxista, y que ni aún a los compañeros comunistas se les daba participación en sus tareas. A pesar de esto, en París, un delegado nuestro que accidentalmente se encontraba allí, realizó gestiones con la C.G.T. francesa para que ésta reclamara un puesto para nosotros. La verdad es que transcurrió el tiempo y que la voz de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo no pudo oírse en esta ocasión en Londres. Del fracaso de la Conferencia no hemos de hablar, es algo que ha quedado patentizado con las tibias resoluciones adoptadas por la misma.

Ahora realizamos gestiones con la UGT. para ver la posibilidad de llegar a un acuerdo entre ambas centrales que faciliten la convocatoria y realización de una Conferencia mundial antifascista auspiciada por ambas centrales sindicales. Es cuanto a tenor de estas cosas podemos decirte.

805

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005053

[Letter] 1937 March 30, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, [London] / D[avid] Antona. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Comité Nacional



19970

SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Calle Landerers, 1 ☎ Teléfono

Valencia

2

No ignoramos la campaña tendenciosa que los dirigentes marxistas, tanto los de Moscou con los de Amsterdam, realizan contra la CNT y el anarquismo. En todas partes, donde tienen ocasión nos vapulean de lo lindo, poniéndonos como los saboteadores y hasta estranguladores de la revolución española. Es el viejo virus del marxismo contra las ideas libertarias. Por ello nuestro representante en el extranjero (entre los cuales te encuentras tú) han de trabajar intensamente por deshacer estas bajas maniobras. Aquí en España no les es tan fácil hablar al pueblo con el mismo lenguaje que lo hacen fuera de nuestras fronteras. En su locura, dictada sólo por un sectarismo sin precedentes, han llegado a afirmar en algunos países de América y Europa que si el fascismo no ha sido todavía totalmente derrotado, ello se debe a la labor contrarrevolucionaria de los anarquistas españoles.

Nada, pues, nos coge desprevenidos en este aspecto. Lo interesante, repetimos, es que se trabaje activamente para probar ante el mundo obrero quienes son ellos y quienes somos nosotros.

Vemos con satisfacción el trabajo que realizas por ahí. Informa de una manera periódica y minuciosa de cuanto hagas. Convendría, asimismo, que vieras la posibilidad de encontrar un medio para poder enviarte toda clase de propaganda. Ello fortalecería nuestra opinión en el extranjero, contribuyendo poderosamente a extender nuestro radio de acción.

No se nos oculta, camarada Emma, las dificultades que has de encontrar en tu labor, pero piensa que toda actividad es poca, relacionada con la importancia de la empresa que la Historia ha echado sobre nosotros.

Terminamos con esto. Actividad y relación estrecha con este Comité Nacional.

Sin otra cosa, quedamos tuyos y de la anarquía

Por el Comité Nacional
Oficina de Información y Propaganda



E. Cantou

806

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918198

[Letter, 1937 March 30, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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comrade. Salud.

12415

Through our comrade N. Galvez, representative of this Committee at the AIT in Paris, we have received your letter in which you inform us in detail of your activities in London.

Before commenting on your remarks, we must point out that in future you should endeavour to send all your communications direct to the Comité Nacional, as this is the centre where all the work which you are doing in England should be reported. Up to now we have not received any letter from you although you state that you have written several.

Comrade Galvez says that he let you know in good time the advisability of attending the anti-fascist Conference which the elements of the II International and the United Socialist International held in London some time ago. If our said comrade did this it was ^{because} he understood that the Delegate of the Comité Nacional in London should endeavour to obtain for our cause the greatest benefit possible out of the Conference referred to. It was not the Comité Nacional, therefore, who made the request, but nevertheless the Comité approves ~~the~~ what was done by the said comrade.

We are not surprised at the things you tell us concerning the attitude of the communists there. At the proper time here in Valencia we requested the Comité Nacional of the UGT to propose to the Second International that we should take part in the Conference. They alleged as an excuse for refusing that the matter to be treated was exclusively the private business of the two Internationals and that not even the communists were taking part. In spite of this, in Paris one of our Delegates who was there

807

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- 2 -

at the time made representations to the French CGT in order to obtain a place for us at the Conference. But the fact remains that time went on and our voice was not heard this time in London. Of the failure of the Conference there is nothing to be said. It is openly demonstrated by the lukewarm resolutions taken thereat. 12416

We are now in negotiation with the UGT to see if we could come ~~reach~~ to an agreement between the two organisations and convoke an anti-fascist World Conference under the auspices of both Unions. This is all we can tell you so far in this connection.

We are well aware of the tendentious campaign being waged by the communist leaders against the CNT not only from Moscow but also from Amsterdam. Everywhere, whenever they get the chance, they revile us, accusing us of sabotaging and what is more of trying to kill the Spanish Revolution. It is the old hate of Marxism against the libertarian ideas. All the more why our representatives abroad - among whom we count yourself - should work intensively to counteract these low plotings. Here in Spain it is not so easy for them to speak to the people in the same language which they employ outside our frontiers. In their madness, dictated only by a sectarianism without precedent, they have gone so far as to affirm in some countries in America and in Europe that if fascism has not already been defeated, it is due to the counter-revolutionary work of the Spanish anarchists. Therefore, nothing surprises us any longer in this respect. The interesting point, we repeat, is to work with ever increasing activity and demonstrate to the world workers who are they and who we are.

We are very pleased with the work you are doing in England. Please keep us informed from time to time of everything you do.

808

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- 3 -

12417

It would be convenient if you could find a way whereby we could send you all class of propaganda. This would strengthen our ideas abroad, enabling us to widen the circle of our activities.

We do not fail to realise, dear comrade, the difficulties which you have to contend with in your work, but one has to think that every effort is not enough compared with the enterprise that History has thrown over our shoulders.

So we end with this. Activity and close cooperation with this Comité Nacional.

Anarchical greetings from, ^

809

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 March 31 [London to] Fenner Brockway, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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20279

31st March, 1937.

Mr. Fenner Brockway,
The Independent Labour Party,
35, St. Bride's Street, E.C.4.

Dear Fenner,

Enclosed is the Statement of expenses for the meeting in Friends' House. You will see by the sales of tickets of the Branches of your Party that they couldn't possibly have made an effort.

True the bookshop has sold £3. 2. 0., of tickets but the Branches only £1. 3. 6. That is less than Collett's bookshop did and they are certainly not particularly interested in the Revolutionary ideas. I must say that I am very disappointed. Had I known that the contribution of your Party in active help would be so small, I should not have consented to a 20% return of the I.L.P. collection. You see, I feel intensely about every penny collected for Spain. My own comrades and friends who have known me to be anything but close-fisted with my own possessions, small as they are, cannot understand that I should be so set on sending to the CNT-FAI, every copper my appeals bring. However, I will stick to my promise. If you send me your cheque for £4.4.0., I will then send you a cheque for £11. 12. 0., which represents the balance after you have covered the deficit.

On Saturday I was called up by Darling and given the news that the Spanish Exhibition Committee had resolved to turn over the Exhibition to Darling, Kavanagh and two I.L.P. girls. Don't you think it strange - to say the least of it - that I was not consulted in the matter? After all, I was one of the Committee though I have been made to feel repeatedly that I was an interloper; and also the CNT-FAI., has contributed £30, which is more than any other organization outside your own on the Committee has done. Lastly but not least, my comrades contributed a great deal more labour than any of the other members except Elizabeth Wilkinson. They distributed 10,000 or more of the circular. They covered every place with the

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Continued:-

-Page 2-

posters. No matter what opposition against me on the part of the Committee, I had expected more from you. Don't you think that you should have notified me before any decision was taken on the Exhibition?

I can assure you that if it had not been for you I should never have joined the Committee; as it is, I have regretted it deeply. In every way the CNT-FAI., was discriminated against. Whereas if I had carried out my original plan it would have been an out-and-out CNT-FAI., Exhibition and those who would have come to see it would at least have known that such an organization exists in Spain.

I wish you would let me know why even you did not insist that I should be consulted before the Committee made its decision regarding the Exhibition.

Fraternally,

P.S. I have received a statement from Mr. McNulty of the receipts and expenses of the Exhibition. I see that £137 remains on hand. I wonder will anything of that go to the Sanidad in Barcelona? Or is the money kept to be returned to those of us who have contributed the original money? I would like to be informed. Will you please do so?

(Enclosure).

811

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001197

[Letter] 1937 March 31, Tel Aviv [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / E.A. Kirschner. —
1 p.; 29 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

E.A. KIRSCHNER
BARRISTER-AT-LAW

א.א. קירשנר
11177

22, LINDENHALL ST.

TEL AVIV
PALESTINE

22 מרץ 1937

תל אביב
פלסטין

Dear Miss Goldman,

My most sincere apologies for my
retardance in not answering your letter & thanking you for the
papers you sent me. I had lost your address & had to wait
until my sister Mary Fried had returned from England before
I could write.

The German papers were beyond me as I cannot speak the
language. The others were interesting but also a little beyond me as
I am not an Anarchist.

I hope your exhibition was a success and that besides
making money, it converted people to the government side in Spain.

Thank you again for your letter & the papers.

Yours sincerely

E.A. Kirschner

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001116

[Letter] 1937 March 31, Glasgow [Scotland to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Guy Aldred. — 2 p. ; 23 x 17 cm.

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Left in

19591

5, Balvie St.
Glasgow C.3
31/3/1937

Dear Emma Goldman.

I have received a letter from ~~Emma~~
Comrade Louchy today and I therefore
send this letter to you. I make it as brief
as possible, because that is commensurate &
because I have been knocked down by a motor-
car injured seriously, in head and chest,
~~and am still among the~~
Of course, I shall recover from this. It is a
pity, since I was 13 hours unconscious, I
had to become conscious again. It only means
I must pass out some other day. A hell of a
business.

However, writing on behalf of the National
Committee of the CNT and the Peninsular Committee
of the FAI, Comrade Louchy requests complete
unity. He refers to my criticism of yourself, etc.
I have replied, dealing with his point, relating emphat-
ically that the U.S.M., as a party, and I, as
an individual, stand for unity. It seems to
me that this is quite a practical question that

Love

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2

19392

can be brought about quite easily. There are points of principle, but there are mostly historical ones, and in the living present, I would imagine, the difference was much more one of personality. And this ought not to intervene when men & women are dying.

It may well be that you feel aggrieved at some of my criticism. But I am just as aggrieved at being falsely accused of being in the way of Stalin. However, I received ^{your} ~~his~~ letter, & have answered same. I am quite prepared to assist in working out a very bold and a very clear and a very definite program of united action. I do not see that such unity should rule out criticism when necessary. But, I demand, as unity becomes real and true, the sense of criticism would have vanished, unless some vital moment called it into being. Criticism is a condition of growth anyway.

This is an awkward letter to write. It is written as a duty. If unity is possible, and an Anarchist movement can be seeing into existence here, let us make it possible now. Yet your letter to me in 1916 or 1915, ought not to have made the unity of this letter awkward.

Yours for Guy A. Aldred.

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 39

Correspondence

December 1, 1936, to March 31, 1937

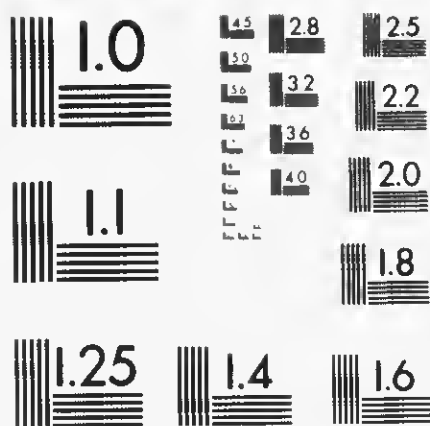
Edited by
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and
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CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia

Cambridge, England

16X



END

